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OF

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BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOLUME SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

FIFTH PERIOD CONTINUED.

The History of Corea, and that of Japan.

Corea described.

So little is recorded as having passed in the countries east of China previous to this period, that it appeared proper to defer all notice of them, until some transactions at least could be added to the description of those regions; and even now of Corea or Korea, the first of them, there is but little to mention. This, however, which is said to be termed by the natives Tio-cen-koah and Kaoli, by the Tartars Solko or Solgon, and by the Chinese Kan-li-que, is a large oblong peninsula situate between the most eastern part of China, and the bay called the bay of Corea. It on the north-west joins the Chinese province of Lyau-tong, and is divided on the west from the rest of China by the Yellow Sea; on the north from the eastern or Manchew Tartars by a long ridge of impassable mountains; on the east from Japan by the Straits of Corea; and on the south by the ocean. It extends from thirty-four degrees to almost forty-three of north latitude, and from about one hundred and twenty-five to an hundred and twenty-nine degrees of east longitude from Greenwich. It is

CHAPTER I. FIFTH PERIOD.

divided into eight provinces, containing two hundred and one cities and towns, and a vast number of well-garrisoned fortresses. The metropolis, situate almost in the centre of the peninsula, is stiled King-ki-tau. Corea has but two rivers of any note, the Ya-lû, and the Tu-men, rising out of the same mountain, which is reported to be one of the highest in the world; but they hold different courses, the one running westward and the other eastward. They are deep and rapid, and the water of both is excellent. The northern part of this peninsula is but barren, woody, and mountainous, infested with wild beasts, and thinly inhabited, and produces no other corn than barley. But the southern is rich and fertile, supports great numbers of cattle, large and small, besides fowl both wild and tame, and great variety of game. It produces, too, silk, cotton, and flax, the two last of which are manufactured by the inhabitants; but the silk they know not how to weave, and therefore export it unwrought either to Japan or China; the only two countries with which they trade. To these, besides raw silk, they send out silver, lead, and some other metals, rich furs, which come from the north, and above all the root jinseng, which grows plentifully in Corea. It is said, that they have likewise mines of gold, that their seas produce pearl oysters, and a variety of fish; and that the rivers are infested with crocodiles of a monstrous length.

Products.

Character of the inhabitants.

The people of this country are in general very stout and industrious, brave and warlike, equally trained to the plough and to the sword; affable and civil to strangers, and resembling in their manners, customs, and religion, the Chinese. The rich commonly wear fur caps and brocade clothes, and their women a kind of lace on their upper and under petticoats. The learned are distinguished by two feathers in their caps; and the nation in general are well shaped, sprightly, and courteous, lovers of learning, and fond of musick and dancing. Their language is a mixture of the Chinese and the Manchew Tartar; but in writing they use the Chinese characters. The bonzas are very numerous; since the idle life which they lead, their gains, and the respect which they receive from the people, are motives for professing that monkish life, especially as they may renounce it when they please. The common people have

scarcely any religion. Even the worship paid to their idols consists in nothing more than lighting a stick of some odoriferous wood before them, and making a very low bow at parting; superstitious acts most probably learned from the Chinese. Their temples are numerous, and so are their monasteries, of which some contain between four and six hundred monks. The wiser and better informed individuals betray a contempt for their idols; yet one common idea is observable among them, that the good and bad shall be respectively rewarded or punished in another life. The government is monarchical and despotick: for though tributary to the emperor of China, their king governs with an absolute sway, and in his government employs numerous spies. No great men are permitted to hold towns or villages by inheritance, but only during life, with reversion to the crown. So that their chief revenue arises from land, which they hold of the king during pleasure, and a great number of slaves employed in agriculture. Although the introduction of some salutary laws from China once diminished the prevalence of theft and robbery among them, their morals now seem to be consistent with their religion. Their houses have only one story, are plain and thatched. They have no beds, but sleep on mats; use plates and dishes, are moderate in their food, and generally healthy. Their strong liquor seems to be extracted from a species of rice. They have not the exquisite fruits, or odoriferous woods of the warmer soil of China, but they possess a tree not unlike the palm, the gum of which makes a varnish of so beautifull a yellow, that it looks like gilding. Their cotton paper excells that of China. It is said that they have a breed of horses not more than three feet high, and a species of domestick fowls with tails of that length. Their general weapons were cross-bows and long sabres, but they have learned the use of fire arms from the Chinese. Such is their ignorance of geography, that they divide the earth into twelve kingdoms, anciently subject to China, and their maps extend no further than to that of Siam: and when they hear Europeans talk of the many regions of the world, they cannot refrain from asking with a smile, how it is possible for the sun to enlighten them all.

Religion.

Other particulars.

The Coreans are acknowledged to be descended from the Tartars.

Derivation of the inhabitants,

CHAPTER I. FIFTH PERIOD.

and government.

The history of Corea.

Various were the tribes first spread over the country, and governed by their respective chiefs; all of which in process of time coalesced into one kingdom, which was at length conquered by the Chinese. The history of this empire places the foundation of the Corean monarchy in the time of Ki-tse, a Chinese prince of the imperial family, renowned for his wisdom, who, something later than the year eleven hundred and twenty two before the commencement of our æra, on a change of dynasty (though as no such change took place until fifty four years from that period, it must have been as late as a thousand and sixty-eight at least, that he) retired into the part of Corea termed Chau-tsyen. There, with the emperor's assistance and his own merit, he was made king, and introduced civilization from China; and so firmly established his sovereignty, that his posterity continued in it until in the third century before our æra Chau-tsyen was made dependent on Lyau-tong; the descendants of Ki-tse, being allowed only the title of Hew or Counts, till Shun about forty years after assumed that of Vang or King. This prince, however, enjoyed not long the recovered title, for he was defeated by Wheyman, who at length put an end to the family of Ki-tse, and seized the crown of that part of Corea; which was afterwards confirmed to him by the Chinese government, when he gradually brought the rest of the peninsula under his sway. Yeu-Kyu, his grandson, having by putting to death the embassadors of China, brought on himself the arms of their emperor, successfully resisted him, but was assassinated by his own subjects; who voluntary submitted to the Chinese. On this submission Chau-tsyen was reduced into a province called Tsang-hay, and Corea divided into four: and the emperor Chau-ti, who ascended the Chinese throne in the year eighty-six before our æra, reduced the whole of it into two provinces; and about sixty years after the emperor Quang-vu-ti made Chau-tsyen or Tsang-hay dependent on Lyau-tong. It is observable, that the Chinese annals pass in silence over the conquest made of this peninsula by the Japanese about two centuries prior to the Christian æra; and how long it continued in subjection to them the Japanese historians say not. But the Coreans did at length with the assistance of the eastern Tartars shake off the yoke, and restore their own government,

until it was again overthrown by the Chinese: a revolution which brings us down to the end of this period at least, and here, therefore, we must for the present quit the history of this region, and proceed to that of Japan

The empire by the Europeans called indifferently Japan and Japon is by the natives denominated Niphon and Hiphon, from the largest of those islands of which it is composed: both of which last terms have the same signification, Ni and Hi importing fire, and Phon a basis or foundation. Japan is situate opposite the eastern side of the continent of Asia, and consists of three large, and a number of smaller islands, about one hundred and sixty leagues eastward of the coast of China, and an hundred and thirty degrees east of London. It extends from thirty to forty-one degrees of north latitude, and from one hundred and thirty to an hundred and forty-seven degrees of east longitude. These islands were very imperfectly known in Europe until the Portuguese reached them in fifteen hundred and forty-eight. Then, while Alphonso de Souza was viceroy of the East Indies, three Portuguese were in their voyage from Siam to China driven on the coast of Japan. On their report others, and particularly some missionaries, were sent thither, who by their skill in the sciences so recommended themselves to the Japanese, that they easily obtained freedom of commerce and religion, and in time permission to preach the last. The coasts of this empire are not only difficult but dangerous of access. But the country is as pleasant and inviting as its avenues are discouraging. Though more than ten degrees to the southward of Great Britain, the air is kept cool by the sea breeze, to which the height of the land more particularly exposes the inhabitants. Still this situation renders the winters severely cold; the snow falls in great quantities, and is generally followed by hard frosts. Their seasons too are more inconstant than on the continent of China and India. The country is exposed likewise to dreadfull thunder, lightning, storms, and hurricanes. The soil is naturally rocky and mountainous; yet by the industry of the inhabitants it supplies their wants, and even furnishes the finest rice and corn for exportation in vast quantities, having a considerable variety of both. While the rocks and most

Japan first known to the Europeans.

The country described.

CHAPTER I. FIFTH PERIOD.

barren places produce a number of fruits, plants, and roots; and their forests, and long mountainous ridges, produce good pasturage, and are stocked with deer, beeves, buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and other usefull animals. Their seas, lakes, and rivers, furnish plenty and variety of fish. Now if to all these particulars it be added, that the Japanese are as temperate and frugal as they are industrious and laborious, it will not appear wonderfull that their country should furnish them with every necessary of life, and enjoyment without the assistance of their neighbours. The laborious males may be seen drawing the plough over rocky mountains inaccessible to horses or oxen. Nor will their industrious females hesitate to plunge into the sea to obtain shell-fish, and sea-weeds, which last they know how to free from all their noxious qualities, and render both wholesome and nutritious. They gather and knead the very moss which grows on shells, and on the bark of trees, into a pleasant kind of cakes, and give an agreeable relish to the most insipid roots and vegetables. The country abounds with rivers, lakes, and springs of various kinds, affording plenty of both sweet and medicinal waters. Some of the rivers flow from the mountains with such rapidity, that they can neither be crossed without danger, nor have bridges built over them. The Oomi, one of the three chief rivers of the country, is said to have sprung up in one night, some centuries before our æra. A lake of the same name extends nearly an hundred miles in length and twenty in breadth. Some of the lakes are the produce of earthquakes, which are so common in the country, that the inhabitants scarcely feel alarmed at them, unless very dreadfull. In all such natural disasters the superstitious Japanese apply to their bonzas, or priests, who commonly ascribe them to the displeasure of some of their imaginary deities; but the most received opinion is, that the devil, or, as they stile him, the evil deity, is the author of those calamities.* Japan breeds a great number of horses, which, though

The products of it.

* In 1586 the little city of Nuga Fama, in the province of Oomi, was partly swallowed up, and the rest reduced to ashes by the subterranean fires which burst forth. The city of Nagasama felt likewise some terrible shocks for several days. After which a violent storm arose, and swelled the sea to an height so great, that the billows

much smaller than those of Europe, are very beautifull and fleet, and highly valued. The forests abound with many sorts of wild beasts, with the furs of which they carry on a considerable trade, as well as in elephant's teeth. This noble animal is not only plentifull in the woods, but bred tame in their towns. Their seas, besides fish, furnish them with great quantities of ambergris, red and white coral, and some pearls of high price, with great variety of sea plants and shells. But the chief riches of the empire are said to consist of the variety and fineness of their metals and minerals. Numberless loads of sulphur are every where dug up for home use, or for exportation; while the many volcanoes and hot springs prove, that a prodigious quantity lies concealed in the land. Mines of gold, as well as gold sand, are to be found in several of the provinces, especially in the great island of Niphon. But the emperor lays an absolute claim to these, as well as to other mines of metal, which must not be opened without his permission. Silver mines are not so numerous, but of those which there are, some are very rich. But the most plentifull of all their metals is their copper; the variety of which is very great. Some kinds exquisitely fine, and malleable, and fit for any work; and others very coarse and cheap. In the isle of Ximo they have some tin so very fine and white, that it looks almost like silver, and sells as high. The iron mines which are found, yield great quantities of that metal, which the inhabitants refine and fabricate into tools and instruments, which the Chinese purchase at even an higher price than copper: and such is the temper of their steel, that the weapons made of it, are said to carry an edge finer than those of any part of the world. But the exportation of these is prohibited.

Religion of the Japanese.

All writers on the Japanese agree that their religion has immemo-

poured on the city, overthrew all the houses, and washed the whole of them with the inhabitants into the sea: leaving scarcely any other traces of so fair and rich a city than the spot on which the castle stood, and even that was laid under water. No less dreadfull was that which occurred in 1703 at Yedo, the other metropolis of the empire, attended with so great a conflagration that it nearly consumed that extensive city, together with the imperial palace, and destroyed above two hundred thousand persons, who perished either by the flames, or under the ruins.

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rially been gross idolatry. It is reported, that they seem not to have even a tolerable notion of a supreme Being; believing that the world is eternal, and, that the gods which they do worship were men or beings which lived on earth several thousand years ago, and were for their virtue raised to that power and dignity which they have ever since enjoyed. Various are the sects into which they are divided. Of these the principal are, first, that of Xinto, consisting only of the worshippers of their ancient deities and idols; secondly, that of Sciutto, comprehending their moralists and philosophers; a kind of deism like that of the Chinese literati, the professors of which do in their hearts despise all notions of publick worship and popular superstition; thirdly, that called Budzo, which has introduced a number of imaginary deities and idols from China and Siam, and other parts of India, particularly the worship of Fo. These are again subdivided into many others, which have their particular deities, including the sun, moon, and stars; with which the bonzas pretend to have a familiar intercourse, and to be instructed by them about every material circumstance relating to futurity. Every person is free to choose which sect pleases him best, no compulsion being used by either the government or the parents. In the same family the husband is often found of one sect, the wives of another, and the children of a third. The two principal deities of the Xinto sect are called Amida and Xaca; and such is the veneration in which they are holden, that most of the sects worship them among their other gods; esteeming them the chief dispensers of not only long life, and earthly happiness, but of the rewards and punishments of the next state. For they mostly hold a course of future rewards and punishments in an everlasting transmigration of the soul from body to body. They have another celebrated deity, which appears no other than the Indian Fo. To him are dedicated a vast number of monasteries of both sexes. Endless would it be to recount the number of similar saints, to whom temples and monasteries are erected, and who are honoured with priests and votaries. But it is stated, that all these sects, though much divided in other respects, agree in observing the five following precepts: first, not to kill or to eat any thing that has had life; secondly, not to steal; thirdly, not to defile another's bed;

fourthly, not to lye: fifthly, not to drink wine. In the doctrine of supererogation preached by their monks, and in the beads and prayers used by their priests and laity, there exists a striking similarity between them and the disciples of Rome. Neither is there less in their practice of setting up a vast number of idols in their publick buildings, piazzas, markets, and streets, and even publick roads; nor in their ascribing miraculous powers to one of them: the management of which is, like that of some in this country before the Reformation, conducted with so much dexterity, that the cheat is not yet discovered. Numerous are their festivals, and sumptuous is the celebration of them: but that of Combadoxi resembles some in the more western parts of the earth in being observed with funereal pomp. The success of the missionaries, who, it has been already stated, were sent hither about the middle of the sixteenth century, was very great. They having recommended themselves to the higher ranks and learned men, by both their skill in the sciences, and the several more perfect mathematical and astronomical instruments which they brought from Europe; not only a multitude of the people were converted to Christianity, but several petty princes encouraged the propagation, and some even made open profession of it themselves. Nay, the emperor is represented as having been a great patron, if not a secret proselyte to the faith. Insomuch that the bonzas, after their utmost exertion to stop the progress of a doctrine so adverse to their interests, were obliged to yield to the current, and it is stated that several of them became zealous preachers of it. Still it has been intimated, that much of this success did not arise from the influence of the purest motives. For while multitudes of the poor were allured to Christianity not so much by the preaching of the missionaries, as by their seasonable charities, and the care which they took of the sick, lame, and indigent, who used to be neglected and despised by their own countrymen of all sects; (their bonzas representing them not as objects of pity, but as wretches under the displeasure of their gods, who neither deserve compassion in this life, nor could have any prospect of faring better in the next), some of the rich embraced it, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Portuguese and other Europeans: some with a

Former success of the Christian missionaries among them.

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view to traffick, others with intent to learn some of their arts and sciences, or mechanical trades. Yet whatever might be the real motives of those who professed to be converted, this great success of the missionaries continued above sixty years, that is, until about the year sixteen hundred and sixteen, when all this promising prospect became suddenly obscured: for the missionaries were suspected and accused of a design to dethrone the emperor, and bring his dominions under the power of the Spaniards. The jealous monarch and all his nobility believed the charge, and conceived a detestation of the missionaries and their doctrine. When ensued in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two a most dreadfull persecution of them, and all their proselytes who refused to renounce the Christian faith; who were all put to the most excruciating deaths. Then was Christianity entirely extirpated from the whole empire; and ever since it has been holden in the greatest abhorrence; no person, unless it has been very lately, being suffered to live there who is suspected to retain it; nor any stranger permitted to come among them who will not publickly renounce it.

Persecution and extirpation of them.

Government of Japan.

The government of Japan is, and for many centuries has been despotick. Like other countries this was anciently divided into many small kingdoms, at length subdued by one to which the rest are become subject or tributary; and the number of the former description has gradually increased above that of the latter. Of these last they reckon between fifty and sixty, whose princes are vested with the regal title and dignity, and are nearly absolute in their respective territories, yet continue so perfectly subject to the emperor, that he can depose or even condemn them to death at his will. It has, too, been the constant policy of these monarchs to split these petty kingdoms into still smaller divisions, and permit their princes to wage war one with another, as the best means of diminishing their power and securing their obedience. As to the people, they are doubly slaves, first to their own princes, and then to the emperor, who has the power of life and death over them all. Anciently the emperors were also sovereign pontiffs under the title of Dairos: when their persons and dignity were deemed so sacred, that they were in some measure worshipped by all their subjects, and

assumed a state to which no human being is entitled. Not only their apparel, but the furniture for their bed, and the vessels for their table, were renewed every day. Neither sun was permitted to shine, nor the wind suffered to blow on them, nor did they ever set their feet on the ground. They were concealed from publick view as much as possible, which seems to have been not improper, since they never had their hair cut, or their nails pared. They were chiefly waited on by twelve wives, whom they married with great solemnity. The titles which they assumed came little short of blasphemy, and the manner in which they were approached, savoured strongly of idolatry. The emperor's life being passed in this manner, the chief care of civil and all that of military affairs was entrusted to the prime minister stiled Cubo, or commander in chief of all the forces; which dignity was commonly bestowed on one of the younger sons of the emperor: for the eldest inherited the throne. And it was by one of these cubos that the dairos were stripped of the whole civil authority. From that time the dairo has been at the head of religious matters only, while the cubo, now emperor, holds an absolute dominion over all civil and military affairs throughout the empire. The former lives in the same grandeur as his predecessors; and the latter pays as great homage to him as if he *himself were only* his deputy. But this appearance is preserved merely to prevent the people from rising in his favour; so that in fact the cubo is now the real monarch of Japan, and the dairo only the high-priest. The homage rendered to the last by the former consists in going once in three or four or at most five years to the city of Meaco, where the dairo resides, and there waiting on him in person with suitable presents, and acknowledging that the imperial crown is holden of his family: whence it appears, though not mentioned by the historians from which this account is extracted, that it is no longer one of the dairo's younger sons that is cubo. While the same conclusion seems warranted by another circumstance, that of the last being obliged to marry one of his daughters, if he has one marriageable; and she is first crowned empress, and then given to him, as a seal of his imperial authority. As the dairos have still retained their

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residence at Meacò on the south, the cubos have fixed theirs at the city of Jeddo on the north side of the island of Niphon.

The strictest police is preserved throughout the empire, and very effectual measures taken to prevent conspiracy, and obviate revolt. The emperor's guards, which attend him wherever he goes, amount to five or six thousand, and his army consists of an hundred thousand infantry, and twenty thousand cavalry, all well disciplined and in general stout men. Their arms are muskets, bows and arrows, the scymetar and dagger. In addition to these in time of war every one of the tributary princes is bound to furnish a certain quota, all which increase the infantry to three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, and the cavalry to thirty-eight thousand. The revenue is represented to be very great. By one mode of estimate, by which are calculated solely the expences, not the receipts, it is reckoned at twenty-eight millions sterling; beside which the emperor is said to possess vast treasures, in jewels, in gold and silver, and in rich furniture, and valuable merchandize deposited in his treasury and magazines. Great is the number of the imperial palaces, most of which are rather castles strongly fortified. Most of their palaces and fortifications have cannon on their ramparts, though the Japanese are not so skilfull in the use of them as the Chinese. Their laws and punishments are most severe. Few of the former are written, the will of the sovereign being the supreme canon both in the empire at large, and in the petty jurisdictions. Even the heads of families have the power of life and death, and there is scarcely any crime that is not punished with death, except the offender be a prince, and even these are not always exempt; having in some cases only the privilege of dispatching themselves with their own hands, by ripping themselves open, instead of dying by the hands of the executioner. In these cases no other ceremony is used than a letter from the emperor by a proper officer, who, if the offender refuse to comply immediately, has orders to put him to some more painfull death. Those whose lives are spared, are commonly banished into some desert, where they are condemned to labours more or less servile according to the nature of their crimes, or the mercy they can obtain, but most commonly they

The army.

Revenue.

Laws.

are compelled to drag out a life much more dreadfull than death itself. As for persons of inferior rank, they are not so much as imprisoned, but on full proof before a magistrate are immediately hurried to execution. The more atrocious crimes from murder down to notorious robbery are punished with such severity, that not only the criminal but his parents, brethren, children, and even more distant male relations, are all put to death at the same time, whatever be their distance from each other; and in cases of high treason the punishment extends to the whole ward or neighbourhood in which the criminal resides. Crucifixion, and that commonly with the head downwards, is the principal punishment; and the criminals are permitted to hang two or three or more days on the cross or until they expire, according to the nature of the crimes, and where that pleads for mitigation of penalty, they are stabbed or shot with darts in a shorter time. Burning, or boiling in oil, are inflicted on persons guilty of parricide, incest, rape, and adultery. When an offender who has refused to surrender himself is taken, he is torn asunder by horses, or cut in pieces by the hangman, wherever he is found. Every petty larceny, insult, detraction, cheating of any kind, even at play, a lie, or prevarication before a magistrate, is capital, though punished with a milder penalty, as decapitation, hanging, or ripping open the bowels: which last punishment is generally inflicted on gentlemen and soldiers, they being allowed to dispatch themselves. Because it is deemed ignominious for such to let the executioner prevent them, by their own cowardice or delay. The Japanese in general are very acute, of good understanding, modest, patient, courteous, and excelling all the Orientals in docility. They deal with integrity, disdain to take an advantage, are industrious and laborious, and addicted to study and reading; are not greedy of gain, and in conversation are highly decorous, but avoid the formal stiffness of the Chinese. Their style is grave and laconic, yet familiar and obliging. They observe great neatness and decency in their meals, furniture, and dress; and have an abhorrence of luxury, intemperance, and defamation. Yet with all these virtues they are represented as not free from vices; for they are said to be proud, ambitious, and cruel, and so insensible to the miseries of others, that

Character.

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they will suffer them to perish rather than relieve them. They are reported, too, to be so passionate and vindictive, that they will slay themselves for want of opportunity of revenging an injury or affront. They not only allow polygamy, but have brothels for the unmarried youth as well as for strangers. In their wars they are fierce and cruel, seldom giving or requesting quarter, and a town taken is generally destoyed by fire and sword. They are much addicted to astrology; but of geography seem to have been as ignorant as the Coreans; imagining the earth to be divided into three principal parts, Japan, China, and Siam, and looking on all the rest as inconsiderable appendages. Yet they are not without several universities well stored with doctors and books. They are fond of poetry, musick, and painting, in the two last of which particularly they do not excell. Yet their colours, as we see in specimens of their earthern ware, are beautifull. They are commonly good accomptants; and use either the same method as the Chinese, or round pieces of wood or ivory, and a chequer board; both pieces and chequer being of different colours, and corresponding with our units, tens, &c. The Japanese, like their neighbours of China, pretend to have been the inventors of printing, and their method is the same. Yet they excell in the neatness of their types, and in their ink and paper. They claim too the invention of gunpowder, though vastly inferior to the Chinese in all sorts of fire arms. They write in columns, but their characters, though originally Chinese, have undergone so much alteration that the Chinese do not understand them. They are early taught to read and write by an easy and expeditious method: and the practice of exciting them to application, by rewards and emulation, of which so much has lately been said in this country, is in use in Japan. Their language, while having some affinity with the Chinese, appears compounded of that and other languages spoken by the several nations from which these islands received their population. The Japanese government permits its subjects to trade with only the Chinese, the Coreans, the country of Jeddo, and the Dutch, when there were Dutch in those parts to trade with. But their seas swarm with pirates of the most desperate character. Their exports consist of rice, silk, and wrought cotton, fine porcelain and

Arts and sciences.

Commerce.

Japan work, gold and silver, copper wrought and in bars, iron, steel, and other base with some artificial metals; variety of rich furs, tea of all sorts, superior both in kind and curing to the Chinese, a great number of medicinal herbs, roots, woods, and gums well preserved and unadulterated. To these may be added diamonds and other precious stones, pearls of exquisite beauty, corals, great numbers and variety of fine sea shells, and lastly ambergris. Their imports on the other hand are glasses of all sorts, raw hides, hempen and woollen cloths, quicksilver, borax, antimony, spices of all kinds, some kinds of sugar, musk, camphor, Siam-pan, Brazil, and other woods, Calambac, elephant's teeth, and a great number of small wares from China, Tibet, and Siam, jinseng, and other medicinal roots from Tartary: all which articles are exported and imported free of duty. Though from the peculiarity of their character this country and its inhabitants have been already so diffusely spoken of, would an abridgment like the present afford space for it, much more might be added on various particulars in them worthy of observation. But now it is time, after adding to what has been stated of the extent of the Japanese territories, that part at least of the extensive tract called the land of Jedzo or Eso, which forms an island extending from about forty-four to fifty one degrees of north latitude, belongs to the empire of Japan, to proceed to that little of their history which has been transmitted to Europe.

History of Japan.

The people themselves pretend to be the offspring of their own gods, (no slight indication that the spirits of their early ancestors are objects of their worship) and they entertain a notion similar to that which has been found spread over so large a portion of the world, that of three races which have reigned in their country: first, a succession of celestial spirits, who ruled an incomprehensible number of ages; secondly, a race of terrestrial spirits, or good men, and these governed Japan in a lineal succession during a long but limited term of years; until at length they begat a third race of men who had nothing of the purity and perfections of their progenitors; and by these Japan is still inhabited. Yet the Chinese pretend to have first peopled these islands. But what seems from various circumstances most probable, is that they were originally peopled by different

CHAPTER I. FIFTH PERIOD.

nations driven on their coasts by storms, or adverse winds at different times; and not by any single colony at one certain period. While there is discernible a certain degree of conformity between them and all the neighbouring trading nations as far as the coast of Malabar; which evidently indicates a common origin of them all. As various colonies contributed to people this country, so at first it was doubtlessly divided into various small states, which were gradually absorbed by one that surpassed the rest in power, and excelled them in policy. How long this has been completely established in its sway, can be determined only by the time which they ascribe to the reigns of mortal men over them. For to those of their demigods or five heroes, that they may not appear to fall short of other nations, they ingeniously ascribe only two million three hundred forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-seven years. The mortal race is acknowledged to have commenced about six hundred and sixty years before our æra. From that time to the year sixteen hundred and ninety-three they reckon an hundred and fourteen emperors, all of the same family, to have set successively on the throne of Japan: and these highly value themselves on being the eldest branch of descendants from Ten-sin-dai-sin, the founder of the monarchy, and the lineal issue of the eldest son from generation to generation: though this boast appears by no means supported by their history. The title by which their monarchs are commonly designated is that of Mickaddo, derived from that by which they say their divine predecessor used to be distinguished; that of dairo signifying rather their court than their dignity. To these may be added those of Day, Oo, Kwo, and Tay, all signifying a sovereign prince, a supreme lord, and that of Ten-sin, which signifies the son of heaven. Sin-mu, the founder of the Japanese monarchy, began his reign in the year before our æra six hundred and sixty, and in the seventieth of his age. He civilized his subjects, made a thorough reformation in the laws and government, and introduced among them some chronology, dividing time into years and months, and their parts. In the sixtieth year of his reign the worship of foreign idols, brought thither from China and India, was introduced. Sin-mu reigned, it is asserted, (though *credibly* cannot be added) seventy-nine years, and having

Sin-mu. B. C. 660.

secured the throne to his posterity, died in the hundred and fiftieth year of his age: and with his reign begins the grand Japanese æra of Nin-o. Sui-sin, Sin-mu's third son, directly contrary to the boast above-mentioned, of succession through the eldest sons, unless his elder brothers were both dead without children, succeeded him in the fifty-first year of his own age, and before our æra five hundred and eighty. He reigned thirty-three years, and dying in the eighty-fourth of his age, was succeeded by his son Enei, then in the twentieth year of his age, and before our æra five hundred and forty-eight, who, after a reign of thirty-eight years, left the crown to his son Ito-ku, then in the forty-fourth year of his age, and in the year five hundred and eleven. He sat on the throne thirty-five years, and was succeeded in four hundred and seventy-six by his son Kosio. In the fifth year of this monarch the first war mentioned in the Japanese history broke out between the provinces of Go and Jetz. He reigned, it is asserted, near thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his second son Koan in the year three hundred and ninety-two. Under his reign there occurred a great eclipse of the sun, and a comet appeared in China. He reigned an hundred and one years, and dying in two hundred and ninety was succeeded by his eldest son Korei or Kossei. In the sixth year of this reign, the lake and river of Oomi are said to have suddenly sprung up in a night in the province of that name, through some earthquake or subterranean convulsion: and in the forty-sixth year of his reign, the Japanese empire was divided into thirty-six provinces. Korei reigned seventy-six years, and was in the year two hundred and fourteen succeeded by his son Kow-kin. In the days of this monarch reigned the first of those wise Chinese emperors, who sent three hundred youths and as many maidens to Japan to fetch the universal medicine promised to him by his physicians. Kow-kin reigned fifty-six years; and in the year one hundred and fifty-seven left the crown to his second son Kay-kwo. In the eighteenth year of his reign the moon was observed to appear of a purple colour. Fifty years did his reign endure, and on his decease in the year one hundred and seven, his son Siun-sin, or Siu-sin, occupied the throne. In the seventh year of his reign a great mortality raged through all the empire. In the eleventh he

Sui-sin. B. C. 580.

Enei. B. C. 548.

Ito-ku. B. C. 511.

Kosio. B. C. 476.

Koan. B. C. 392.

Korei. B. C. 290.

Kow-kin. B. C. 214.

Kay-kwo. B. C. 157.

Siun-sin. B. C. 107.

CHAPTER I. FIFTH PERIOD.

instituted the office of seo-gun, the holder of which has the direction of all military affairs, and the command of the army in case of war or rebellion, and he conferred it on one of his sons. In the nineteenth year of his reign the first ships were built in Japan, and in the last of it two moons appeared in the east. This prince sat on the throne sixty-eight years, being succeeded in it on his decease by his third son named Syn-in, in the year thirty-nine; and as no occurrences worthy of repetition are noticed in it previous to the commencement of the Christian æra, unless the reader should consider as such a reported appearance of the stars falling from heaven in the thirty-sixth year of it, here must be closed all the history of Japan that falls within the fifth period.

Syn-in. B. C. 39.

CHAPTER II.

Description and early History of Scythia.

HAVING during the preceding periods omitted, for reasons already assigned, to notice the vast tract of country which is situate to the north of China, India, and Iran, termed by the ancients Scythia and Sarmatia, they may now be taken in our return westward. This territory extends from about the thirty-fifth to the hundred and fortieth degree of east longitude. In latitude no part of the region beyond fifty degrees north appears to have been known to the ancients. When divided into its largest portions, it was spoken of as European and Asiatick Scythia, of which the river Tanais, the modern Don, was the common boundary: thus including in Scythia in Asia the two Sarmatias. Again this Asiatick Scythia was divided into Scythia within the Imaus, that without, and Sarmatia. The whole comprehending in general Great Tartary and Russia in Asia; and in particular, the Scythia without the Imaus contained the kingdom of Tangut and Chinese Tartary. That within the Imaus had Turkestan and Usbek Tartary, Great and Little Bukaria, and Little Tibet, peopled by the Bactrians, Sardians, Gandari, Sacæ, and Massagetæ; and Sarmatia contained Albania, Iberia, and Colchis, which constitute at present Circassian Tartary, and the province of Georgia. The seas to which it extended were the Euxine, the Palus Mæotis, the Caspian, and the Eastern Sea. Its principal mountains, Caucasus between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, and

Scythia described.

CHAPTER II. FIFTH PERIOD.

Imaus in Great Tartary. Its rivers beside the Tanais, the Rha or Volga, the Oby, Lena, Amur, Helum, all in Great Tartary; to which must be added the Iaxartes, now the Jacick, and the Oxus, which disembogue themselves into the Caspian.

The European Scythia already stated to have had the Tanais for its eastern boundary, reached towards the south-west to the Eridanus and the Alps, by which it was separated from Celto-Gallia, and by the Rhine northward; while for its southern boundaries it had the Danube and the Euxine Sea: their northern limits are less definite. In European Scythia were the Arimaspæi on the north, the Dacians along the Danube on the south, and the Neuri between them. So that it contained the present Moscovy and Crim Tartary eastward, and on the west Lithuania, Poland, part of Hungary, Transilvania, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Moldavia. The chief rivers of this country were the Little Tanais, now the Donetz, the Boristhenes, now Nieper, the Bog, the Tyras, or Niester, and the Ister or Danube, all flowing into the Euxine, and on the west the Vistula, running into the Scythian or Baltick Sea. As the ancient Scythians, like several tribes of their descendants, the modern Tartars, led a wandering life, no cities are spoken of among them.

Origin and character of the inhabitants of Scythia.

Little doubt can rationally be entertained of the great patriarch of the Scythian nation having been Magog, the second son of Japhet, from various remains of his name discernible in provinces possessed and cities seized* by that people; his descendants, passing with those of his brothers between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, took a course to the right, and spread their families over all the north-eastern part of Asia. Of these two tribes, one denominated the royal, the other the free Scythians, are represented as becoming eminent beyond the rest. While seven tribes are particularized as in existence at the time of Darius, the son of Hystaspes; the Taurians, Agathyrsians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlænians, Budians, and Sarmatians.

* The present city of Aleppo, long before it acquired the Greek name of Hierapolis, had received that of Magog, from, it is supposed, having been seized by the Scythians.

The general justice and temperance of this people are greatly extolled by ancient writers. They are represented as though fierce in war, and of prodigious strength encreased by habitual labour, yet having their passions under such controul, that they used their victories only to encrease their fame. So little prevalent was theft among them, that their flocks wandered without danger of loss. In these consisted their principal wealth; as they lived upon their milk, and clothed themselves with their skins. Their families they conveyed from place to place in covered waggons, which served them for houses, and though capacious enough to contain all the furniture which they found necessary, were drawn by either oxen or horses. Gold and silver they held in contempt; and from their ignorance of vice reaped those advantages, which others could not from their knowledge of virtue. A nation of habits and character like these wanted but few laws for the security of property; some they had relating to their religion and polity, which forbad, under the penalty of death, any alteration in either; and these precluded even their women from marriage, and the men from the royal feast, until they had slain an enemy:* their institutions appearing wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish a martial spirit among them.

Their manners and laws.

If a conjecture may be formed from some few successions mentioned in history, the crown was hereditary among them, but their kings were subject to be deposed, or even put to death for a violation of their laws. In all other cases their kings were highly esteemed by the people.†

* Herodotus states, that every governour of a province was obliged to make a yearly feast, for all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the skulls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them.

† As tending to prove this, the following anecdote has been adduced: when a king was taken sick, three of their most celebrated prophets were sent for, who commonly told him that some Scythian, whom they named, had falsely sworn by the royal throne, their most solemn oath. On which the accused was seized, and charged before the king of having brought his distemper on him by his perjury. If, on a denial of the fact, it was asserted by more prophets, the unfortunate wretch was

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Their religion.

The Scythians worshipped a number of imaginary deities, both male and female; the principal of these corresponded in character to the Vesta of the Romans, and was called Tabiti. The two next were Papeus, and his wife, Apia, the former answering to Jupiter, and the last to Tellus. Besides which they had their Apollo, Venus, and Neptune, under the names of Œtosyrus, Artimpasa, and Thamimosades. But their favourite god, to whom alone they dedicated altars and images, was that of war. To this deity they planted very sumptuous groves, in which one or more oaks of great size were deemed so sacred, that even to wound the bark of them, was, as a capital offence, punished with the severest death. These were so sprinkled with blood of victims, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was incrustated with it. The emblem of this deity was an iron scymetar placed on a vast altar of faggots; and before this they offered not only horses, as well as other cattle, but every hundredth prisoner they took. This sacrifice was performed by pouring on the captive's head a libation of wine, and then, cutting his throat, and receiving the blood in a bowl, they ascended the altar, and washed the sword with it. For the victim himself, after amputating his right arm close to the shoulder, they threw it up into the air, and left it exposed wherever it fell, and the rest of the body where he was slain. They offered to their gods the first-fruits of

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immediately beheaded, and his goods divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, others were sent for, and if the majority absolved him, the first accusers, being bound hand and foot, were placed in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the mouths of the false prophets, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and the men; nor did it often fail to burn the oxen to death. The great respect of the Scythians for their monarchs was further indicated by the pompous solemnity of their funerals; in which the royal corpse, after being embalmed, was carried through every province of his kingdom, and received the ceremonies of barbarous mourning, and at length, near that part of the Borysthenes where it becomes navigable, it was deposited in a large square hole in the earth, on a bed surrounded with spears, which they covered with timber, and spread a canopy over the whole. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, a number of necessary utensils, among which were some golden cups, over all which they raised a lofty mound of earth.

their cattle, their ground, and their spoils in war. But swine they held in detestation and suffered not to live among them. They are said to have ratified their contracts by drinking wine in which some blood of the parties was mingled. Other traits of barbarous ferocity in them are reported by the Grecian writers, which, as probably exaggerated, need not be detailed. As a proof of the longevity of this nation it is reported, that it was not unusual with them to become weary of life, and hasten their own death by suicide. Their arts, sciences, and commerce were confined to war and pasturage. The language of this people appears not to have differed more from the Celtic, than the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, a strong indication of the common origin belonging to them all. Their manufactures seem to have been carried no further than to the fabrication of necessary utensils, their waggons, the covering of which rendered some mode of tanning necessary, their clothes and their arms, in the use of one missile portion of which, their arrows, they were eminently expert; their very children being trained to shoot at a mark as they rode on horseback. Polygamy appears to have been permitted among the royal Scythians. Of other tribes some particulars are mentioned, which may be transiently noticed previous to entering on the little that remains of the history of this singular and multitudinous people. The Sarmatians, though reckoned among them, seem to be derived not from Magog, but from another son of Japhet, Madai: Sar, we are told, being only the eastern mark of descent. While the circumstances of the families of the several brothers thus inhabiting contiguous regions coincides well with this derivation. The people of Tauris had from the Greeks the character of cruelty, exemplified in their behaviour to those who by war fell into their hands, and in their sacrificing all that were shipwrecked, and all the Greeks, that came upon their coasts. The Agathyrsians are said to have had a community of wives. But the worst of all the tribes were the Androphagi or Men-eaters; who are represented as neither having laws or observing justice. The Melanchlænians were so called for affecting always to be clothed in black, but differed from the Scythians in general in feeding on human flesh. The Budians were a populous nation, remarkable for blue eyes and red

Manufactures.

The Sarmatians.

The Taurians.

The Agathyrsians.

The Androphagi.

The Melanchlænians.

The Budians.

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hair. Among these were a tribe, who seem to have intruded fr[om] some other family, applying themselves to agriculture, and having [a] city called Gelonus. The last deserving specifick notice, is the M[as]sagetæ on the east of the Caspian Sea; who for their offensive weap[ons] used brass instead of steel, and in their defensive employed ornaments of gold. On their horses also they placed a breast plate of g[old], while their furniture was adorned with it; whence it should seem, the arts were more advanced among them than among the other tribes. Though they had two traits of the lowest barbarity; first, that of a community of wives; and secondly, a custom of sacrificing their old men with cattle of various kinds; and boiling all the flesh together, and feasting on it. Which mode of death was among them deemed the most desirable. This tribe worshipped only the sun, to which they sacrificed, as the noblest animal, the horse. They neither sowed or planted, but subsisted on the milk and flesh of their cattle, and on fish copiously supplied by the river Iaxartes.

The Massagetæ.

History of the Scythians.

Of a nation preserving no records of their own, brief must be the history, and such indeed is the former part of that of this nation. The first well authenticated occurrence in which they are introduced to the knowledge of the enquirer into history, is an irruption made by them in the latter part of the seventh century before our æra into Asia, under a leader called Madyes, presumed to be the Indathyrsus of Strabo, and the son of that monarch called by a Greek name Protothyas. At this time this warlike people subdued, it is related, the greater part of Upper Asia, commencing with the kingdom of Media, and held it in subjection eight and twenty years, until expelled by Cyaxares as stated in the history of that country. The story of Tomyris, or Tamyris, and Cyrus, is so apocryphal, as not to justify the detailing it. The monarch who defeated the army of Darius the son of Hystaspes is particularized by the name of Juncyrus, though by one historian called Indathyrsus; whichever was in fact his name, he by a pretended flight drew the Persian army through the territories of those tribes which had refused to unite with him in the war against Darius, and at length obliged this monarch to retire with the loss of the larger part of his numerous host. Three kings, to neither of which any achievement is ascribed,

Irruption into Asia.

They oblige Darius to retreat.

Kings of Scythia.

Spargapythes, Cyrus, and Gnarus, are mentioned as having reigned previously to Saulius, who is said to have slain Anacharsis, a prince of the blood, for having introduced the Grecian rites of the mother of the gods into Scythia. There are also named five more sovereigns as having reigned in this country, Aripithes, Scythes, Octamasades, Ariantes, and Atheas. The first of which was the father of the two succeeding; Scythes, who attempted to introduce the rites of Bacchus among his subjects, and was, therefore, by them dethroned, and Octamasades, who succeeded him, and having gotten him into his power put him to death. Of Ariantes the only circumstance related is, that being desirous of knowing the number of his army, he assembled, and ordered them all to throw each one point of an arrow into a common heap, which rose to such a bulk, that he caused them to be melted and cast into a very capacious bowl, in remembrance of the circumstance. Atheas was engaged in a contest with Philip king of Macedon, which is stated to have terminated in the latter's carrying off from Scythia twenty thousand women and children prisoners, with a vast number of cattle, beside twenty thousand choice mares, to improve the Macedonian breed. Neither is there any thing further recorded of the Scythians, prior to the end of this period, but what has been achieved by distinct tribes, and has or will be noticed in other parts of this history. Here therefore quitting these uncivilized regions, let us, preserving as far as practicable a connected course, notice as we pass through Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, whatever is requisite to be mentioned that has not hitherto been spoken of in the story of this period, and thence proceed to the tale of that nation which by the close of it obtained the empire of the earth.

CHAPTER III.

The History of Thrace resumed, and that of Macedonia, and of Greece, and pursued to the end of the Period.

OF the various nations among which the country of Thrace was divided, the Dolonci, and the Odrysæ, attained the greatest eminence; the most general circumstance in the history of all the rest is that they were subdued, first by the Macedonians and then by the Romans; yet some few particulars relating to them, the reader may deem not unworthy of mention. In a region well defended by nature, having to the south the Ægean Sea; to the north the mountain Pangæus, with the river Nessus on the east, and the Strymon on the west; lay the Mœdi, a colony, it has been with great probability supposed, of the posterity of Madai, the third son of Japhet. A nation whose bravery is thought to have given rise to the fiction that Mars, the god of war, had his birth among them. Firm and repeatedly successfull was the resistance which they made to the Macedonians, though obliged for a time to yield to the arms of both Philip and Alexander; but they were at length finally reduced between seventy and eighty years before our æra, by the Romans.

The Autonomi

Another tribe renowned for their courage were the Autonomi, so named because every man was a law to himself. With extraordinary valour they engaged the great Macedonian conqueror, but uselessly, and being reduced to submission, they continued in that, until they passed, with Macedonia itself, under the power of the Romans.

The Bessi

The Bessi were by far the most savage of all the Thracians,

living on Mount Hæmus in huts, and maintaining themselves by plundering their neighbours. They lived undisturbed under their own sovereigns until the time of Lucullus, who reduced them under the dominion of the Romans. Three attempts did they make to recover their ancient independence, but were in the time of Augustus brought to cease from all further resistance. The Dolonci, before mentioned as one of the two principal nations of Thrace, are said to have received their name from Doloncus, one of their kings who first introduced polygamy among them. At the time of the expedition of Darius into Greece they possessed the Thracian Chersonesus, under princes of the family of Miltiades, the son of Cypselus. This Athenian, having by the Dolonci themselves been invited to reign over them, emigrated with a colony of his countrymen, and was invested with the sovereignty of the Chersonesus, where he immediately raised a wall across the isthmus to secure his subjects from the predatory incursions of their neighbours. After this he made war with the people of Lampsacus, by whom he was taken prisoner, but released without ransom, through the menacing interposition of Crœsus king of Lydia; soon after which dying, he left his kingdom to a nephew, named Stesagoras. The Dolonci honoured his memory with games and sacrifices. His successor was slain by a pretended deserter; and after his death the sons of Pisistratus sent Miltiades, the son of Cimon, and brother of Stesagoras, to the Chersonesus with one ship to take on him the sovereignty of it. This he seized by force, but in the third year of his reign was by dread of the Scythians impelled to abandon his dominions. On the departure of the Scythians he was reinstated in his sovereignty, by a strong party among the Dolonci. In the sixth year of his reign dreading an invasion of the Phœnicians in the service of Darius, he put all his wealth on board five ships, and sailed for Athens, and on his retreat the Phœnicians made themselves masters of the Chersonesus. Nor have the ancients left on record any thing further relating to the Dolonci.

The Dolonci.

Miltiades accepts their crown.

and leaves it to his nephew Stesagoras, who is murdered.

Miltiades, the son of Cimon, [illegible] the sovereignty.

[illegible]

The other principal nation of Thrace, the Odryse, possessed great part of that region which lies between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope, and were by far the most powerfull people of all

The Odryse.

CHAPTER III. FIFTH PERIOD.

Thrace. The beginning of this kingdom is uncertain; but the first king of the Odrysæ mentioned in history is Sitalces, who attended Xerxes in his expedition into Greece, and lost his life in that [illegible]. He was succeeded by his son Teres; who was the first that raised the kingdom of the Odrysæ above the petty states of Thrace. He reduced great part of this country, and rendered himself formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at length defeated in a great battle by the Thini. He died in the ninety-second year of his age, leaving behind him the following observation, much more indicative of ferociousness than wisdom; that there was no difference between a pacifick king and a groom. He was succeeded by his son Sitalces, who allied himself with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians. In the wars he afterwards made on the Pæonians, Macedonians, and Chalcedonians, he is said to have had an hundred and fifty thousand men under his command; and was attended with such success, that most of the other princes of Thrace voluntarily submitted to him, and he became possessed of all the provinces between the city of Abdera on the Ægean Sea to the mouth of the Ister. This monarch dying childless left his kingdom to his nephew Scuthes, who making an alliance by marriage with Perdiccas the second, king of Macedon, with his assistance extended his dominions even beyond Mount Hæmus. Scuthes was succeeded by his son Amadocus, and he by his brother Mesades, but neither of these achieved any thing worthy of notice. Scuthes the second, succeeding his father Mesades, subdued the Thini, joined the Lacedæmonians against the Persians, and victoriously repelled an invasion of the Athenians; but on account of the burthens his wars obliged him to impose on his subjects, was by a conspiracy driven from the throne. Yet being afterwards restored by Iphicrates, he died in possession of the kingdom, and left it to his son Cotys; a most voluptuous prince, but of determined courage. He continued at war with the Athenians during the whole of his reign, which ended with his life by assassination; the perpetrators of which were received and rewarded by the Athenians. Chersobleptes, the son of Cotys, then taking possession of the kingdom, was by those virtuous republicans obliged to divide it with his two brothers, Berisades and Amadocus. The Cherso-

Sitalces reigns over them.

Teres.

Sitalces the 2nd.

Scuthes.

Amadocus.

Mesades.

Scuthes 2.

Cotys.

Chersobleptes.

nesus he gave up to the Athenians to avoid a war. Yet he could not do the last with Philip the father of Alexander; by whom he was vanquished and stripped of great part of his dominions. After a reign of eleven years he died, and bequeathed his crown to his son Scuthes, then an hostage with Philip, who immediately sent him home. But scarcely was he seated on the throne, than he drove out the Macedonians from their conquests in Thrace, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the Odrysæ. These he held under Alexander the Great, whom he assisted against the Persians: but displeased with the division of that conquerour's dominions, he fought twice with Lysimachus, and was entirely routed in the last battle, soon after which he died, and was succeeded by his brother Ariopharnes. This prince having lost his whole army in an engagement with Satyrus, king of Bosphorus, quickly afterwards died of grief. Next to him reigned Scuthes the fourth, who was by Philip, the father of Perseus, greatly reduced. He was succeeded by Cotys the second, who joined Perseus against the Romans, but afterwards had a difference with that prince, and sent to the senate an embassy of congratulation on his capture; which was favourably received by that body. Of the successor of Cotys the whole known is, that his name was Diegylis, and that having marched to assist his son-in-law, Prusias, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Attalus. Sothymus, his son, was reigning at the time of the social war, and improved those domestick divisions of the Romans to his advantage, by laying waste Macedonia, whence he carried a great booty; but at last was by C. Sentius, the prætor of Macedon, overcome, and obliged to abandon all the countries he had gained. Cotys the third, the son of Sothymus, obtained by a bribe from the proconsul Piso, the death of the king of the Bessi, and part of his dominions. In the civil war he took the part of Pompey; as did his son and successor Sasales; who distinguished himself in the battle of Pharsalia, yet was pardoned by Cæsar. He died soon after the battle of Philippi, and though he bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people, M. Brutus gave them to his brother Cotys; who at his death, which soon occurred, left it to his own son Rhymetalces, on whose decease it was by Augustus divided between Rhasciporis,

Scuthes 3.

Ariopharnes.

Scuthes 4.

Cotys 2.

Diegylis.

Sothymus.

Cotys 3.

Sasales.

Cotys 4.

Rhymetalces.

Rhasciporis.

CHAPTER III. FIFTH PERIOD.

and Cotys 5.

his brother, and Cotys, his son. This indeed brings down the history of this kingdom to the end of the period, but as in so short a time after it finally merged in the Roman empire, it will be better to pursue its separate story to its close at present, than to resume it for a space so brief hereafter. Rhasciporis then seeing, that his nephew's dominions were more fruitfull than his own, seized a part of them, and afterwards contrived to get Cotys himself into his hands, and on the interference of Tiberius, then emperor, gave out that he had slain himself, and put him to death. This Tiberius feigned to believe, but insisted on the king's repairing to Rome; and on his refusal had him seized, and sent thither, where being by the widow of Cotys accused and convicted, he was banished to Alexandria; and soon after was put to death for attempting to escape from thence. On the exile of Rhasciporis the kingdom was

Rhemetalces.

divided between his son Rhemetalces, who had opposed all his father's measures, and the sons of Cotys. But these afterwards falling under the displeasure of the emperor Caligula, were driven out of their kingdom, which was conferred on Rhemetalces, who thus became master of all the countries which had any time belonged to the Odrysæ; of which nation no further mention is made, until Vespasian reduced their country into a Roman province.

History of Macedonia resumed.

Amyntas succeeds to the crown.

Passing the river Strymon from Thrace we enter the kingdom of Macedonia, the history of which we last left at the descent of the crown from the pacifick monarch Alcetas to his son Amyntas, who immediately succeeded him. To Amyntas came seven of the principal officers of the army which Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had left in Europe, after his Scythian expedition, under the command of Megabyzus. With the demand of earth and water made by these the Macedonian complied, and entertained them, too, magnificently; but in the end by the insolent intemperance of their behaviour they so irritated Alexander, the king's son, that he had them all stabbed, and quickly disposed of both their attendants and their baggage.*

* The story is briefly this: after the repast was ended, the Persians requested, that after the custom of their own country the females of the royal family might be introduced; at their indecent treatment of whom, Alexander provoked, made an

Hearing no tidings of his messengers, Megabysus sent Bubaris, a principal officer of his army, with a large body of troops, to make strict enquiry of Amyntas after them. But the danger which now menaced his family Alexander had the address to avert, by immediately coming to a conference with Bubaris, and carrying with him to it his sister Gygæa, a very beautifull woman; with whom Bubaris becoming enamoured, he, that he might obtain her in marriage, settled every thing to the satisfaction of Amyntas. From that time the kings of Macedonia became dependent on Persia, but were, as faithful allies, esteemed and well treated. When Xerxes in his way to Greece was marching through Macedonia, Bubaris so effectually painted to that monarch the fidelity of Amyntas and Alexander, that he added to the Macedonian kingdom the country near Mount Hæmus and Olympus. To Amyntas succeeded his son Alexander, who having shewn fidelity to the Persians, and been employed by Mardonius to open a negociation with the Athenians, after the retreat of Xerxes, was so far attached to the last, that he privately gave them notice when Mardonius had determined to attack them. The same generosity of spirit which induced him to preserve Greece in general when in danger of being overwhelmed, prompted him to receive with much kindness and hospitality the fugitive Messenians, who fled to him when their capital had been taken by the Lacedæmonians, and to assign them an habitation. This high-spirited and generous prince was succeeded by his eldest son, Perdiccas. The new monarch found himself on his accession surrounded with open enemies or suspicious friends. The Thracians and others envied the rising greatness of his kingdom, the Persians treated him as a vassal, and the power of the Athenians menaced his security. With the last, and Sytacles the Thracian king, he was at length involved in a war; these allies supporting Amyntas the son of Philip, the son of Perdiccas, as a claimant of the throne of Macedon. The multitude of the forces thus brought against the king permitted him not to

Alexander reigns in Macedon.

Perdiccas

excuse for their retiring to bathe and change their dress, when he substituted the same number of young men in female attire with poyniards concealed, and with which, according to their orders, they dispatched their lascivious guests.

meet them in the field; he took, therefore, the securer measure of dividing his enemies, by prevailing on Scuthes a near relation of Sytacles to procure a peace for him with the Thracians, promising him on the accomplishment of it, his sister Stratonica in marriage with a vast portion. This bribe prevailed, and the Thracians retired. When Perdiccas retaining bitter enmity against the Athenians, invited the Lacedæmonians, then in the eighth year of their war with them, into Macedonia, and by their assistance many places were recovered from the Athenians. But a difference arising between the new allies, and the ill success of the Athenians having somewhat lowered their pride, a peace was concluded between the king and them. Yet new jealousies quickly arising, the Athenians first interrupted his communication with the sea, and then made irruptions into Macedonia. Little more is preserved of this monarch, who died after a long reign, leaving behind him no small reputation, having after continued struggles with powerfull, ambitious, and some totally unprincipled neighbours, left his dominions both better in condition and larger in extent than he received them.

Archelaus.

To Perdiccas succeeded Archelaus, his son, but whether natural or legitimate, whether obtaining the crown by fair, or securing it by very foul means, is from the varying testimony of historians doubtfull. Having, however, established himself on the throne, he endeavoured to secure Macedonia against hostile incursions, by fortifying some of his principal cities. He pursued, too, other measures for animating his subjects, which excited the fears of his neighbours, and in particular induced the city of Pydna to declare against him, but which, spite of the assistance which the Athenians sent them, he reduced, and compelled the inhabitants to remove to a greater distance from the sea. Fond of learning, he cultivated the acquaintance of learned men;* and appears to have passed in peace and honour the years of his reign, which some say were fourteen, and others restrain to seven; whichever they were, however, he fell by assassin-

* Euripides the tragick poet lived in great intimacy with him, but he is said to have in vain solicited the friendship of Socrates, disgusted at the measures with which he began his reign.

ation, through a conspiracy headed by a favourite of his own, named Craterus. To Archelaus is said to have succeeded his son Orestes, then but a child, for whom one of the royal family, Æropus, acted as protector, and so augmented his own authority, that he acted as if he were king, and, if not before, certainly after the death of Orestes, which seems to have occurred ere he arrived at maturity, actually became such; and, after a troublesome reign of six years, was succeeded by his own son Pausanias. This usurper Amyntas the son of Philip cut off before he had reigned a year, and transferred the crown to his own head. Pausanias was survived by several brothers; the ablest of these, Argæus, on the murder of his brother, with the assistance of the nobles of Macedonia and the neighbouring princes, quickly raised a sufficient army to compel Amyntas to abandon the throne, as soon as he had mounted it. Yet in two years time the Thessalians enabled the last to return, and force his competitor to retire. This prince during a reign of twenty-four years manifested very considerable political abilities; gaining the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, in a long and arduous contest with the Olynthians, in which he at length remained victor; procuring the friendship of the Athenians, and by good turns binding to his interest most of his neighbours, particularly the Thessalians. At his decease he left three legitimate sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, Philip, under the tuition of their mother, Eurydice, and an illegitimate son, named Ptolemy. Alexander the eldest inherited the crown, proving a prince of great abilities and little probity. The Thessalians requesting his assistance against Alexander of Phærea, after repelling an attack of that prince, he marched into Thessaly, and with a promise of restoring to the inhabitants that liberty of which the other had deprived them, he got possession of the capital and most considerable places of the country; when it appeared that they had merely exchanged one tyrant for another. This conduct led the injured nation to apply to the Thebans; when the very reputation of a commander so celebrated as Pelopidas had the wished-for effect on the two oppressors, and a tranquillity till then unenjoyed in those regions was experienced. At this time Ptolemy, the base son of Amyntas, was raising so strong a party against king Alexander, that

Orestes.
Æropus.
Pausanias.
Amyntas.
Argæus.
Amyntas again.
Alexander.

the latter requested Pelopidas to act as umpire between them; and all things being satisfactorily settled by him, it was agreed that Philip, the king's youngest brother, should be put into his hands as an hostage, and with some young noblemen of Macedonia, carried to Thebes: immediately after which Alexander was slain, and affairs fell into the utmost confusion.

On the death of Alexander, Perdiccas justly claimed the throne. But Pausanias, another prince of the royal house, became his competitor, and was at first so much favoured by the people that the whole family of Amyntas were in the most imminent danger. This was averted by the interposition of the Athenian general Iphicrates, who expelled Pausanias from Macedonia. But scarcely had he retired ere Ptolemy made pretensions to the throne, and so far succeeded with the people as to oust his brothers, and assume the state and discharge the functions of the sovereign. Perdiccas. Yet Perdiccas quitted not his title, though a small portion of the country only acknowledged him. At length Pelopidas repaired to Macedonia in his support; and the very fear of him induced Ptolemy, after some successfull opposition, to submit to his arbitration. Pelopidas adjudged the kingdom to Perdiccas, and to secure a permanent acquiescence in his sentence, he took hostages on both sides; from Perdiccas, his brother Philip, who ought to have been sent to Thebes before, and from Ptolemy, his son Philoxenus, with several young men his companions. On his return to Thebes Pelopidas put Philip into the hands of his friend Epaminondas, who had in his house a Pythagorean philosopher of high repute, under whom the Macedonian prince learned the principles of philosophy, while he acquired under Epaminondas himself the art of war. And thus was he through exile led to the most advantageous acquisitions. Perdiccas in the mean time governed Macedon without any very particular incident, until a war with the Illyrians occurred in which he fell, leaving behind him an infant son, named Amyntas. Amyntas 2d. On the news of his brother's death Philip repaired suddenly and secretly to Macedon, where he found the people in dejection, and the state in the utmost confusion; not only from the defeat received, and the loss of their sovereign, but from the dread of an invasion from the Illyrians, and

another from the Pæonians; while a child was on the throne, and two powerfull competitors endeavouring to dispossess him; Pausanias supported by the Thracians, and Argæus by the Athenians. Yet Philip, though then only twenty-two, had spirit sufficient not only to sustain himself, but to reanimate his countrymen. He particularly caressed the army and the nobility. And having somewhat tranquilized things at home, he declared Amphipolis, for which chiefly the Athenians had undertaken the war, a free city. To the leading Pæonians he made sufficient presents to prevent their attacking him; and by the same measure he took off Pausanias. During this interval of peace, Philip, who had hitherto acted only as guardian to his nephew Amyntas, superseded him in the regal authority with the unanimous consent of the Macedonians, who thought themselves warranted by the necessity of the case, to set aside a child and place a man on the throne. He now introduced a stricter military discipline, brought into greater efficiency the Macedonian phalanx, and rendered his troops more formidable from their military skill than from their bodily powers. A victory which he gained over Argæus, greatly animated the army, gave them confidence in their leader, and convinced them of the advantage flowing from regular discipline; while admitting a body of the enemy to a capitulation, he established a character for clemency, which was afterwards of inestimable service to him. Immediately after this, by surrendering all his claim to Amphipolis, he easily procured a peace with the Athenians. While the death of the king of Pæonia encouraged him to invade that country, and reduce it to subjection. After which by one successfull engagement he recovered from the Illyrians all the conquests which they had made in Macedonia. Having thus retrieved the Macedonian affairs, he next proceeded to an unexpected attack on Amphipolis, and by intrigue keeping the Athenians from sending the inhabitants assistance, he made himself master of that city by storm; and having put to death or expelled all that were adverse to him, he treated the rest kindly. Pydna and Potidæa he next reduced, dismissing with honour the Athenian garrison which he found in the last, and making of the place itself a present to the Olynthians. These conquests raised Philip into a terrour to his

Philip.

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neighbours, who wanted wisdom to confederate against him, but contributed to their own and each others ruin by the selfish policy, not confined to ancient times, of endeavouring to secure to themselves the favour of the common adversary.

Philip seizes Crenides, and changes its name to Philippi:

The region of Thrace, inhabited by the descendants of Madai, offered to Philip a most desirable prize, as being very rich in gold mines; he therefore took Crenides the capital of it, ere it was suspected that he had any design on it, and almost rebuilding the city, changed its name to Philippi; and then by introducing a better management of the mines, he established a certain revenue of a thousand talents a year, not wrung from his subjects. In the year three hundred and fifty-six before the commencement of our æra, was born at Pella in Macedonia, of Philip's queen, Olympia, Alexander the appointed instrument of heaven for overthrowing the Persian empire.* The confusion at this time caused in Greece by the sacred war, was highly favourable to the ambitious views of Philip, and produced applications to him for assistance from both the contending parties. He besieged, took, and levelled with the ground the little city of Methone in the Macedonian province of Pieria; at the siege of which however he was deprived of an eye.† A loss at which he was greatly chagrined. Recovered from this, at the request of the petty princes of the country he passed into Thessaly, and after a severe contest with Lycophron who assumed the government of it, and his allies the Phocians, he succeeded in delivering the

* Philip was said to be so affected with the tidings of the birth of a son, being immediately followed by those of two other desirable occurrences; his chariot having gained the prize at the Olympick games, and his general Parmenio having beaten the Illyrians, that he expressed a wish that this flood of good might be tempered with some slight misfortune.

† Of this the tale runs, that when Philip invested Methone, a most excellent archer, named Aster, was recommended to him, as able to strike the swiftest bird in its flight. "Very well," says Philip, "we will call for him when we make war with starlings." Stung at this, the archer immediately threw himself into the city besieged, and when Philip was one day reconnoitering the place, he discharged an arrow with this inscription, "To Philip's right eye," which struck and put it out. The king shot back the same arrow with this answer on the opposite side, "Philip on taking the town will cause Aster to be hanged:" which he also performed.

Thessalians from their tyranny, and by restoring to it liberty, secured the friendship of that powerfull nation. Being foiled by the Athenians in an attempt to seize the pass through Thermopylæ into Greece, he determined to lessen the power of that people. He consequently attacked their commerce, and at the same time bribed several of their orators; and determined to leave within the limits of Macedonia no independent state, by assisting which they could give employment at home to his arms. Having therefore made himself master of Zeira, Mycaberga, and Torone in the neighbouring country, he openly attacked the Olynthians, and having defeated them in the field, attacked their city, and by corrupting its principal magistrates at length took it, two traitors secretly admitting the king and his army into the place, after it had made a noble defence. As the Phocian or sacred war continued, Philip, while he affected to be neutral, cherished hopes, that at length by putting an end to it, he should make himself arbiter of Greece. Solicited by both sides, he held both in dependence. Conscious that the Athenians, Spartans, and other allies of Phocis, would never suffer him to lead an army through the straits, he placed his hopes of promoting his views on the Thebans; yet by shewing respect to their embassadors he so far imposed on the Athenians, that even while he was dispossessing them of colony after colony in Thrace, they concluded a peace with him. The opportunity which his being so far in favour with that people afforded him, the king omitted not to seize for passing Thermopylæ, and leading his army against the Phocians, ordering his troops to wear crowns of laurel as engaged in revenging the cause of Apollo. The Phocians, whom he had caused to be denounced as profane, terrified at the triumphant confidence with which he entered their country, at once submitted to his mercy; and the war which so long employed Greece was thus ended without a stroke. The judgment of the Phocians was referred to the Amphictyonic council. All the orders of which were carried into execution by Philip, with great accuracy and moderation; and when they were accomplished, he quietly retreated with his army into Macedonia. This achievement seems to have laid the foundation of Philip's empire; the Greeks paying to a prince who had vindicated

engages in the sacred war;

and finishes it.

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the honour of the gods, honours next to those which they rendered to the supposed deities themselves.

Pursues his project of making himself master of Greece.

The favourable opportunity which now presented itself of firmly fixing his dominion Philip neglected not to improve. While carrying on his negociations in Greece, his army, to the great annoyance of the Athenians, took several places in Thrace. This provoked the then governour of the Athenian colonies in that country to enter the territories of Philip, and ravage them with fire and sword; while Philip was for a time called away by the Illyrians menacing him with an invasion; but these he not only quickly repressed, but compelled to pay for their aggression: while most of the Greek cities of Thrace did by a defensive league with him put themselves under his protection. The island of Eubœa being most importantly situated, for any one who was desirous of securing the command of Greece, Philip took advantage of the disturbances that prevailed there to send forces into it, and demolished its strongest city, Porthmos, and left the country under the government of three lords. But proceeding in his attempts to subdue the island, he was by the Athenians compelled to abandon that project, when he turned his pursuit to further conquests in Thrace. Here he laid siege to Perinthus, when some of his restless neighbours taking up arms, Alexander, then not more than fifteen, attacked them ere they expected it, and putting them to a precipitate flight, brought equal disgrace on them and honour to himself. In the meantime the Perinthians made a gallant defence, and applied to Athens for succours, but refused, on account of the character of the commander of them, to admit into the city those that were sent, on the news of which arriving at Athens, the weak and futile Chares was superseded by the grave and able Phocion. The Persians as well as the Byzantines very powerfully assisted the Perinthians, and on the arrival of Phocion, Philip found himself obliged to desist from the siege of both that city, and Byzantium, which he had also attacked. To support however the reputation of his arms, he chastized a Scythian prince who strove to profit by his misfortune, and enriched his Macedonians with the spoils taken from him. The Triballi too, demanding a share of these for a passage through their country, he

gained a victory over them, but in the battle had nearly been slain, his horse being killed under him and himself wounded in the thigh; when he was rescued by the courage of his son Alexander, who slew or put to flight the barbarians assembled round him. The subjects of Philip being much harrassed by the Athenians, the king by a deep stroke of policy and long course of intrigue procured himself to be elected by the Amphictyonic council, general of the states of Greece, when he immediately entered the country with an army, in appearance to execute the orders of the council and chastise the Locrians, yet with these he did not interfere, but seized Elatea, a considerable city in Phocis on the river Cephisus. On this the Athenians proposed to the Thebans to unite in defence of the common cause of Greece, and in consequence of this alliance a large army being assembled, a battle was fought with that of Philip in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa. In this Alexander, though then but nineteen, commanded the left wing of his father's army, and the allies were overthrown with great slaughter, and the power of the Macedonian monarch over Greece was firmly established. Though much elated with this victory, when his first transports were over* Philip used it with great moderation; he released his Athenian prisoners, and even complied with the request which those republicans had the modesty to make, that he would restore their baggage.† Nay, he concluded a peace with that people on their own terms, and having placed a good garrison in Thebes, did no injury to the rest of the Bœotians.

The battle of Cheronæa establishes the authority of Philip over Greece.

Of the authority which Philip had now acquired, his first use was to convoke a general assembly of the Greeks, in which he was

* These are said to have been interrupted by a rebuke of Demades the Athenian, who, seeing the ridiculous behaviour of Philip, said to him: "Heaven, O king, hath assigned thee the part of Agamemnon, and thou wilt needs play that of Thersites." Instead of being angry at this rebuke, he instantly ordered Demades to be released, and treated him ever after as a particular friend.

† He made however this remark on their bold demand, "These men, I believe, do not think we fought in earnest." The similarity between the impudence displayed by the Athenians in this case, and that of more modern republicans, can scarcely fail to strike the reader.

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Philip appointed general of Greece against the Persians. B. C. 337.

acknowledged their general in chief, and appointed their leader against the Persians with full power. In this new character, having settled a general peace among them, he appointed the quota to be furnished by each of the states towards the meditated war, and then dismissing the assembly, returned into Macedonia, and commenced great preparations for his new expedition; which he justified not only on account of former injuries the Greeks had received from the Persians, but of the assistance which the last had given to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium against himself. It has been pertinently observed on the situation of affairs now stated, that Philip was at this time very happy in a very able minister, Antipater, to whose character his master bore the most expressive testimony, in saying one morning when he had risen later than usual, "I have slept soundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking," and who was described afterwards still more strongly by Alexander, who, on its being remarked that all his lieutenants wore purple except Antipater, replied, "But Antipater is all purple within." Nor was the king of Macedon less fortunate in his general Parmenio, whom he pronounced the only general he ever met with. But to these advantageous particulars was added the very uncomfortable circumstance of domestick dissension. Philip had been induced to divorce his wife, Olympias, which occasioned a difference between himself and his haughty son Alexander, to whom he had shewn himself an affectionate father by the care he had taken of his education.* This however was afterwards reconciled: and Philip proceeded in his preparations for invading Persia, and as he affected the character of a religious prince, he consulted the oracle at Delphi on the success of his expedition; when he received one of those convenient answers, that from it he drew a conclusion favourable to himself,

* As soon as he was capable of instruction in the sciences, he committed him to the care of Aristotle, whom he had selected for his tutor from his birth, as appears by the following letter which he wrote on that occasion, "You are to know I have a son; I thank the gods for it, not so much that they have given me one, as that he is born co-temporary with Aristotle; I promise myself from your care he will become worthy of succeeding us, and of ruling Macedon."

while after his assassination, which quickly followed, others conceived, that that was intimated in it. This last nefarious act was committed by a young man of rank named Pausanias, who had been irritated by being unable to obtain from Philip justice for a most enormous injury which he had suffered, and it was committed during the festivities celebrated for a wedding, between Alexander, king of Epirus, and Cleopatra the daughter of Philip: when Pausanias waiting at the door of the theatre stabbed the king as he was entering it, neither had he occasion to repeat the stroke. The assassin however did not escape, but was immediately overtaken and dispatched. Nor is it certainly known how many or who had conspired for the purpose which he alone executed. But thus fell the founder of the Macedonian greatness, of whose very eminent abilities and mixed character the reader may judge by the history of his reign. He left behind him by Olympias two children, Alexander who succeeded him, and Cleopatra who married her uncle the king of Epirus. By an Illyrian woman he had a daughter named Cyna, who was married to Amyntas the lawfull heir of the crown of Macedon, being the son of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother. By a Thessalian concubine, he had Nicæa, who became the wife of Cassander. By Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, he had a son named Caranus and a daughter, both murdered by Olympias, and the last in her mother's arms. By a dancer of Larissa he had Aridæus, who for a while bore the title of king of Macedon; and was put to death by the remorseless Olympias. And Arsinoe, one of Philip's concubines, he gave in marriage to Lagus, when she was pregnant, and her child proved a son, who under the name of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, did in the partition of Alexander's dominions secure to himself the kingdom of Egypt.

but prior to the commencement of the war is assassinated. B. C. 336.

The kingdom of Macedonia now descended to Alexander, whose uncommon natural abilities, improved by an excellent education, undaunted courage, and very great ambition, marked him as a character peculiarly fit to carry into execution the great project which his father had formed of conquering the empire of Persia. His first care was to do justice on all who appeared to be implicated in the guilt of his father's murder. His attention was next claimed

Alexander succeeds to the throne of Macedonia;

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by the disturbances which commenced on every side on the news of Philip's death. The nations which had been reduced were projecting a revolt; the Greeks were inclined to confederate against him; and at home Attalus aspired to the crown. These surrounding dangers, in opposition to the advice of his council, the young monarch determined to face. At the head of a numerous army he marched into Thessaly, and behaved with so much address in an assembly of the princes, that he attached them to his interest, and drawing over the neighbouring states in the same manner, partly through fear of his army, and partly by his eloquence, he was declared generalissimo of Greece, and with this new title returned to Macedon. Whence he sent one in whom he could repose confidence, either to seize Attalus or put him to death; the latter part of the alternative was executed. Following the principle he had embraced, that as the power of the Macedonian monarchy had been gained by vigorous measures, it could be supported only by such, he rapidly advanced through Thrace against the Triballi on the banks of the Ister; and by the resources of his own genius overcoming all the impediments which a rocky and mountainous country enabled them to place in his way, he forced their entrenchments, and took their camp, with their families and cattle. He then followed the enemy to the Ister, in an island of which, called Peucé, they had determined to make a stand: and here Alexander found them too strongly posted to persevere in the attack. But observing that the Getæ, who dwelt on the other side of the river, had prepared to molest him, he by a singular contrivance transported his army over; when the barbarians were so stricken with his courage and ability that they would not even stand his attack, but fled to their next town. Neither, when they saw the caution with which Alexander advanced to this, did they remain there, but hoped for safety only in distant flight. This city consequently he entered, and having collected and sent away the spoil, he utterly demolished the place. The next day he was addressed by embassadors from all the neighbouring nations,* as well as the Triballi themselves, requesting peace,

and in the chief command of the Greeks. B. C. 335.

He compels the Triballi and neighbouring nations to sue for peace.

* Among these were some from the Celtes, a robust and high spirited people,

on which submission the differences being soon adjusted, he began his return to Macedonia. In this he chastised the king of Illyria for revolting. But a rumour being propagated that Alexander was dead, the Thebans seized two of the principal officers of the Macedonian garrison in their city, and put them to death; and preparing for the siege of the citadel, openly invited the rest of Greece to throw off the yoke. Such was the celerity with which Alexander repaired to this scene of commotion, that he had entered Bœotia, ere the Thebans heard of his passing the straits of Thermopylæ. He granted them however some time for reflection, while the suddenness of his appearance prevented the rest of the Grecian states from joining them, and so alarmed the Athenians especially that they thought of defending only themselves.* The Thebans however slighted the moderation of Alexander, and Perdiccas perceiving some advantage, without waiting for orders, forced his way into the city, when Alexander being obliged to support that part of his army, entered it also, but they were all repulsed with great slaughter: on which the king bringing up fresh troops renewed the attack, and driving the Thebans back into the city, entered with them, and stormed the place, which was ravaged for several hours, and neither sex or age spared, and the city was razed, except the house of the poet Pindar. This severity struck terrour into all the Grecian states, which vied with each other in efforts to secure his favour; the Athenians surpassing the rest in adulation, sent to compliment him on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians, and to assure him of the satisfaction they felt in his chastisement of the rebellious Thebans.

and rapidly marches into Bœotia:

storms Thebes and demolishes it.

whom Alexander is said to have asked, "what, of all things, they feared the most?" his vanity leading him to suppose, that they would say himself. But they plainly declared, "That except the falling of the clouds on their heads, they feared nothing." With the bravery of which reply Alexander was so pleased, that after observing that the Celtes were an haughty people, he granted them his friendship, and ranked them in the number of his allies.

* The terrour then betrayed at Athens justified the words of Alexander when he entered Bœotia, that to that Demosthenes who called him a child when he was in Illyria, and a youth, when he came into Thessaly, he should certainly appear a man when he approached the walls of Athens.

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Alexander holds an assembly of the Grecian states, and prepares for his expedition against Persia.

When the tranquillity of Greece was restored, an assembly of the states at Corinth regulated every thing respecting his office of general of the Greeks,* which accomplished, Alexander returned with his army into Macedonia. At Ægæ he held a grand council on his expedition, and having celebrated sacrifices and games, he distributed all of both his lands and revenues among his friends; and when asked by Perdiccas, what he had reserved for himself, he answered 'his hopes.' At Amphipolis his army assembled, the number of which, as well as the sum of money with which he commenced his attack on the extensive empire of Persia, has been already stated in the history of that portion of the globe. From thence in the space of twenty days he reached Sestos, where the greater part of the army embarked under the command of Parmenio, the king himself proceeding to Elæus, whence he sailed, and on drawing near the shore of Asia, he threw a javelin which stuck in the earth, and then leapt on the strand himself in complete armour. Alexander continued his march towards the river Granicus without the occurrence of any remarkable incident, except being happily overreached by the historian Anaximenes, as related in the note;† and the battle

Lands in Asia, B. C. 334.

* While here, he was complimented by many of the most eminent of the Greeks, whether illustrious for their valour or their wisdom; but Diogenes of Sinope, who was in a suburb of Corinth, did not even wait on the king, which being remarked to the last, he went to visit the cynic, and found him as usual on the ground, basking in the sun. When surrounded by the king's attendants he raised himself a little, and looked at Alexander. The monarch, with his accustomed urbanity, enquired, if he stood in need of any thing? "Yes," said Diogenes, "I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sunshine." The courtiers laughed at this as an effusion of pride and moroseness; but Alexander gravely said, "if I were not Alexander, I could wish to be Diogenes;" proving himself, perhaps, the truer philosopher of the two.

† The city of Lampsacus, in Mysia, having irritated Alexander by adhering to the Persians, he had determined to destroy it; when Anaximenes, who had been well known in the court of Philip, and for whom Alexander himself entertained much esteem, met him on the road to intercede for the place of his birth. On his coming into his presence the king exclaimed, "Anaximenes, I swear solemnly, that I will not do what you desire me." "My request then, Sir," (said the other smiling) "is that you would burn Lampsacus." Alexander, charmed with his address, and considering his own oath, ordered the place to be spared.

there fought, and all his subsequent operations in Asia, having been already related, and an outline having been also given of the history of Macedonia during this period in delivering that of Alexander and his successors, that conquerour need be no further followed, but after briefly noticing the revolutions in his native country which took place between his decease and the commencement of our æra, our review may pass on to the events that occurred among the states of Greece previous to their yielding to the command of the sovereigns of Macedon.

Cassander reigns in Macedonia, B. C. 300, and dies in 298.

Cassander having obtained Macedonia in the division of Alexander's dominions, though he had seized that kingdom nineteen years before, did at his decease leave behind him three sons, of which Philip, the eldest, succeeded him, but shortly after died, and the youngest, Alexander, was slain by order of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Antipater the other set aside in favour of this enterprising and engaging prince; who having set on that throne six years, prepared to invade Asia for the recovery of his father's dominions. But Lysimachus on the side of Thrace, and Pyrrhus king of Epirus on that of Thessaly invading Macedonia, he was compelled to resign the sovereignty and retire. But having in Greece raised a small army, he again assumed the regal habit, and being insulted by the Athenians from mere ingratitude, he marched against that city, and would have taken it, had he not been prevailed on to pardon this new outrage, by a solemn deputation sent to him by the citizens. In the meantime Pyrrhus being received by the Macedonian soldiery as their sovereign, was compelled first to divide his new kingdom with Lysimachus, who among the captains of Alexander had obtained Thrace; and afterwards to leave the whole of it to his more popular competitor. But Lysimachus enjoyed it not long, for being attacked by Seleucus, he fell in a battle against that survivor of Alexander's captains. But this conquerour survived not long enough to take possession of Macedonia. His murderer Ptolemy Ceraunus became the next king of that country, but held it not long, being vanquished and torn to pieces by the Gauls, who under Belgius broke into Macedon. A scene of confusion then followed in that kingdom: Meleager the brother of Ptolemy was saluted king, but dethroned after two months, and Antipater, a

Demetrius made king of Macedon, B. C. 294; is compelled to resign the crown, B. C. 287,

which Pyrrhus obtains, but is forced to share and then relinquish entirely to Lysimachus, who is himself slain in battle by Seleucus, B. C. 281.

Ptolemy Ceraunus obtains Macedonia, B. C. 280.

Meleager reigns in Macedon.

Antipater.

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Interregnum.

nephew of Cassander, held the crown five and forty days. An interregnum then ensued, until a very meritorious young nobleman named Sosthenes, took the lead against the Gauls, and gradually extirpated them from the country; but refused the regal honours, and under the title of General ruled happily for two years. At the end of that time a new inundation of Gauls, under Brennus, overwhelmed Sosthenes and his forces, and having thoroughly pillaged Macedonia, poured down into Greece.

Antigonus Gonatus, B. C. 276.

Sosthenes being dead, Antigonus Gonatus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, revived his claim to this now deserted kingdom, and after some contest with Antiochus on marrying his daughter Phila, became peaceable possessor of it. But while intent on the recovery of Macedonia from the evils with which it had been harrassed, he was attacked first by the Gauls, whom he vanquished; and then by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who having driven him from the field, was again acknowledged king of Macedonia, but held not the crown long, being slain in an assault on the city of Argos; when Antigonus again got possession of the realm. But from this he was again driven by Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, to whom the Macedonian troops revolted. But Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, a very boy, after his father had in disgust left Macedonia, and retired into Greece, continuing in the former country, did by his enterprizing genius so attach the Macedonians to him, that he recovered the whole kingdom for his father, who governed it many years in peace, and, at somewhat more than fourscore, was, on his death, succeeded in it by his son Demetrius.

Demetrius the son of Antigonus. B. C. 245.

This prince did not manifest in the sovereignty the same vigour which he had previously displayed. From the attacks of the Ætolians he received much trouble: he was, too, involved in a war with the Achæans; against both he had success. By marrying a second wife while his first was living, he plunged himself into some difficulties. Yet he added Cyrene and Lybia to his dominions, but when or how is not recorded. He reigned ten years, and on his decease left behind him an infant son, named Philip.

Antigonus 2d.

On the death of Demetrius, his brother Antigonus became regent, but quickly after, having gained the favour of the Macedonians, and

married the queen dowager, he was placed on the throne. He proved a prince of great ability and amiable disposition. He lost by treachery the island of Salamis, and several forts in Attica: but was afterwards called into Greece by the advice of Aratus himself, to assist the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, and had the citadel of Corinth put into his hands, and at length, after defeating Cleomenes king of Sparta, he took that city itself, which, however, he treated with the most magnanimous clemency. During this absence of the sovereign, Macedonia was invaded by the Illyrians, whom Antigonus on his return completely defeated, but at the expence of his own life, having burst a blood vessel by the exertion of his voice during the engagement. Ere he expired, he adjured the army to be faithfull to his nephew, Philip, who, though very young, was now to assume the government.

Philip 2d.

Philip had very great natural abilities, had acquired the learning requisite for his station, and was of very conciliating manners; the social war in which he was early engaged in Greece through his alliance with the Achæans, brought several adversaries against him, and being much deceived and often mistaken in the estimate which he made of his friends, he ultimately treated all as enemies. He poisoned Aratus the elder, and his son he deprived of his senses, by having noxious drugs administered to him. Though rendered generally odious by such practices, he maintained his authority by his political skill and military experience. A repetition of wars, losses and treaties, employed upwards of thirty years of his reign; until the Romans reduced him to submit to their controul; and he was compelled to send his younger son Demetrius as an hostage to Rome, and to engage to live in peace on their leaving him the kingdom of Macedonia, circumscribed within its ancient bounds. The severity he experienced from the Romans was followed by dissensions between his two sons, Perseus and Demetrius; from the last of whom his father became gradually estranged, because he thought him attached to the Romans, from whose yoke he purposed to deliver himself, and permitted himself to be drawn by the nefarious intrigues of the eldest to have him cut off at the age of twenty-five, being then a young man of the fairest promise. Soon after the

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murder of this deserving prince, his father came to the knowledge of the plot by which he had been deceived into the perpetration of it: a discovery which induced a melancholy little short of madness. By intervals, however, he exerted himself to bring to punishment those who had deceived him, and recommended it to the Macedonians to set on the throne Antigonus, a cozen of his own, of strict honour and integrity, and not Perseus, who had endeavoured by such unworthy means to secure it to himself. A short time after delivering this advice, Philip died of grief, after a reign of forty-two years.

B. C. 179.

Perseus.

On the decease of Philip, Perseus, who had taken measures to be informed of it ere it was divulged, seized the throne by force, and caused Antigonus to be put to death. The situation which he had thus obtained by violence he strove to secure by a semblance of virtues which he possessed not. To his subjects he assumed the appearance of clemency, and generosity, and justice. Dreading their power, he by an embassy entreated the Romans to acknowledge him king of Macedon, and renew the league made with his father, promising to act as a faithfull ally. The Romans sent in return embassadors of their own, whose behaviour appeared to Perseus so encroaching, that a mutual dislike commenced, which was prevented from breaking out into open war only by the circumstances of both parties being then unfavourable to such an undertaking. The king succeeded in endeavouring, during a march he made to Delphi, to secure the friendship and confidence of the Greek states; and many of the members of them beginning now to distrust the friendship of the Romans, favoured the king of Macedon, who spake of the independence of Greece as the great object he had in view; taking great pains to be well provided for the hostile measures to which he meant at last to recur. After the usual course of embassies and recriminations that precede wars between parties not of very disproportionate powers, and after Perseus had weakly suffered himself to be drawn into fruitless negociations, instead of decidedly entering on action, the war actually began in Thessaly to the advantage of the king. But he wanting resolution to improve by vigorous perseverance the advantage he had gained, events turned against him; and by a course of cowardly folly mingled with

injustice and cruelty, and the most impolitick penuriousness, though the fortune of war wavered for some time, he at length fixed it against himself, and when Paulus Emilius took the command of the Roman army, Perseus was totally defeated, and his dominions reduced under the power of the Romans. The king escaped for some time, but at length surrendered himself to the commander of the Roman fleet. Perseus was transported to Rome, was compelled to walk at the triumph of his conquerour, and after a severity, nay, a cruelty of treatment most disgracefull to the Roman senate, was put to death by those who had the custody of him. His kingdom was divided into four provinces, to which was granted what the Romans called liberty. The nobility were transported into Italy, and the bulk of the inhabitants found themselves so little at ease under their new constitution, that great disturbances broke out in the country. When things had been some time in this situation, an impostor of the name of Andriscus, who feigned himself the son of Perseus, made friends enough in Thrace to raise an army with which he invaded Macedonia, and reduced it in almost as short a time as that in which Paulus Emilius himself had subdued it. Not content, he proceeded to make conquests in Thessaly, but here he was stopped by Scipio Nasica, and forced to retreat into Macedonia; when another army was sent from Rome, to crush an opponent, of whose power the senate had conceived too mean an opinion. This force, which was led by the prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, was by the too great confidence of its commander totally defeated, and the pretended Philip again united Thessaly to his dominions. But prosperity now manifested the true character of the impostor. Intolerably proud, suspicious, cruel, and rapacious, he put the loyalty of the Macedonians to the severest test, and they, through the desire of becoming once more an independent people, submitted to all that these bad qualities brought on them. While the Romans, on hearing that their army had been defeated, and the commander of it slain, immediately dispatched more forces, and another prætor, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, to carry on the war in Macedonia: when, after a previous engagement of cavalry, in which the king's forces had the better, an obstinate and bloody battle took place, in which Andriscus received

Perseus surrenders himself to the Romans.

The impostor Andriscus.

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a defeat so complete, that he was obliged to flee again into Thrace; where he quickly raised such an army as encouraged him to re-enter Macedonia, and again join battle with Metellus; when he met with no better success than before. Unable to raise a third army, he fled to a petty prince of Thrace, and though at first well received by him, was at length, through fear of the vengeance of the Romans, delivered up to Metellus. No sooner was an end thus put to the imposture of Andriscus, than another was attempted by an adventurer who called himself Alexander, the son, too, of Perseus; but who, though attended with some success at first, was soon reduced to quit his conquests, and lay aside the ensigns of the dignity he had assumed. The trouble thus occasioned to the Romans supplied a plea for reducing Macedonia into a Roman province, which was immediately accomplished; and thus that kingdom merging in the Roman empire, the remainder of its history until the dissolution of that empire, will more properly be detailed in the history of Rome; and our review at present proceed to what passed in Greece that has not already been noticed during this period.

The pretended Alexander.

Macedonia reduced into a Roman province.

The history of Lacedæmon was in the last period suspended in the reign of Anaxandridas and Aristo. The former of these monarchs was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, and the latter by his, Demaratus. The first of these was at times insane, and always fierce and untractable, and very fond of war, which he waged with success against the Argives. Being a great friend to Clisthenes, the Athenian, and his party, he at their request, expelled the Pisistratidæ from Athens. Yet he afterwards endeavoured to establish Isagoras in the sovereignty of that city. He disgusted by his haughtiness some of the best allies of the Lacedæmonians, and acted after such a manner, that even his colleague Demaratus, a man of great worth, accused him to the Ephori of being a disturber of Greece, who would render Sparta odious to all the neighbouring states. In revenge of this, Cleomenes, by bribing the oracle of Delphi, got Demaratus declared of spurious birth, who was on that deposed, and a cozen of his, named Leotychides, raised to the throne in his room. This man, being raised by the craft of Cleomenes, was entirely directed by him; while that prince himself began to act most incon-

The history of Lacedæmon resumed. Cleomenes and Demaratus.

Demaratus deposed. Leotychides.

sistently, sometimes with eminent virtue, at others in a manner the most unprincipled. But as his machinations against Demaratus gradually came to light, he fled first into Thessaly, and then came back as far as Arcadia; from whence the Spartans, dreading his enterprizing genius, recalled and restored him. Shortly after which he became furiously mad, and died by suicide; leaving behind him a daughter named Gorgo. To Cleomenes succeeded Leonidas, his half brother, a prince of great moderation and still greater valour. Though the Spartans, through their tardiness in sending assistance to the Athenians, partook not in the battle of Marathon, when the Persians again aimed at the conquest of Greece, the Spartans determined to oppose them, having received early notice of the intention of Xerxes from their deposed king Demaratus, communicated to Gorgo, the daughter of his greatest enemy, and the wife of Leonidas. But when it became manifest, that Xerxes would enter Greece in person, in a general assembly holden at the Isthmus, it was resolved, that all internal differences being suspended, the Grecian states should unite in their common defence. Yet when the day of action arrived, the Spartans and Athenians alone seemed ready to enter on it. At the request of the Thessalians ten thousand men were sent by sea to their country, under the command of Evenetus a Spartan, and Themistocles the Athenian, but finding no hopes of opposing the Persian multitude with so few troops in a plain country, they returned without having acted at all. At the next general council it was resolved to defend the pass of Thermopylæ, and the command of the troops assigned to that post was given to Leonidas, of whose conduct and fall there mention has already been made in the history of Persia.*

Cleomenes kills himself.

Leonidas.

Leonidas falls at Thermopylæ.

* Several speeches, indicative of the determined resolution of this brave man to die for his country, continue on record. When some principal persons, on seeing the small number of Spartans which he chose to take with him, asked, if he had not some secret design, he replied, "I pretend to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, but in truth I go to die for my country;" and when wonder was still expressed at the small number of men which he took with him, turning to those to whom he had communicated the secret, he said, "there are enow, considering the design we go upon." On taking leave of his wife, she asked, whether he had any thing particular

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As the army at Thermopylæ had been entrusted to a Spartan king, so to another Spartan, Eurybiades, was confided the command of the Grecian fleet; and under him it fought two successfull engagements with the Persians: the last of which took place off the island of Salamis. To prosecute this victory, a great fleet was assembled and placed under the command of Leotychides king of Sparta. In the mean time to Leonidas succeeded his son Plistarchus, yet so young as to have for his guardian Pausanias, who in that character became the first magistrate of Sparta during the absence of the other king. The Ephori and senate, lulled into security by the confidence they placed in a wall now drawn across the isthmus, thought but little of raising their contingent of troops for the common defence of Greece, till roused by the representation that the Persians might land an army on the shore of Laconia, which would render the wall useless in their defence. They then sent under the command of Pausanias five thousand Spartans, and seven thousand Helotes; these joining the rest of the confederate forces, and forming with them an army of an hundred thousand men, a battle was soon fought in the neighbourhood of Platæa, as has been already mentioned, by which the war being finished, Pausanias marched to Thebes to punish the citizens for forsaking the cause of Greece. After some hesitation the Thebans delivered up the chiefs of the Persian faction, who were by Pausanias hurried away to Corinth, and there put to death.*

Plistarchus.

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to say to her, to which he replied, "Marry some brave man, and bring him brave children." Some of the confederates dreading the very unequal contest to which they seemed to be approaching, represented to Leonidas, that a discharge of the Persian arrows would take away the light of the sun; "then," said he, "we shall fight in the shade." Yet determined as he was with regard to devoting himself, when he found that the Persians had surrounded his little force, he not only permitted all the confederates, except the Thespians and Thebans, to retreat from the combat, but observing among his Spartans some who had scarcely attained the age of men, he called them to him one by one, and pretended to send by each of them a billet to the Ephori. He would afterwards have done the same in favour of some persons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his design, refused to obey him; one of them answering, "Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, not as a courier." Another, "Let us fight first, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle."

* After the battle of Platæa, the Persian camp falling into the hands of the

The great victory obtained on the same day with the battle of Platæa, by Leotychides the other king of Sparta, who commanded the Grecian fleet, over the remains of the Persian armament at Mycale on the coast of Ionia, was in some measure promoted by a stratagem of the Spartan commander in causing a report to be spread at the commencement of the conflict, that the Greeks had defeated the Persian general in Greece. Pausanias was afterwards appointed to the command of the fleet; when having delivered Byzantium from the Persian yoke, he became desirous of seizing, by the assistance of Xerxes, the sovereignty of Greece; but being detected in his intrigues for this purpose, when, on his return to Sparta, he found himself in danger of being arrested by the orders of the Ephori, he took refuge in a temple, whence those magistrates not thinking themselves warranted to force him, and being at a loss what to do, his own mother, with that amiable maternal tenderness which was engendered by the Spartan customs, suggested the blocking up the entrance of the temple and starving him to death, which was accordingly accomplished. Nor does Leotychides seem to have surpassed Pausanias in integrity; since being sent against the Thessalians, who had expressed particular enmity against the Spartans, after having defeated and greatly reduced them, he was detected in receiving bribes, and died in voluntary exile.

Leotychides dies.

Plistarchus the son of Leonidas did not live long; he was succeeded by the next heir of the royal family, Plistoanax the son of Pausanias, his guardian; as Leotychides was by his grandson, Archidamas. Under these princes, both of peaceable dispositions, the Spartans suffered no evils, but what they brought on themselves. During their reign so tremendous an earthquake took place at

Plistarchus dies.

Plistoanax and Archidamas.

Greeks, when Pausanias saw the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to Mardonius, with the magazines of luxury attached to it, he gave orders to the Persian servants to prepare such a supper for him, as they usually did for that general. He then ordered his own servants to prepare a Spartan supper. Both being set out, he sent for the principal officers of the Greeks, then pointing to both suppers, he said with a smile, "see the folly of this king of the Medes, who living in this sumptuous manner at home, would needs come so far to plunder us, who fare so hardly."

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Sparta, that only five houses in that city escaped, and twenty thousand lives were lost. This yielded to the Helotes a favourable opportunity to revolt, which they readily seized, and having obtained possession of a port in Messenia, obliged the Spartans to apply to their allies, and even to the Athenians for assistance, which being granted, the Helotes, with the Messenians who had joined them, retired to Ithome, which they had fortified. Before which place the Spartans becoming jealous of the Athenians dismissed their troops as having no further occasion for them; a step which incensed the latter people, and disposed them the more to reduce the Spartan greatness. Affairs being in this state, the Spartans sent an army to the assistance of the Dorians, then at war with the Phocians. This embroiled them with the Athenians, with whom they continued at war, but rather as allies of others than as principals in the contests, until a fair opportunity of giving a mortal blow to Athens appearing to offer itself, Plistoanax was ordered to invade the Athenian territories, but this he did with so little effect, that on his return he was driven into banishment; and a peace was soon after made between the two nations, which yet proved far from extinguishing their mutual hatred. These two leading states were alternately favoured by the other Greeks, as their calamities humbled their pride. In the fourteenth year of that truce between them, which was to have continued thirty, deputies from the states of Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece prevailed with the Lacedæmonians, in opposition to the counsel of their king Archidamas, to embark in the Peloponnesian war. In this all the states of Peloponnesus, except the Argives and Achæans, took part with the Spartans against the Athenians, and no less than seven out of the peninsula. For four years this war was vigorously prosecuted under Archidamas, to the great injury of the Athenians, and the total destruction of the city of Platæa, which took part with them; while Peloponnesus itself suffered not a little from the active valour of Pericles. But in the fourth year the Spartan king, now arrived at an advanced age, died, leaving two sons, Agis and Agesilaus, the former of which succeeded him. The war continuing with great losses on both sides, but especially on that of the Athenians in Thrace, where their

Agis.

enemies were led by Brasidas the Spartan, a truce was agreed on for one year. At the close of which the last mentioned commander obtained a great victory over the Athenians, but at the expence of his own life. Circumstances that inclined both states to put an end to the war. An object at which Plistoanax, who was replaced on the Spartan throne in consequence of an oracle, laboured successfully, after the war had endured ten years.

Scarcely was this peace concluded when the Lacedæmonians were again involved in war with the Argives, whom the Athenians assisted, but Agis, the Spartan monarch, utterly defeated the Argives and their allies; and the Grecian affairs continued in great confusion until the Athenians ventured directly to break the treaty of peace they had made by attacking the isle of Melos, and the Spartans gave their subjects permission to retaliate. When the Lacedæmonians had by their milder conduct gained the hearts of most of the Peloponnesians, who on the other hand were offended at the grasping ambition of the Athenians, Plistoanax died, and was succeeded by his son Pausanias. For three consequent years Agis, king of Sparta, made irruptions into Elis, to revenge an affront which the Eleans had offered to the Spartans,* but in the course of the third a peace was concluded between the two states. At this time the Peloponnesian war broke out again. The Athenians having sent a great force into Sicily, the Lacedæmonians assisted the Syracusans against whom it had been sent; and hence hostilities spread into Greece itself; when Alcibiades being driven from Athens was of material service to the Spartans by his counsel; but through

Pausanias.

* The Eleans refused to let them partake in the sacred rites, because they had not paid a fine laid on them for a violation of the sacred season. For the Eleans having destroyed the Pisœans, had succeeded them in the superintendency of the Olympick games, during the celebration of which there was a general truce throughout Greece, which the Lacedæmonians had broken. These games took place at the completion of four full years, beginning at the eleventh day of the second lunar month of the fifth year, and ending on the fifteenth. All those who meant to contend in the games were bound to reside at Elis for ten months previous to the commencement of them, and go through an established course of exercise. At first one judge was deemed sufficient, but the numbers gradually increased to twelve, and then decreased again.

his own profligacy, and the envy of the Spartan nobility, was compelled to leave that country for another place of refuge. In the mean time the war was carried on much to the disadvantage of the Athenians, both by Agis, who commanded an army in Attica, and Lysander who conducted the naval operations. But on the former side, Alcibiades restored to his country turned the tide of affairs, and so elated the Athenians who had before proposed a peace, that they haughtily rejected the request of the Spartans for one. At length their fleet meeting with a defeat, though with no great loss, from Lysander, the Athenians took the command from Alcibiades, when there ensued a course of victories on the part of the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Callicratidas, in the last of which this officer, equally eminent for his ability and integrity, was slain. But Lysander, who had been recalled, being now at the desire of Cyrus the brother of the Persian king, and of the allies of Lacedæmon, entrusted with the conduct of the fleet, he totally defeated the Athenians under Conon, at the river Ægos, in the Thracian Chersonesus. After this decisive victory Lysander in the most despotic manner changed the government of all the neighbouring cities, where those whom he put in authority disgusted the inhabitants with the rule of the Lacedæmonians. He sent home a large booty, and with the news of the victory an assurance that he would be quickly before Athens. On this both the kings of Sparta were dispatched with a large army into Attica. When that city was reduced to submit to the most humiliating terms, Lysander depriving the Athenians of all their vessels but twelve, causing their walls to be demolished, and establishing thirty tyrants in the government of it, and leaving in the citadel a Spartan garrison commanded by a creature of his own. The very great treasure that Lysander now collected of both gold and silver, was sent to, and received at Sparta, in direct opposition to the institutions of Lycurgus. But over this a veil was thrown by the distinction made between the state, which might possess the precious metals, and individuals, to whom they were forbidden. The commander who had humbled the rival city soon became himself the subject of heavy accusations, which circumstances, however, enabled him to evade. About this time the Athenians taking arms against their

tyrants, Pausanias the king, who obtained the command of the army sent against them, compromised the differences that had arisen. While Agis the other king was cut off by death.

Though Agis had before his decease been prevailed on by Leotychides to acknowledge his legitimacy, Agesilaus the younger brother of the late king preferring his claim to the crown, partly through the friends which his own merit gained him, and partly through the help of Lysander, obtained it. Ere Agesilaus was well settled on the throne, Artaxerxes, king of Persia, resenting the assistance which the Lacedæmonians had given to his rebel brother Cyrus, sent relief to Athens, and money into Bœotia, and determined to reduce all the Greek cities of Asia to his obedience. To prevent this the Spartans sent an army into Asia commanded by Thimbro, on whose want of success Dercyllidas was dispatched to supersede him. But though he concluded a treaty with one of the Persian governours, the preparations soon after made by Artaxerxes bare an appearance so alarming, that Agesilaus was declared general of Greece, and furnished with such an army as excited hopes of then doing that which was appointed for the Macedonian conquerour. While this was mustering, Agesilaus repaired to Aulis to sacrifice in imitation of Agamemnon, and there employed his own augur, by which he gave great offence to the Bœotians, who admonished him not to proceed to sacrifice contrary to the laws, and perceiving that he paid but little attention to the monition, they threw the sacrifice off the altar. This so ruffled Agesilaus, that he immediately sailed for Asia, without performing any other rites. Here by striving to reduce the too great influence of Lysander, he gave so much umbrage to him, as induced him at length to return to Greece, with a resolution to overturn, if he could, the government of Sparta. His schemes for this purpose however failed. In the mean time Agesilaus prosecuted the war in Asia with great success, when the successor of Tissaphernes finding him incorruptible, contrived to excite the Thebans by money to provoke the Lacedæmonians to a war, in the first battle of which Lysander fell: and Pausanias afterwards acting with a degree of prudence of which his citizens did not

Agesilaus.

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approve, he to avoid the effects of their resentment, retired into private life at Tegæa.

While Agesilaus was meditating a march into the heart of Persia, orders reached him to return to the defence of his own country, with which he hesitated not to comply, renouncing prospects the most flattering to himself that he might obey the laws and defend the safety of his country. After the flight of Pausanias his eldest

Agesipolis.

son, Agesipolis, was declared king, and as he was yet under age, his uncle, Aristodemus, was appointed protector, and marching against the confederate enemy defeated them, though one third superior in number to the Spartan army. Agesilaus on his return was ordered into Bœotia, and in a battle fought near Chæronæa he gained an hardly earned victory, being himself wounded in the engagement. Corinth being the head quarters of the confederates, Agesilaus made an unsuccessfull attempt to take it by siege. And in a war with the Argives little was done by him. In the mean time the success of Conon by sea, induced the Lacedæmonians to send an able negociator, named Antalcidas, to the Persian court, by whom a treaty of peace was concluded for all Greece, much to the advantage of the Spartans, but leaving all the Greek cities in Asia to the Persian monarch; and with this all the states were obliged to comply. The Lacedæmonians, elated with the success they had had, wantonly attacked various small states; among these was Olynthus; in their war against which, their king Agesipolis, who proved a prince

Cleombrotus.

of great worth, was cut off by a fever. To this king succeeded his brother, Cleombrotus. The Spartans continuing their tyrannical violence over the cities which they had expressly engaged to leave free, at length provoked the Athenians to enter into the league against them: when Agesilaus, though beyond the age of military service, was obliged to take the command again. But, little was the success which attended either him or Cleombrotus, a circumstance which gave more effect to the efforts of the Persian king, to again bring about a peace in Greece, though still that peace was partial, and of short duration. Still the Persian monarch strove to establish permanent tranquillity, but the Thebans, who now, under the

guidance of their very eminent citizen Epaminondas, began to make an important figure among the Grecian states, refused all peace; and in a battle near Leuctra, which the Spartans commenced in direct breach of a truce, these last were totally defeated, lost their king Cleombrotus, and the command of Greece which they had so iniquitously misused.

On the news of this great loss the Spartans behaved with their ancient magnanimity, but finding it impossible to comply with the severity of their laws against all who fled from the battle, they authorized Agesilaus, whose new colleague Agesipolis, the son of Cleombrotus, was a prince of mean abilities, to mould the constitution as to him should appear expedient. The only sentence he seems under this authority to have pronounced, was, "Let the laws sleep to-day, but to-morrow let them resume all their vigour." Then raising an army he ravaged the territories, and took a town or two of the Arcadians, to reanimate the spirits of his countrymen. Though some time after this a peace was concluded, the Lacedæmonians, vexed at seeing the Mantineans and Arcadians profiting by it, broke it with both, which brought the Thebans again into Peloponnesus, and even before Sparta itself, though by the able dispositions of Agesilaus they were deterred from attacking it, and retreated, wasting the country. But ere Epaminondas quitted the Spartan dominions, he rebuilt the city of Messene, and recalling the posterity of the ancient inhabitants of its territory, from the several countries in which they had found a refuge, he restored them to the possession of their ancient patrimony, after it had been lost three hundred years. The Lacedæmonians rejecting with scorn the terms of peace offered them, the war was continued the following year with the same warmth. The Spartans fortified the isthmus, and endeavoured to strengthen themselves by alliances, even with the Athenians; still Epaminondas brake into Peloponnesus, laid waste the country, and took some cities; but was by Chabrias, the Athenian, prevented from making himself master of Corinth.

Agesipolis 2.

To Agesipolis, after he had reigned a year, succeeded his brother Cleomenes, and after this war had continued five years, by the endeavours of the Persian king a peace was brought about. Yet

Cleomenes.

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new dissentions soon arose, in which the Thebans were called in as allies on one side, and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians on the other, and the celebrated battle of Mantinea was fought; when the Thebans gained a victory, much too dearly purchased by the death of their illustrious leader Epaminondas. The dread of a scene so sanguinary as that exhibited by this war continuing, disposed all parties but the Lacedæmonians to peace, but their inveterate malice against the Messenians withheld them from assenting to one, and that, too, at the instance of Agesilaus; the acts of whose last days tarnished the character he had gained by the achievements of his earlier, as has been already detailed in a previous part of this History. He had at the time of his decease reigned forty-one years, and lived eighty-four, being esteemed a wise prince, a great commander, and a sincere and warm lover of his country.

Archidamus.

To Agesilaus succeeded his son Archidamus; in his reign commenced the Phocian, or sacred war, in which he took the part of the Phocians. But disliking the harshness of the Spartan institutions, he offered to pass over into Italy with a body of troops sent to the assistance of the Tarentines, and was there slain, after having reigned

Agis 2.

fifteen years. To Archidamus succeeded his son Agis, a prince of great virtue and magnanimity. When, after the battle of Issus, a number of mercenaries fled out of Persia, his dislike of the Macedonians, and dread of the consequences of their increasing power over Greece, led him to enlist eight thousand of them, and openly declare for Darius, who sending money to pay his troops, he subdued part of Crete. After the battle of Arbela, by representing the danger to be dreaded from the final success of Alexander, he excited the Greeks to levy an army. When Antipater, who was left in charge of that conquerour's European dominions, marched against that force and defeated it, and in the engagement Agis was slain, bravely defending himself.

Eudamidas.

Of the successor of Agis, his son Eudamidas, whose reign was passed in peace, little is recorded. Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus, still survived to reign with Eudamidas, and was at length

Areus, and Archidamus the 4th.

succeeded by his grandson Areus, as Eudamidas was by his son Archidamus. But the title of the former was disputed by his uncle

Cleonymus, who calling to his assistance Pyrrhus, the city of Sparta itself would have fallen into the hands of the king of Epirus, but for a most determined resistance,* which ended in the repulse of that monarch. Areus the king of Sparta fell in supporting the Athenians against Demetrius Poliorcetes. His colleague, Archidamus the fourth, exerted himself, but with little success, in the same cause; but the duration of his reign, and the time of his decease, are not specified. He was succeeded by his son Eudamidas, as Areus was by Acrotatus, on whom the government principally rested, and who was a man of great valour and many virtues, but fell in a battle against Aristodemus, prince of Megalopolis, then become formidable to all Peloponnesus. The kingdom was thus left to his son Areus, a minor, who dying after a very short reign, his guardian Leonidas ascended the throne in his own right.

Eudamidas 2. Acrotatus.

Areus 2.

Leonidas 2.

The institutions of Lycurgus had now fallen into contempt at Sparta, a particular which well agreed with the inclinations of Leonidas, who had lived long in the court of Seleucus. A law had been enacted, by which the Spartans were permitted to alienate their lands, and consequently the greater part of them were gradually transferred from the old Spartan families, so that though even these were now reduced to about seven hundred, not more than one hundred of them had any lands, but lived without employment and without wealth. With Leonidas reigned Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who being himself a practiser of the ancient laconic temperance, made an attempt to restore the ancient laws and discipline; and so far prevailed, that he lost the decree he presented for that purpose by only one voice in the senate. Leonidas was at the head of the opposition to the proposed reformation. But Lysander, a friend of Agis, and one of the Ephori, so terrified him with accusations for the breach of ancient laws, that he fled to an asylum; when

Agis, the son of Eudamidas.

* In this the Spartan females bare a remarkable part; for having refused to be removed to a place of safety, they assisted in digging the trench for the defence of the city, and in the course of a night finished one third of it themselves; after which they armed the men for the engagement, encouraging them to fight as in the sight of their mothers, wives, and daughters.

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Cleombrotus.

Lysander incited Cleombrotus, of the royal house, and who had married the daughter of Leonidas, to claim the crown, on which the last withdrew. Cleombrotus concurred in the designs of Agis, but in their endeavours to carry them into execution, they were so misled by the interested advice of Agesilaus, a maternal uncle of Agis, and injured in their popularity by his oppressive behaviour during the absence of Agis, that a conspiracy was formed and carried into effect for restoring Leonidas; when Agis fled to the temple of Minerva, and Cleombrotus to that of Neptune. The latter Leonidas threatened with death, but at the request of his daughter sent him into perpetual banishment. And Agis he at length enticed from his asylum, and caused him to be murdered.

Leonidas restored.

Cleomenes.

On the death of Leonidas, who by this base measure secured himself on the throne, Cleomenes, his son, inherited it, and sat on it alone. What Agis had attempted, the restoration of the institutions of Lycurgus, he carried into effect; but found it necessary first to remove the Ephori, which he effectually did, by putting four of them to death, and the fifth to flight. Understanding that Aratus and the Achæans were preparing to attack him, he anticipated them. His success in this war not only induced Aratus to decline the office of Captain-General of the Achæans, but so terrified that people, that they were inclined to listen to any terms Cleomenes would offer. Yet he asked no more than to be acknowledged General of the Greeks. Being prevented by a fever from attending at the place where the treaty was to be concluded, the envy of Aratus had time to operate, and he privately recalled the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. After this, Cleomenes, finding himself imposed on, declared war, and entered on offensive measures; in which he was so successfull, that in a little time he raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to an higher pre-eminence than she had ever holden in Greece. But short-lived was this prosperity, the Macedonians whom Aratus had called into Peloponnesus overpowered him with numbers, and at length, when he was compelled to fight at a disadvantage, so completely defeated his army, that of six thousand Spartans in it, two hundred only escaped; and he himself took the resolution of retiring into Egypt; where, though at

first well received, he was afterwards so ill treated, that he and twelve friends he had with him slew each other. Thus, if we except the brief and insignificant reign of Agesipolis, which will be quickly mentioned, ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings.

After the retreat of Cleomenes, Sparta fell into the hands of Antigonus, king of Macedonia, whose generous treatment of it has been already noticed. As long as Cleomenes lived, the Spartans continued quiet under the government of the Ephori (which magistrates, it seems, were restored) and the senate. But they no sooner heard of his death, than new disturbances arose; until Philip, the son of Antigonus, arrived on their frontiers with a large army, when the Spartans made their submission to him by deputies, whom he dismissed, after telling them only, that he should in future have his eye upon the Spartans, and therefore he advised them to be quiet. After this, a party raised in the city by the Ætolians, incited the people to put the Ephori to death, and elect others, whom they directed to elect two kings: when they first chose Agesipolis, a boy, the grandson of that Cleombrotus whom Leonidas banished, and for the other king they brought forward a man named Lycurgus, never thought to be allied to the royal house, till on his presenting a talent to each of the Ephori, they declared him to be descended from Hercules, and lawfull king of Sparta. He after some time expelled Agesipolis, and engaged in several wars with various success. At length one Chilo, who conceived that he had some right to the throne, conspiring with a band of about two hundred, attacked and murdered the Ephori; yet Lycurgus escaped, and Chilo finding the people not attached to him fled, and the former being recalled, reigned for some years over Laconia; during which he made a successfull resistance against Philip, king of Macedonia, whom the Lacedæmonians drew on them by invading Messenia. But when or how this usurper died, history says not. Neither is it more certain when his successor Machanidas was placed on the throne, or by what means he obtained it. But he appears to have been a man of eminent abilities. At home he ejected the Ephori; abroad he made all Peloponnesus tremble, but in a battle with the Achæans fell by the spear of Philopœmen himself.

Agesipolis and Lycurgus chosen kings.

Machanidas.

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Nabis.

Machanidas thus removed, Sparta fell under the dominion of a tyrant named Nabis, of whose mode of government that exercised in our own days by the Corsican usurper of the throne of France, was in no small measure a counterpart. To the honest and noble he was an open enemy, such as he could get into his hands he murdered, and after those he could not he sent his Cretan assassins. He reigned at home with dissimulation, and entertaining a number of spies and sycophants struck such terrour into all others, that they durst not express their thoughts. In the midst of the confusions which then pervaded Greece, he seized on Argos, and put into it a garrison under the command of Pythagoras, his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was in truth the support of his tyranny. But in the progress of his ambition he was stopped by the Romans. Yet though these greatly retrenched his power, he afterwards attacked the Achæans, trusting to the assistance of the Ætolians, who betrayed and finally murdered him by a body of troops, which they pretended to have sent to his assistance; on the news of which Philopœmen advancing to Sparta, prevailed on the Lacedæmonians to unite in the Achæan league, and consequently here their separate history closes.

The Lacedæmonians become members of the Achæan league.

So trifling are the transactions in any other parts of Peloponnesus during this period, in which either the Lacedæmonians or the Achæans were not concerned, that it would be of little use by recounting them to detain the reader from the history of the league, which had both its beginning and name from the latter people. The commencement of it has been already stated to have taken place in a confederacy of twelve cities, existing in the small country of Achaia, conquered by the sons of Tisamenes, the son of Orestes.* These, on the expulsion of their last monarch, named Gyges, having formed themselves into a republick, each city of which lived under the same democratick form of government, though independent of each other, continued until the time of Alexander the Great, on whose decease they became a prey to discord. Of these dissensions the Macedonian princes took advantage, and seized the sovereignty of some of their cities: while they hence changed masters, as often

Commencement of the Achæan league.

* See Vol. I. p. 428.

as the Macedonians did sovereigns, they were also enslaved by tyrants of their own, supported by the Macedonians, whose interest they embraced. To free themselves from this slavish condition, the Achæans, in the early part of the third century before our æra, began to revive their former association. The five first cities which made this change, continued five and twenty years before they were joined by any other; at length the good order that reigned in this little republick, induced several neighbouring cities to join them. Of these one of the first was Sicyon, through the influence of Aratus, who at twenty years of age had rescued his country from tyranny.* Eight years after he had engaged this city in the Achæan league, he took the city and citadel of Corinth and the city of Megara from the Macedonians, uniting them both to the Achæan league. The cities of Trœzene, Epidaurus, Megalopolis, Argos, Hermione, and Phlius, were likewise received into the alliance. All the cities thus subject to the Achæan league were governed by the general assembly of the whole nation. To this each of the cities sent certain deputies, appointed by election. As the supreme and legislative power was vested in this assembly, it was convened every spring and autumn: but seldom otherwise, except on very urgent occasion. The chief

Aratus joins the Achæan league.

* There is something particularly interesting in the early story of Aratus. His father Clinias was slain by Abantidas, who seized the government of Sicyon, and who would also have slain Aratus; but the child, for he was then only seven years old, escaped in the confusion occasioned in the house by the death of his father, and wandering about the city in the utmost distress, he accidentally entered the house of the tyrant's sister. She, persuaded that the infant had fled for refuge to her roof by a divine impulse, had him conveyed to Argos, where he was carefully educated by some friends of his father. When he was grown up, the Sicyonian exiles cast their eyes on him as their destined deliverer. Nor were they disappointed. For Aratus had scarcely reached twenty, when he formed a confederacy against Nicocles, the then tyrant of Sicyon, and so prudently took his measures, that though vigilantly watched, he by night scaled the walls, and entered the city of Sicyon, ere Nicocles suspected his design: yet the tyrant escaped. And the next morning, the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner, uninformed of what had passed, a herald proclaimed, that Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their ancient liberty. On which the whole multitude, with shouts of triumph, flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and quickly reduced it to ashes.

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magistrate of the whole league, entitled Strategos, or General, was chosen in this assembly. He presided in the diet, and commanded the army. He and the other magistrates were appointed in the vernal assembly, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. Of the war waged between this republick, and Cleomenes, king of Sparta, an account has been already given, as well as of its event, after Aratus called the Macedonians to his assistance, in the retreat of that king to Egypt, and the capture of Sparta by Antigonus. After which this last monarch was, in a general assembly of the Achæans at Argos, declared the protector of Achaia.

Their war with Cleomenes,

The peace obtained by the interference of Antigonus, ended, however, with his life, when the Ætolians, accustomed to subsist by rapine, entered the territories of the Messenians, and thus gave a commencement to a war, in which the Achæans again besought the assistance of the Macedonians; when king Philip advanced to their relief, and by his victories and conquests greatly weakened the Ætolian confederacy, and even took and plundered Thermæ, the capital of Ætolia. And the Lacedæmonians having embraced the party of the Ætolians, he marched into their country, and ravaged it even close to Sparta itself. The treachery of Apelles, the king's prime minister, introduced great confusion among the Achæans, and prevented for some time the election of Aratus for their Strategos; but after that worthless favourite was detected, and put to the death he merited, Aratus was again exalted to his pre-eminent situation, and the affairs of the league assumed a more favourable appearance. Proposals being now made to Philip for the conclusion of a peace, and the news from Italy, where the growing power of the Romans now made them an object of consideration to the states of Greece, inclining him to listen to them, a treaty was soon made and ratified by Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans, on the other. But the tranquillity thus produced was soon disturbed by the ambitious projects of the Macedonian monarch; who, having concluded an alliance with Hannibal, thought of bringing all Greece in subjection to himself, ere he proceeded to any attempts on Italy. Finding Aratus averse

and with the Ætolians,

ended by a peace.

to this, he had him taken off by poison, and his son deprived of his understanding by the same means. The former was not only buried with every honour by his countrymen, but exalted into an object of worship, they appointing him a priest, and two annual sacrifices, which were offered to him for upwards of three centuries.

Aratus poisoned.

Although the Achæans were highly incensed by this nefarious conduct of Philip, they dared not express their resentment, their irreconcileable enemies, the Ætolians, having allied themselves with the Romans; a measure that provoked the Achæans more than all the evils they had suffered from Philip; joining, therefore, the latter, a new war was kindled in Greece. At the commencement of this Philip so defeated the Ætolians, that they sent embassadors to treat for peace; and though a Roman reinforcement thrown into that city prevented his taking Elis, the Achæans during the subsequent winter gained a considerable victory over the Ætolians and Eleans. In the next year Philopœmen was elected Strategos of the Achæans, and gave a total defeat to the Lacedæmonians, under their tyrant Machanidas, whom, as has been stated, he slew with his own hand. This victory, joined to the advantages gained by Philip, prompted the Ætolians to be still more earnest for peace, which they accordingly concluded with both Philip and the Achæans on very disadvantageous terms. And though this was scarcely agreed on ere a strong reinforcement of Romans arrived, the proconsul, P. Sempronius, who commanded these, thought proper, on reflection, to join in this, as well for the Romans as for their allies. Yet this peace was but of short continuance, being broken by Philip's attacking the Rhodians, Athenians, and king Attalus; on which the Romans declared war against him, while he prevailed on the Achæans and Lacedæmonians to join him. The former he gained by the restoration of some cities of which he had taken possession. Purchased attachment, however, seldom outlasts the offer of another premium. The Roman consul Sulpitius, desirous of engaging so powerfull a people in the interest of his country, offered to put them in possession of Corinth, if they would join the Romans. After much debate in their general assembly, this they at length resolved to do, and with them unsuccessfully attacked the city of Corinth, then in possession

The war rekindled;

but again closed by peace.

Philip again commences hostilities.

The Achæans desert Philip to join the Romans.

CHAPTER III. FIFTH PERIOD.

of the Macedonians, while, on the other hand, the forces of Philip obtained possession of Argos, which he delivered to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta. This most oppressive and unprincipled wretch, having robbed the inhabitants of all their gold, silver, and jewels, and excited dissensions in the city by introducing an equal division of the lands, joined the Romans, who admitted him into their confederacy against Philip. The Achæans continued stedfast in their alliance with the Romans, and their Strategos, Nicostratus, succeeded in cutting to pieces a body of Macedonians, that had imprudently been led out of Corinth to plunder the Achæan territories.

Peace again restored,

The repeated losses of Philip obliged him at length to submit to the conditions of peace prescribed by his enemies, and to evacuate all Greece; and the Achæans were again put in possession of Corinth; and at the following Isthmian games the proconsul, Q. Flaminius, declared all the Greek states free, and that they should be governed by their own laws; and to complete this work so acceptable to the Greeks, he withdrew the Roman garrisons from Acro-Corinth, Demetrias, and Chalcis, and returned with his forces to Italy.

and Greece declared free by the Romans.

Nabis disturbs the general tranquillity,

Not long after the departure of the Romans, Nabis, whom Flaminius had left in possession of the sovereignty of Lacedæmon, attempted to drive out the Achæan garrisons placed in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to cede. On which the Achæans applying to the Romans, Flaminius was sent a second time into Greece to examine the state of affairs on the spot. Here he found the Achæans all met in a general assembly, who applied to him for advice on commencing the war against Nabis, but did not take the course he recommended, in consequence of which Philopœmen met with a defeat at sea. This disgrace, however, he quickly recovered, by first surprizing a camp of the enemy, and then defeating his army, and ravaging the country about Sparta for thirty days. On his retreat, Nabis, after repeated applications, drew a body of Ætolians to his assistance, as he thought, but in fact to be his murderers, as has been already related; and after his death the Lacedæmonians became members of the Achæan league.

but is slain, and the Spartans join the Achæan league.

The Achæan republick, having its power much augmented by the junction of the Lacedæmonians, was become formidable; but

divisions arising among the cities, the Romans began to teach them that the republick of Achaia was not independent of that of Rome. In two instances, disputes between the members of the league were decided by the Roman commander then at hand; and the great quarrel between the Achæan body and the Lacedæmonians was referred to the senate; of whose ambiguous answer Philopœmen, then Strategos, taking advantage, compelled the Spartans not only to destroy the walls of their city, which were but modern, but even to renounce the laws of Lycurgus, which they had observed for the space of seven hundred years, and govern themselves by those of Achaia. On this occasion the Lacedæmonians sent their complaints to Rome, and the senate's disapprobation of the proceedings of the Achæans was expressed; but other engagements prevented at that time any further interference. So great was the reputation of the Achæan league now in the east, that the kings of Egypt, Syria, and Pergamus, sought its alliance; while the Romans grew jealous of its power, and recalling to adjudication the affair of the Lacedæmonians, obliged the Achæans to repeal all the sentences pronounced against them, and receive and treat them as members of their body. Scarcely was this difference appeased, when the city of Messene revolted from the league, and in endeavouring to compell it to return, Philopœmen, then in his seventieth year, was taken by the revolters, and most ungratefully put to death by the senate of Messene: and thus at length fell one of the greatest statesmen as well as warriors of his age; whose accomplishments appeared the greater, and virtues shone more eminently, from the prevailing degeneracy of his countrymen at the time in which he flourished: and as the subsequent generations produced not his equal, he was called the last of the Grecians. On the news of his death a general indignation against the authors of it arose among the Achæans, and an army, commanded by Lycortas, who had been his particular friend, laid waste the Messenian territory, and entering the city itself had delivered up to them the ringleaders of the revolt, and all concerned in the death of Philopœmen. But Dinocrates, who had been at the head of the revolt, laid violent hands on himself, while the rest were carried to Megalopolis, and stoned at the tomb of the deceased hero.

Philopœmen put to death.

¶

CHAPTER III. FIFTH PERIOD.

The policy of the Romans towards the Achæans.

When the Achæans had required of the Roman senate that the Messenians might not be supplied with arms or provisions from Italy, they had been told, that the senate did not think themselves bound to concern themselves with the pretensions of the several cities of their league. But when the Achæans had by their power recovered Messene, that ingenuous body assured them, that they had taken care that neither arms or provisions should be sent thither. But the conjuncture was critical; Philip of Macedon was preparing again to try the fortune of war, the Ætolians had taken offence at Rome, Antiochus was ready to pass over into Greece, and the Achæans were masters of all Peloponnesus. Soon after this, on the Achæans refusing to comply with the request of the senate, to grant a settlement to the Lacedæmonian exiles, Callicrates, one of the Achæan embassadors, pressed on the senate the policy of supporting those only in the Grecian states who were attached to the Roman interest, and discountenancing all who contended for the independence of their own country; and this advice the Romans appear ever after to have followed. Hence the Achæans were now treated in a manner very different from what they had before experienced. They were peremptorily commanded to obey the decrees of the senate. Letters were sent to the Ætolians and other states of Greece to see the orders of the senate executed, and to employ in their respective commonwealths men only of the sentiments of Callicrates; who on his return so intimidated the people with the Roman name, that he was elected prætor; when he restored both the Lacedæmonian and Messenian exiles, and omitted nothing to gain favour with the Romans.

The Achæans join the Romans against Perses;

When war broke out between Perses, king of Macedonia, and the Romans, Arcon, the Strategos of the Achæans, foreseeing that the Romans would prevail, obtained a decree of the general assembly, authorizing him to raise what forces he pleased, and join them. But these succours were by the Roman consul for the present declined. But the ensuing year, at the request of Paulus Æmilius, all the troops he required were immediately sent him, and eminently distinguished themselves at the battle of Pydna. The victory gained in this increased the haughtiness of the Romans; who now treated their friends very differently from what they did while in need of their

assistance. Ten commissioners being appointed to inspect the affairs of Greece, the heads of all the states were summoned to appear before them at Amphipolis, where the Ætolians first presenting a complaint of five hundred and fifty of their senators having been put to death, because they were thought to favour Perses, the commissioners having ascertained that they did speak for him in the senate, determined that they were justly put to death. As this measure terrified those who had manifested any partiality for Perses, it immeasurably increased the insolence of the partisans of Rome. On the former the commissioners first wreaked their vengeance, the latter flocking from all parts of Greece to Amphipolis to accuse them. But the commissioners stopt not at the friends of the Macedonians, they persecuted those also who had been neuter; thus treating as criminal all who were not of the Roman party: such was the equity of those much-extolled republicans.

and afterwards insolently treated by them.

Their subsequent conduct, however, far exceeded even this iniquity: since Paulus Æmilius first ordered to follow him to Rome all those (and there were many) inhabitants of Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, who were accused of either declaring for the Macedonians, or of contending for their own rights. And then Xenon, an Achæan, highly respected by the whole league, having declared that he was ready to exculpate himself before the senate, advantage was taken at his word, and he and a thousand more of distinguished merit were sent to Italy, under pretence of being heard by the senate; when they were neither heard in their own defence, nor permitted to return home. This nefarious conduct, in a body whom the Achæans had been weak enough to consider as guided by the rules of equity, because they professed to be so, raised a general consternation in Achaia, which did not, however, prevent embassies being repeatedly sent to the senate, to obtain the release of the individuals so unjustly detained. Yet seventeen years past, and far the greater part of the exiles were dead, ere the senate was induced to permit the few survivors to return home. Polybius, the historian, was one of these unhappy Achæans; but he made no use of the leave to return, and rose in the service of the Roman state to higher dignities than he had lost at home. The exiles, on their arrival in

The base conduct of the Romans to the Achæans.

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Achaia, found it pervaded by an universal hatred of the Romans, which could not long be restrained from breaking forth in hostilities.

Differences arise between the two states.

A difference arising as to the measure of the jurisdiction which the Achæan assembly had over the Lacedæmonians, the former hastily appealed to arms. To appease these disturbances in the very heart of Achaia, commissioners were sent to Corinth, who there delivered to the assembly of the Achæans, which they had had summoned, a message, which set both the assembly and the city in a flame, from the violence of which the Roman commissioners escaped only by flight. The complaints of these commissioners on their return to Rome, occasioned others to be sent, at the head of whom was a man of great prudence and moderation, Sextus Julius, but his efforts to stop the progress of the difference between the two republicks, were rendered fruitless by the arts of those who laboured for the contrary purpose, and particularly of Critolaus, who was then Strategos of the Achaians, and whose hatred of the Romans made him desirous of war. The senate, however, were inclined to defer this, and referred the affair to Metellus, then in Macedon, who immediately dispatched four eminent men as embassadors to Corinth, where they were very unhandsomely received, and most scandalously treated. Critolaus now finding that he had the command of the multitude, caused war to be declared with Lacedæmon, and consequently with the Romans.

War commenced by the Achæans.

On the receiving information of this, Metellus began to lead his army towards Achaia: the cities of Thebes, in Bœotia, and Chalcis, in Eubœa, joined the Achæans, being offended at Metellus for having compelled them to make restitution to some whom they had injured. The junction of the troops of these cities encouraged Critolaus to take the field. But hearing of Metellus's approach, he commenced a very rapid retreat, yet was overtaken, his army completely routed, and himself never heard of more. According to a law of the Achæans, Diæus, another of those who had been so iniquitously detained in Italy, and who had served the office of Strategos immediately before Critolaus, succeeded him in it until the next general assembly. The measures which Diæus thought it requisite to take immediately for the publick defence, rendered all Achaia sensible of the impending danger; and rumours of additional Roman forces

being in preparation to come against them, absolutely drove the inhabitants of some cities to such despair, that they either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves. In the mean time Metellus, in his march towards Peloponnesus, entered Thebes without opposition, and the gates of Megara were also opened to him. To save Corinth, which he understood the consul Mummius was coming with orders to destroy, he sent to Diæus three Achæans, but these were thrown into prison as traitors. Still Metellus continued his endeavours to prevail on him to accept of some terms, ere Mummius arrived, but in vain. That consul appeared before Corinth, and in a short time so wrought on the presumption of Diæus, that he ventured to face the Romans in the field, and was totally defeated, when he rode to Megalopolis, his native city, set fire to his house, threw his wife into the flames, and poisoned himself. Corinth the Romans entered without opposition, and great was the spoil of that wealthy city. But the precious monuments of the arts with which it abounded, were lost on a barbarous soldiery; and even the consul himself is said to have been so ignorant of the works he was sending to Rome, that he told the masters of the vessels, on board of which the exquisite statues, and inimitable pictures of the Grecian artists were embarked, that if any of them were lost or spoiled, they should find others at their own cost. After Corinth had been pillaged, the senate's order for burning it was obeyed: and the violence of the flames fusing the gold, silver, and brass, which had been concealed, a new metal was found composed of these, and greatly esteemed in the following ages, under the name of Corinthian brass. The walls of the city were demolished.

Corinth destroyed.

The destruction of Corinth appears to have entirely put an end to all opposition to the Romans in Achaia; the league of which was now dissolved, and Greece reduced to a Roman province.

Greece reduced to a Roman province.

Having thus brought the history of Peloponnesus down to the time of its becoming identified with that of the Roman empire, it now comes in course to resume that of the rest of Greece, and trace it to the same period.

It was at the seizure of the sovereignty of Athens by Pisistratus, that the history of that state was interrupted. What this deep poli-

History of Athens resumed.

tician had thus craftily obtained, he did not long preserve. For Megacles, who had been an archon, kept up a correspondence in the city, through which he at last brought to effect a project of compelling Pisistratus to leave Attica; when the Athenians, with all the versatility of a mob, ordered the goods of their late favourite to be publickly sold: yet such was the apprehension of his return, that one purchaser only could be found. When he had been five years in exile, the very individual who had plotted the overthrow of Pisistratus, finding he had not gained by it that plenitude of power which he sought, offered to reinstate him, on condition of his marrying his daughter. The condition was accepted; and the Athenians were induced to receive a master again, by an artifice so shallow, that the success of it shews to what a despicable degree of intellectual debility the most ingenious people may be reduced by the practice of idolatry.* Megacles being displeased at the indifference with which Pisistratus treated his new wife, began again to intrigue against him, and with so much success, that he deemed it expedient to withdraw again. But at the end of eleven years he made himself a third time master of the city by force; when, to secure himself in his ill-gotten power, he obliged the inhabitants of Athens again to apply to agricultural employments; by which, however, the state of the Athenian territories was greatly improved. In his government he attended to the welfare of the state, and sought the honour of the city by encouraging in it arts and learning, and decorating it with noble edifices.†

* Pisistratus and his new friend drest a woman, of very extraordinary stature, and very handsome, in armour, and placing her in a chariot, with every thing to render her appearance imposing, conducted her towards the city, sending before them heralds, instructed to address the people in these terms, "Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to Pisistratus, who is so much honoured by Minerva above all other men, that she herself condescends to bring him back to the citadel." When the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that Minerva was bringing home Pisistratus, and in the city, the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received Pisistratus.

† Pisistratus is said to have been the first who built a library for publick use, and directed, that Homer's poems should be digested in the regular order in which we have them at present. He so fully maintained the laws, that when he heard, that he

Although from his first seizing the sovereignty to his death, there intervened three and thirty years, of these he actually reigned only seventeen, having passed the rest in exile.

The death of Pisistratus.

Among other children he left two sons, who were very able men, Hippias and Hipparchus, who jointly succeeded their father in his authority, and deservedly popular was their administration of it. The latter in particular is highly spoken of for the sweetness of his temper, his own learning, and his patronage of it; and he assiduously endeavoured to cultivate the minds of his people, and have them instructed in both the sciences and morality. Yet Harmodius and Aristogeiton, whose names, instead of the applause that has been bestowed on them, deserve only execration, (for the former was the pathic of the other) conspired the destruction of these two brothers, and actually assassinated Hipparchus. Such was the effect of this on Hippias, that from a mild he became a cruel ruler. He put the surviving assassin to the torture, (for Harmodius was killed on the spot) yet without discovering his accomplices; and thenceforth his measures were so harsh, as to prepare the way for his expulsion. This, after Hippias had reigned three years, was brought about by the Lacedæmonians, excited to it by the pythoness at Delphi, bribed by some enemies of the family of Pisistratus: the remains of which retired to the city of Sigeum.

Hippias and Hipparchus succeed their father.

Assassination of Hipparchus, and expulsion of Hippias.

It was not long after the salutary weight of sovereign power was removed, that the Athenians began to be divided by factions. Through these they were drawn into a war with the Lacedæmonians, which being ended, they assisted the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, in sacking the city of Sardis, and thus gave cause for those wars, which lasted long, and ended in the subversion of the Persian empire. A war with the inhabitants of Ægina next ensued; but the differences which occasioned it were compromised on the first tidings of the Persian monarch's intention to attempt the subjugation of Greece. The first expedition sent against the Greeks under Mardonius having failed, another was sent, which destroyed

Athens is divided by factions, and enters on various wars.

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was accused in the court of Areopagus of murder, he submitted himself as a private man to judgment.

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Eretria, in the island of Eubœa. On this the Athenians raised expeditiously all the forces they were able, amounting only to nine thousand men, and being joined by the whole strength of the little city of Platæa, amounting to a thousand, they, with these under the command of Miltiades, engaged the Persian army, which had advanced to the plains of Marathon, and totally defeated it. The Persian fleet having after this made a fruitless attempt to surprize the city, returned with disgrace to Asia.

The gratitude of the Athenians for the victory at Marathon.

The Athenians, joyfull at their victory, granted all the Platæans the freedom of their city, and manifested both gratitude and respect to the three commanders who had eminently distinguished themselves, Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. But the first of these having obtained the command of a fleet, with which he promised to gain much treasure for the state, and failing in an attack on the city of Paros, was, on his return home wounded, fined fifty talents, the expence of the expedition, and, being unable to pay the mulct, was thrown into prison, where he quickly died.

All danger from abroad being removed, the Athenians returned to their accustomed dissensions at home; the aristocratick party having Aristides at its head, and the democratick Themistocles.* The

Aristides and Themistocles.

* Of these great political rivals, neither was of any extraordinary family. They are represented as having, when boys together, manifested perpetual opposition to each other, even in their sports; no unnatural consequence of their different dispositions. Aristides was firmly attached to justice, and incapable of flattery or deceit, even in jest. Themistocles, while daring, was subtle, and capable of assuming any appearance to carry a point. As they grew up the difference between their sentiments and their conduct increased. Aristides became a favourer of aristocracy, but Themistocles, it has been suspected, more from spleen than any other motive, took up strongly the cause of democracy. Their party spirit impelled them to measures which they themselves lamented. Themistocles having once proposed to the people something highly to their advantage, Aristides did by his eloquence prevail on them to reject it, and then was so affected with what he had done, that on leaving the assembly he said, "The Athenians can never be perfectly safe till they have sent Themistocles and me to gaol." Aristides thought himself bound, when sitting in judgment, to be void alike of affection and passion: while it was a common saying with Themistocles, "The gods forbid, that I should sit on a tribunal, where my friends should not have more favour than strangers." After this the reader need not be told which was the honester man of the two.

craft of the latter succeeded so far as to obtain a sentence of exile for ten years against the former. And the inhabitants of Ægina, the war with whom revived after the battle of Marathon, doing much damage to the Athenians by their power at sea, he prevailed on these last to apply the produce of their silver mines, until then divided among the citizens, to the raising of a navy. About three years after Aristides was driven into banishment, Xerxes king of Persia sent messengers, with a Greek interpreter, to the several states of Greece, to demand tokens of submission. Themistocles, desirous of widening the breach, excited the Athenians to seize the interpreter, and put him to death; and then, with the assistance of Chileus the Arcadian, prevailed on the several states to lay aside their quarrels, and provide for their common defence. By buying off a rival candidate for the honour, he opened the way to his own election to the chief command of the Athenians in this war, and when the Persian army approached Greece, he gave his countrymen advice which they rejected, to embark on board their ships, and meet their enemies at a distance: and afterwards interpreted the oracle, which they received, recommending their trusting to walls of wood, of their ships. On board of which he at length prevailed on them to go, and thus avoid the overwhelming hosts of Persia. In the afflicting situation in which they now were, the people began to regret the absence of Aristides: on which Themistocles proposed a decree, that all the banished might then return to the assistance of their country. Although such was the authority which the Lacedæmonians had acquired in Greece, that the command of the confederate fleet was given to a Spartan, yet the number of Athenian ships surpassed that of all the rest, a circumstance which added weight to the arguments which Themistocles employed for coming to an engagement in the narrow seas.

Persian progress and subsequent defeats.

In the meantime, however, when the Persians, as already stated, poured their myriads into Attica, the Athenians who had fled to the Acropolis, were all put to the sword, the burning of Sardis was revenged by that of Athens, and all the monuments of that idolatrous city's multifarious superstitions were destroyed, by a nation who worshipped the One God. The Persian army having thus reached

the coast, and the imperial fleet also approaching by sea, so eager were the Peloponnesians for returning home, that a stratagem devised by Themistocles alone prevented their separating before that decisive engagement took place, which has been before mentioned, and in which, by the general acknowledgment, the Athenians, as a nation, were confessed to have deserved the most of Greece, and Themistocles, as an individual, to have merited the highest applause among the Athenians. After the defeat thus given to the Persians, the retreat of their land forces was hastened by another stratagem of the Athenian general. And whatever may have been insinuated on the other side, it is more gratefull to the mind to follow the dictates of charity, and conclude, that the communications which he really did make to Xerxes proceeded rather from his desire to preserve his country, than from the mere selfish intention of providing a future asylum for himself.

The Athenians return to the city, but are compelled again to abandon it.

After the Athenians had returned to the ruins of their city, they received their families from the places whither they had repaired for refuge, and where regard for the magnanimity of those who had exhibited so much devotion for the common cause, had procured them the kindest attention. Nor did the conduct of the Athenians attract the respect of the Grecians only. The Persians thought their alliance most worthy to be cultivated, and Mardonius, who was left by Xerxes in the command of all his forces that continued in Europe, made proposals of reconciliation to them in the name of the king. The rejection of these brought that general to Athens, which its citizens were compelled to abandon a second time, while their army under Aristides joined that of the confederates, and partook in the glory of the field of Platæa. At the battle of Mycale, fought, as has been stated, on the same day, the Athenians again bore away the palm of honour. After the separation of the Grecian fleet, the Athenian squadron sailed to Sestos, and, after a long siege, made themselves masters of the place; whence returning to Attica, they brought back thither their families, and began to rebuild Athens with some magnificence. Proud of their success, the people were much elated, and so desirous of having the government entirely in their own hands, that even Aristides yielded to the torrent, and proposed,

what was accepted by all, that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people without distinction. Themistocles exhorted his countrymen immediately to fortify their city; the commencement of which attracted the observation of the Lacedæmonians, who by embassadors remonstrated against what they affected to suppose would afford the Persians, in case of another invasion, a strong hold in Greece.

Athens rebuilt, and fortified.

The high tone to which these remonstrances rose might have occasioned an immediate quarrel between the rival states, but the policy of Themistocles both prevented this, and obtained for the Athenians sufficient time to fortify their capital. The following year the same active mind proposed enlarging and fortifying the harbour of Pyræus, and connecting it with Athens itself by walls; the first of which measures too was rapidly executed. The insolence of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian in the chief command of the Grecian forces, compared with the justice of Aristides, and the generosity of Cimon, the Athenians, induced the other allies to transfer the supreme command to this last people. Nay, their esteem for the former of these great men was marked by a still stronger circumstance; for they selected him as the most proper individual in Greece for the important work of apportioning the contributions to be raised by the several states towards a fund for supporting the Persian war. A commission which he executed to the satisfaction of them all. The Lacedæmonians, displeased at the diminution of their authority over Greece, and sensible how greatly the abilities of Themistocles had contributed to exalt the rival city, sought to bring him into disgrace with his countrymen, and uniting in their efforts for this purpose with his rivals Aristides and Cimon, prevailed first to have him banished by ostracism, and then continued to persecute him until he was obliged to take refuge at the Persian court; where he was by Artaxerxes well received, and furnished with a very ample revenue which descended to his posterity.

The command of Greece transferred to Athens.

Themistocles banished.

After the banishment of Themistocles, the Athenians having found how profitable their war with Persia proved through the richness of the prizes they took, determined on an expedition to liberate the Grecian cities subject to the Persians; a measure that was popular

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among all the Greeks. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was appointed the commander; who, after some successfull operations of less consequence, attacked the Persian fleet, though much stronger than his own, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, near which, too, a Persian army was encamped. After an obstinate engagement the Athenians captured an hundred ships, and then landing attacked the army, which made a brave though fruitless resistance, being in the end routed, and having their camp, richly furnished, taken. The great booty here gained enriched both Athens and Cimon himself; whose employment of his wealth manifested a mind as amiable as generous, and as far above the affectation of popularity, as he was above the influence of money. The next achievement of this illustrious Athenian was the conquest of the Thracian Chersonesus from the Persians; he then besieged and took the city of Thasus; by which he secured to his country the gold mines between the rivers Nessus and Strymon. Being sent to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, he accomplished that service with great honour. But being soon after employed on a similar service, the Spartans declined the succour offered, and thus gave great offence to the Athenians. These last next made war on the inhabitants of Egina, whom they provoked, as they did all their allies, by their arrogance, and carried that against the Persian king into Egypt, as has been already related.

Achievements of Cimon.

Pericles.

There at this time began to rise into publick notice at Athens the so celebrated Pericles,* who, while Cimon shone at the head of the nobility, aimed at power by courting the populace. The faction to which he belonged succeeded in removing Cimon by ostracism,† as

* He was the son of Xantippus, who won the battle of Mycale, had prodigious talents, and eloquence beyond all his cotemporaries. But a fancy of his countrymen, that he resembled Pisistratus, obliged him to conceal his great qualifications, and for some time decline standing for any publick office. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon generally employed abroad, Pericles began to apply strictly to business; and to gain the multitude, all his thoughts appeared absorbed in endeavours for their benefit. His fortune did not enable him to emulate the liberality of Cimon, but he contrived to do so with the publick money, and by doing, it is observed, what all artfull politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence.

† This mode of banishment derives its name from ostracon, a shell, or tile, because

well as in obtaining a decree by which most of the causes cognizable by the Areopagus were removed to other tribunals: an alteration in the constitution of the state, which by giving a preponderance to the people proved the first step to the ruin of Athens. At this period, however, its power was increasing; in a war with the Corinthians and Epidaurians the Athenians gained two victories; after which they so defeated the inhabitants of Ægina as to oblige them to resign their independence.

The growing greatness of Athens excited the jealousy of the states of Peloponnesus. Yet the first attacks this occasioned, far from diminishing, contributed to augment her power. But when the Lacedæmonians met the Athenians, at Tanagra, the last were defeated with very great loss, and another engagement soon after taking place in which the armies were parted by the night, a short truce was agreed to. The Lacedæmonians having accepted the proposals of the Thebans for an alliance, the city of these last was rendered the head of Bœotia, and one of the first cities of Greece. To pull down this new rival the Athenians sent an army into Bœotia, which was met by one much superiŏr, of the Thebans and their allies, yet the former obtained a complete victory, so much the more glorious, as the triumph was not over barbarians, but brave and well disciplined Greeks. Myronides, the Athenian commander, then took by storm and demolished Tanagra, which had a few months before witnessed the defeat of his countrymen; plundered Bœotia, beat another army drawn together to oppose him, fell upon

The Athenians embroiled with the Lacedæmonians.

at first the names of those thus sentenced were written on a shell or tile. By the publick suffrages thus taken, men from whose eminence the state was deemed in danger were banished for ten years. The method of passing the sentence was this: every citizen took a shell or tile, on which having written the name of the person for whose exile he meant to vote, he carried it to a spot in the market place, enclosed with rails, where the magistrates counted the number of the shells, and if they proved less than six thousand, no sentence took place; but if they exceeded that number, the man whose name was inscribed on the most, was of course banished for ten years, yet with liberty to make what use he thought fit of his estate. This practice was not peculiar to Athens, several other Grecian republicks are said to have used it under different appellations.

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the Locrians, and lastly penetrated into Thessaly, and having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery, returned laden with wealth and glory. After a successfull expedition against the Lacedæmonians by sea under Tolmides, and the invasion of Peloponnesus by land under Pericles, Cimon, being recalled from exile, brought about a peace between Athens and Sparta. Tranquillity being thus restored in Greece, he turned the arms of his country with such success against Persia, as to compel the king to conclude a treaty most glorious to the Greeks, and which has been already noticed. While this treaty was negociating, Cimon died.

Peace again made.

A war with the Lacedæmonians:

After the death of this truly great man, the Athenians were suddenly again involved in war, and at length embroiled with the Lacedæmonians, who did them great injury by an invasion of their country, but by a bribe, properly applied by Pericles, were induced to return without coming to an engagement. On the other hand, in the subsequent winter, Tolmides having led an expedition into Bœotia, was there slain, and his army routed. By this defeat the humbled Athenians were compelled, for the ransom of their prisoners, to renounce all dominion over the cities of Bœotia, when many other small states declared against them. Notwithstanding these checks Pericles reduced all Eubœa under the power of Athens, after which a peace for thirty years was concluded with the Lacedæmonians.* About six years after the conclusion of this peace, the Athenians entered into hostilities against the people of Samos†, when Pericles

concluded by a thirty years truce.

* The king of Egypt having about this time presented to the Athenian people forty thousand bushels of wheat, a law, preferred by Pericles himself from malice to Cimon, who had children by an Arcadian woman, by which Athenians of the half blood were disfranchised, was so severely executed that no less than five thousand who had till then been considered as free men were sold as slaves: a stroke of arbitrary power which seems to have been afterwards visited on Pericles himself, in taking away all his children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the Athenians to cancel this law out of pity to himself. By this severity however has been ascertained the number of Athenian citizens at this time, when in the midst of so many enemies, Athens dared think of humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy. This number was only fourteen thousand and forty.

† This war was, by some of the enemies of Pericles, ascribed to the influence

soon reduced the island, and most arbitrarily changed the form of its government. To this the Samians were unwilling to submit, and revolted again, when Pericles again commanded against them, and after a nine months siege took the city of Samos, and demolished its walls, seizing all the ships of the Samians.

First Peloponnesian war.

Soon after this occurred the circumstances which led to the Peloponnesian war, the parties and chief transactions of which have been stated in the history of Lacedæmon; to avoid repetition, therefore, nothing will here be noticed but what has there been omitted. Pericles, by whose counsel his countrymen engaged in this war, was made the great conductor of it. But the advance of the Peloponnesian army to within a small distance from Athens, excited in the Athenians great discontent and much clamour against him. But the firmness of this able commander was not shaken even by an increase of dissatisfaction and invective. While by the Athenian squadrons he severely chastised their enemies in various parts, he relieved the inhabitants who were confined to the city with distributions of the publick money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever could amuse them; and as soon as the Peloponnesians had retired, he entered the territory of Megara with an army and ravaged it. The next year was marked by that destructive pestilence which has already been noticed, by their losses from which, and the war conjoined, the Athenians were compelled to ask for peace, a request which the Lacedæmonians rejected, on which the citizens fined Pericles and dismissed him. Yet in a short time

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over him possessed by Aspasia, a native of Miletus, and a female of character so extraordinary, that some information concerning her may justly be expected even in an abridgment like the present. She was the tutress, mistress, and at last the wife of Pericles. How she came to Athens is not known; but here she made herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, being also admirably versed in all the usefull branches of literature, particularly natural philosophy and politicks. Neither could her abilities but be very eminent, who had Pericles for an admirer, and Socrates for a disciple. As eloquence was the most necessary talent of all to an Athenian statesman, so Pericles on hearing of Aspasia determined to become her scholar, and from admiring her ability, proceeded to conceive an affection for her person, when she gained an ascendancy over him, as absolute as that he had acquired over the Athenians.

recalled, and vested him with authority almost absolute. The Athenians having got into their hands some embassadors going from Sparta to the Persian king, put them to death, in revenge of the natives of the places allied to Athens which the Lacedæmonians killed, when found in their territories. About the same time Potidæa surrendered to the Athenians, when the inhabitants were expelled, and the place was afterwards repeopled by an Athenian colony.

The following year the Athenians were by the plague deprived of their commander, Pericles, who, though on his death bed he gloried in none of his fellow citizens having had occasion to put on mourning on his account, had given way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and thus injured them in the most important manner.* In time of peace, when he apprehended danger from the discontent of the people, he draughted them off in colonies. And though he had augmented his power over them to that of a sovereign, he did all things so far for his country that he rendered it the most powerfull and rich of the Greek states; while he left his own inheritance rather diminished than improved. After his death the Peloponnesian war continued with various success, until in the fifth year of it the Athenians were prevailed on to assist the Leontines, and send a fleet to Sicily, which brought on their hands a new war, by their ill success in which and other causes for humiliation, they were brought to consent to a peace with the Lace-

* Cotemporary with this able politician were, Anaxagoras the philosopher, and Phidias the famous sculptor. The former was his preceptor, and accused of impiety, because he taught that the sun was not an intelligent being. In fact the whole tenor of his philosophy was according to Athenian superstition impious. He taught that matter consisted of unnumbered similar atoms, disposed in the order they preserve by an infinite self-moving mind, whence he acquired the surname of Nous or Mind, afterwards bestowed by Plato on Aristotle. As he conceived the sun to be a burning mass, so he held the moon to be an opake body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water. His scholars were the greatest men of Greece, but all suspected of irreligion. Among these were Archelaus the philosopher, Euripides the tragick poet, and Socrates. Anaxagoras after his banishment lived at Lampsacus, where being one day told, "You are deprived of the Athenians;" he replied, "You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me."

*

dæmonians for fifty years, and which from the share which Nicias had in effecting it, was called the Nician peace.

Another and new character began now to appear on the political stage at Athens. This was Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, the best sketch of whose character was given, when it was said, that in him nature had exerted her utmost force, since he was equally distinguished by his virtues and his vices. One of his first attempts in politicks was to get a league concluded between the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, and the Athenians, lest the war with the Lacedæmonians should break out again. Which in two years time it did, the Argives who had so lately formed an alliance with the Athenians renouncing it, and joining the Lacedæmonians; yet preserving this new connection but one year, they renewed their old league with Athens. While the Athenians declared war against Perdiccas king of Macedonia; and the next year made themselves masters of the island of Melos. Another opportunity offering itself for their interference in the affairs of Sicily, the Athenians, allured by the dreams of conquest with which Alcibiades and his party flattered them, sent a large force to that island, and among the commanders Alcibiades himself. Yet scarcely had they made good a landing when he was recalled on a charge of being concerned in mutilating the statues of Mercury dispersed through the city, and ridiculing the religious mysteries of his country, with other accusations of a conspiracy in favour of the Lacedæmonians. But finding on his voyage how much prejudice he should have to encounter when he came home, he deemed it prudent to make his escape at once, and flee to Sparta, where he was well received, and by the information he gave them of the designs of the Athenians induced them to renew the war, and by his counsel enabled them to pursue it in the mode most pernicious to the Athenians, and take possession of a strong post in Attica, from whence they prevented the renewal of agriculture, when the Peloponnesian army was withdrawn, and cut off the communication between Athens and the silver mines at Laurium. In the mean time the Sicilian war was continued with less and less prospect of success, until after great reinforcements had

been sent, both army and generals, at the head of whom was Nicias, one of the most virtuous men in Athens, were cut off. These losses led to the revolt of several small states that were confederate with Athens. Yet her success at sea discouraged the Peloponnesians so much, that they were prevailed on to continue the war only by the persuasions of Alcibiades, who at length passed over into Asia, and persuaded Tissaphernes, the king of Persia's lieutenant, to enter into a league with the Lacedæmonians. Of the terms of it however they disapproved, and their king Agis, provoked by the seduction of his wife by the profligate Alcibiades, obtained orders to their general in Asia to have him put to death. But of this the Athenian received timely information and retired to Tissaphernes, and so assumed the courtly manners of the Persians, as to become a favourite with that governour, who accepting his advice with regard to the policy to be pursued toward the Greeks, Alcibiades made proposals to his countrymen to alter the constitution of their city, under the imagination that the Persian monarch would more readily confide in them if it were less democratick. These proposals were accepted, and the government for a time put into the hands of a council of four hundred, which however was soon compelled to abdicate its authority. But Alcibiades now rejoining the Athenians, gained two victories over their enemies, one by sea, and another by land, the same day. Elated by which they rejected new propositions for peace made by the Lacedæmonians. Alcibiades having reduced Byzantium, returned to Athens with spoil collected from various places, to such an amount as the city had not seen since the Persian war. His fellow citizens not only received him with every honour, leaving Athens empty when they flocked to meet him, but created him general with unlimited powers: and such was his conduct, particularly in applying the wealth he had brought to the alleviation of the burdens of the citizens, that all acknowledged that he merited the honours paid him. But a defeat received by part of the fleet which he then took under his command, though he was absent when it was received, quickly cancelled in the opinion of the mob of Athens all their previous obligations to him, and they immediately

deprived him of his command, naming ten generals, of whom Conon was the chief, to succeed, to whom calmly resigning the fleet, he retired into Thrace.

Conon having had an unsuccessfull engagement, another fleet was rapidly equipped, by which a great victory was gained over the Lacedæmonians, but the commanders being accused by one of their colleagues of having neglected the dying, and not paid the last rites to the dead, six of them, who had not the prudence of two of their colleagues to make their escape, were by the people condemned to death. The ingratitude of the Athenians to their successfull commanders was the following year repaid by the misfortunes resulting from the negligence of others; their sea and land forces were totally defeated on the coast of Thrace, by Lysander, the cities under their dominion reduced, and Athens itself besieged and taken as before related; when that and the port were both dismantled, and an oligarchy established for the government. This consisted of a council of thirty, since known by the name of the thirty tyrants, all creatures of Lysander, and who exercised their authority as might be expected from men so advanced, ruling in the most despotick manner, and putting to death sixty of the worthiest and most eminent citizens of Athens. This nefarious conduct the Spartans countenanced, and ordered those who fled into their territories to escape from the tyrants, to be carried back bound to Athens. Yet the Argives received the Athenian exiles with kindness, and the Thebans punished by fine those of their citizens who did not rescue those who were conveyed bound through their territories.

The popular government restored at Athens.

Thrasybulus, who had already signalized himself in various military commands, resolved with those who had with him taken refuge among the Thebans, to hazard something for their country; and taking possession first of Phyla, and then of the Piræus, held it against all the attempts of the thirty, until Pausanias king of Sparta concluded a treaty with him, under which he, and those who had joined him, entered Athens, and the popular government was restored: the thirty tyrants having, during their reign, put to death fourteen hundred citizens, and driven into exile five thousand. Neither were they free from suspicion of having procured the

assassination of Alcibiades, who was murdered in Phrygia. A little after the re-establishment of the popular government, the celebrated moralist, Socrates, was condemned and put to death: after the infliction of which the Athenians became so sensible of the detestable injustice of it, that they would have no communication with the authors, but treated them with such unequivocal disgust and hatred, that the wretches, unable to bear it, hung themselves.

Conon again exerts himself in the cause of his country.

Conon, who ever since his unfortunate engagement had kept himself close in Cyprus, now conceived the project of restoring his country even to the empire of the sea. For this purpose he, by memorial, represented to the Persian king the danger with which his dominions were menaced from the power and ambition of the Lacedæmonians: when he was appointed admiral of the royal fleet. In the meantime his countrymen took courage to unite with the Argives and other states in a war with the Lacedæmonians. The fleet of these last Conon attacked, and totally defeated; and then, with the assistance of the Persian governour Pharnabazus, obliged most of the states dependent on Lacedæmon to change sides, and deprived her at once of the empire of the sea. But while he was proceeding to re-fortify Athens, Teribazus, commander of the Persian armies in the Proper Asia, envying his success, sent for him to Sardis, and threw him into prison. Still the troubles in Greece gave the Athenians an opportunity of raising themselves again to eminence. In this they were greatly assisted by the peculiar abilities of Iphicrates, who studied war as a science more than any commander before him. Thrasybulus, too, reduced several places, which had revolted from them, but was at length himself killed at Aspendus. After which, though Iphicrates, who succeeded to his command, gained some advantage, the Athenian affairs became worse and worse. At length both parties growing weary of the war, under the mediation of the Persian monarch a peace was concluded, which has been already noticed, under the name of that of Antalcidas.

The war again breaks out.

The Lacedæmonians having seized the citadel of Thebes, four hundred Thebans fled to Athens, where they not only were kindly received, but obtained such assistance privately as enabled them to get possession of their city: whence fearing the attack of the Lace-

dæmonians, they sent to beg succour from the Athenians. This was granted without occasioning an open breach between Sparta and Athens at that time; yet it was not long delayed. In the hostilities which followed, the Athenian commanders distinguished themselves, and Chabrias in particular proved himself not inferior to Agesilaus. But Artaxerxes wanting Grecian mercenaries for the reduction of Egypt, and both Athenians and Lacedæmonians becoming weary of the war, a peace was again suddenly concluded, but very badly observed. For disputes arising in the cities that were freed by it, whether aristocracy or democracy should be established in them, the Lacedæmonians supported all the partisans of the former, and the Athenians assisted those of the latter. But Artaxerxes, still labouring to reconcile the Grecian states, and the Athenians being much disgusted with the Thebans for destroying Platæa and Thespis, sent deputies to Sparta, and again renewed the treaty. After this the Athenians were by the Lacedæmonians requested to assist them against the Thebans, which they did, but not very successfully. Negociations for a general peace being now set on foot at the Persian court, Pelopidas, the Bœotian, repairing to the Persian monarch, and gaining his confidence, quickly concluced a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that Messene should be freed from the Lacedæmonian government, the Athenians no more assume the sovereignty of the sea, that the cities should be governed by their own laws, and the Thebans be deemed the king's chief friends and allies. This, however, put not an end to the dissensions in Greece, the Athenians were again called on to assist the Lacedæmonians embroiled with the Argives. After which they made a strict alliance with the Arcadians; and had six thousand men in the confederate army at Mantinea.

The Athenians fruitlessly endeavour to stop the progress of Philip of Macedon.

Philip of Macedon beginning now to lay the foundations of that power, which not only extended its sway over Greece, but subdued the Persian empire, the Athenians endeavoured very unsuccessfully to oppose him; and they were rendered still less able to cope with this politick and ambitious monarch, by a four years war which they had to sustain against the people of Chios, Rhodes, Cos, and Byzantium, who endeavoured to throw off the Athenian yoke, and at the end of

that time made an advantageous treaty with their former lords. Close on this followed the Phocian or sacred war, which took its rise from the Phocians not only refusing to pay the fine imposed on them by the Amphictyonick council for having ploughed some of the lands dedicated to Apollo, but from their seizing on his temple and all its riches. For this the Locrians and Bœotians made war on them, while the Lacedæmonians and Athenians joined them in their defence. The guilt of partaking in the sacrilege, which, according to their own principles, had been committed, weighed not against the high pay which they got for their troops, through a war protracted for a long time, and with various success. And, indeed, it has been remarked, that at this period both Athens and all Greece were governed by money; the Persian king, Philip of Macedon, and the Phocian chiefs, all employing this prevailing argument in their own cause, and keeping in their pay most of the Athenian demagogues. Of these orators the great Demosthenes was the most eminent in character as well as in eloquence, by which last he gained great influence over his countrymen, which he used principally to inspire them with a dread of the designs of Philip, and resolution to make a timely opposition to them.* The progress of the Macedonian monarch manifested the wisdom of his caution, and, alarmed at his gaining possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, the Athenians passed some votes suitable to the occasion, but there their exertions ceased. Indeed so corrupt were they now grown, that they were scarcely

* This prince of orators, the unaffected simplicity of whose orations contributed not a little to their effect, was the son of an eminent Athenian, who raised a fortune by the manufacture of sword-blades. Demosthenes himself appeared little qualified for an orator; with a person far from prepossessing, too large a tongue, a weak and cracked voice, and uncouth gesture; yet so strong was his desire to become an orator, that he applied himself with a vigour that proved successfull, to get the better of both his natural defects, and of the people, who were at his first attempt very little disposed to hear him. To render his tongue flexible, he spoke with stones in his mouth; to raise his voice to a proper pitch, he exercised himself in speaking on the sea-shore: continued practice corrected and supplied all his defects; and, conscious that he had nothing but his merit to trust to, he by study and perseverance acquired a manly solid eloquence, which has hitherto remained at least unsurpassed.

capable of any. The general who enjoyed their confidence was a weak and vicious man, named Chares, though Phocion, both good and able, was then in their service: while the commonwealth suffered from that want of energy under which those, who in other respects were equal to the first offices of the state, contented themselves with inferior situations, because they found them sufficiently lucrative, and attended with less trouble. In this situation of affairs, most of the Chalcidian cities fell into the hands of Philip, and after some time, which was prolonged by the assistance sent them from Athens, the Olynthians were compelled to submit to him. Philip, finding it requisite for his present views to be at peace with the Athenians, made proposals for that purpose, which were accepted, and a treaty for seven years concluded. His sudden advance into Thessaly, however, excited no small alarm, yet he came unopposed into Locris, and by his appearance only at the head of a large army put an end to the Phocian war. Philip soon after this attacked first Perinthus, and then Byzantium; which last being assisted by the Athenians under Phocion, this commander not only compelled the king to return into his own dominions, but took many of his ships, recovered several places which he had garrisoned, and exceedingly harassed the frontiers of his kingdom. This, however, had little effect on the power of Philip, who, while the Athenians secured to themselves the city of Megara, assembled a large army in Phocis for the invasion of Attica, which was met at Cheronœa by a combined force of Bœotians and Athenians, which he totally defeated. Embassadors from Philip afterwards arriving at Athens to renew the peace, that was done; and the Athenians sent deputies to the general assembly of the Greeks, convoked by Philip; where it was required of them to furnish the king with a body of horse and a squadron of ships.

The conduct of the Athenians on the death of Philip.

On the assassination of Philip, Demosthenes and his party betraying extravagant symptoms of joy, Phocion reminded them, that the army which beat them at Cheronæa was diminished only by one. But this reproof did not restrain them from eagerly listening to all that was rashly said in affected contempt of Alexander; who made a powerfull reply to all their sarcasms by the conduct which has already been detailed; and having made the city of Thebes a dreadfull

example of his vengeance, would not deign to notice any embassadors which the Athenians sent him but Phocion; with whom he contracted a strict friendship, which continued until the king's death. This worthy Athenian proved incorruptible, when Harpalus, who had taken refuge in Athens after he had robbed Alexander, endeavoured to corrupt him; while Demosthenes was convicted of having received a bribe, and obliged to flee from Athens to avoid either imprisonment, or the payment of a fine of fifty talents. On the death of Alexander, it was determined by the Athenians to take on them the defence of the common liberty of Greece, and Leosthenes was appointed the commander of a very fine army, with which he engaged and defeated the Macedonians under Antipater; but was himself slain in besieging the Thessalian city Lamia, into which that general had retired. After another victory over the Macedonians the Greeks themselves were routed, and several cities of Thessaly being taken by storm, the confederates making their peace separately with Antipater, the Athenians were reduced to the utmost extremity. Nor would the Macedonian listen to any proposals they made, but for the sake of Phocion. With him a treaty was concluded, on condition that Demosthenes and Hyperides should be delivered up, that a garrison should be received into Munichia, and some other articles. Phocion entreating, that the particular of the garrison might not be enforced, Antipater replied, "I will deny thee, Phocion, nothing, but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own." But a friend of Phocion's was appointed to command the garrison: Demosthenes fled, and being pursued poisoned himself.

Athens put under a better government for a short time.

After the establishment of the Macedonian garrison in Athens, a great number of the lower citizens being disfranchised, political affairs were committed to men of higher rank; while the Athenians regretted the loss of power which they knew not how to use, and vainly strove to get the Macedonian garrison removed. After the death of Antipater, his son, Cassander, sent Nicanor to command the garrison of Athens, whom Phocion endeavoured to persuade to introduce no change in the government. But Polysperchon, to whom was entrusted the care of the kings, with the view of recovering the Greek cities from his rival Cassander, published a decree for restoring

all, and particularly Athens, to their freedom, a measure which threw the Athenians at once into confusion, and produced, because he corresponded with Nicanor who refused to obey it, and withdraw the garrison, the death of Phocion, whom that ungratefull and execrable mob, whose perpetual practice it had ever been to condemn to exile or to death their most valuable citizens, being restored to power by the cruel Polysperchon, put to death. The many-headed monster, however, ruled not long, for Cassander arriving in the port with a powerfull fleet, the citizens submitted to his leaving a garrison in the fort, and appointing an Athenian to preside over the city. And accordingly he placed in the office Demetrius Phalereus, a descendant of Conon, who increased the publick revenues, ornamented the city with new edifices, and repaired the old, and manifested so much attention to its welfare, that the Athenians erected no less than three hundred statues to him; though because he was armed with authority over them, they basely hated him in their hearts. Neither was the contemptible vileness of the democratick spirit manifested in the conduct of the Athenians towards Demetrius Phalereus alone. For when Demetrius the son of Antigonus had expelled Cassander's garrison, and declared the popular government restored, they with the most fulsome flattery not only gave him and his father the title of kings, which they had not yet assumed, but termed them tutelar deities, and appointed for them a priest, by whose name they decreed the year should in future be noted. The portraits of Antigonus and his son, they placed among their Gods. To close the whole it was proposed, and decreed, that the embassadors to Antigonus and Demetrius should be styled, embassadors to the gods. But to this groveling impiety they added the murderous iniquity of adjudging their benefactor Demetrius Phalereus to death, and sent assassins to way-lay and murder him.

No sooner was the democratick sway restored in Athens, than its concomitants, severe oppression, frequent accusations, and numerous condemnations followed; to be eminent induced danger, to be low attracted contempt. While the grossest obsequiousness even to the vicious propensities of Demetrius continued to blot the acts of the city, until Antigonus lost his empire and his life, when Demetrius

CHAPTER III. FIFTH PERIOD.

being obliged to steer with a small squadron towards Athens, where he had left his queen and great part of his navy, embassadors were sent to notify to him, that the Athenians had passed a law, that no crowned head should enter their city. No observation can place this behaviour in a light sufficiently contemptible, unless it be by saying that it was practised by the *majesty* of the people. Soon after this, the internal dissensions of the city encouraged one Lacharis to seize the government; he, however, on Demetrius laying siege to the city, privately quitted it; nor on gaining possession of it did Demetrius take any further vengeance for the insults offered him, than mildly rebuking the citizens for their ingratitude and loading them with benefits. They then by a decree presented to him the haven of the Pyræus and the castle of Munichia, which he garrisoned. Very faithfull consequently did the Athenians behave to him, and especially when possessed of the kingdom of Macedon; but when expelled from that, and again sunk into adversity, they degraded his priest, and put all things in their old state. Yet after this Demetrius having raised an army, reduced the city by a siege to great distress, but on the intercession of Craterus, the philosopher, he raised it, and left them once more at their liberty.

The Athenians again act with courage.

The liberty to which they had thus been restored, the Athenians preserved, until Greece was menaced by the Gauls which Brennus led, when, under their general Calippus, they did such things as manifested somewhat of their ancient magnanimity. But Antiochus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius, again obliged them to admit a garrison, and he left them as his subjects to his son. From this subjection Aratus, the Achæan, endeavoured fruitlessly two or three times to free them. But at last, when they suddenly desired his assistance, he, by bribing the commander of the Macedonian garrison, prevailed on him to withdraw his forces, and thus leave the people at liberty to join the Achæan league, with the history of which that of Athens is from this period identified.

So unimportant were the transactions in which neither of the principal states of Greece, whose history has been detailed at a length so great in proportion to the proposed bulk of the present work, were concerned, that it is not requisite to detain the reader

Miserable lot of the Epirots.

with the story of any of the minor republicks, and consequently we may continue our course westwards, where Epirus affords scarcely any thing yet unmentioned, but that the Romans in revenge of its inhabitants having assisted Perses, plundered their cities and levelled them with the ground, selling for slaves no less than an hundred and fifty thousand Epirots, and carrying the chief men of the country to Rome, where most of them were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Upon the dissolution of the Achæan league this region was made a part of the province of Macedonia. Having brought the history of Greece down to the time of its merging in the Roman empire, there now remains nothing more to keep us from resuming the history of Rome itself.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of Rome resumed, and carried down to the end of the Period.

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Tarquin the proud reigns at Rome. B. C. 534.

TARQUIN, who by the murder of Servius had possessed himself of the Roman throne, proved a tyrant which deserved, as well as obtained the title of Proud. He treated the senate and the people with the same insolent disregard, and endeavoured to secure himself against that hatred, which he was conscious he must contract, by a strong guard of foreigners. By means of a nefarious stratagem, he so far obtained the confidence of the Latins, that they renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of their armies. Not long after the Hernici, and two cantons of the Volsci entered into an alliance with him on the same terms. Encouraged by this accession of strength, he made war on the rest of the Volsci, took and plundered the city of Suessa Prometia, and then turning his arms against the Sabines, by two complete victories over them made the whole nation tributary. On his return to Rome, he obliged the idle populace to work for only a poor support, at the completion of the sewers and circus, which his grandfather had begun.

Capture of Gabii.

The tyranny of the king having driven many patricians to take refuge at Gabii, a city of Latium, about twelve miles from Rome, they prevailed on the inhabitants of it to commence a war on Tarquin, which lasted seven years; when discontents, which, what they suffered from its continuance occasioned among his subjects, excited

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in the king some fear of a revolt; when his son, Sextus Tarquinius, planned and carried into execution a most iniquitous project, by which he put his father in possession of that city. It was during the peace which then ensued, that the books of the Sibyl were brought to Tarquin.* During the same, too, he undertook the completion of the temple of the capital, which his grandfather had begun.† For this purpose, he hired artists from Hetruria, making his own subjects perform the most laborious part.

A destructive plague now breaking out at Rome, two of Tarquin's sons were sent to Delphos to consult the oracle concerning it, and a pretty story is recorded of L. J. Brutus, who afterwards became so renowned, and whose father, a venerable patrician, Tarquin had murdered, that he might seize his estate, accompanying them on

* The anecdote recorded of them is this: an unknown woman appeared at court, offering nine volumes for sale at a very high price. The king refusing to buy them, she withdrew, and burnt three of them, then returned, and asked the same price for the remaining six; when she was treated as insane. On this, she burnt one half of those which remained, and, returning a third time, still demanded the same price for those which were left. When Tarquin, stricken with these circumstances, ordered the augurs to examine the books, which proving to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cuma, they declared them invaluable, and advised the king to make the purchase. This he did, and the woman soon after disappeared, having exhorted the Romans to preserve her books with great care. Tarquin appointed two persons of distinction to be guardians of them, who were styled Duumviri, and had them deposited under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, where they were kept, until they were burnt with the temple itself.

† This was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and stood on the Tarpeian hill. Its name of Capitol is said to have been derived from a human head, discovered when they were digging for the foundation, which was as fresh as if just taken off, on which singularity the augurs being consulted, declared that it portended that Rome would become the head of Italy. This encouraged Tarquin to make the structure as magnificent as he could. It was two hundred feet broad, and two hundred and fifteen long. The front was to the south, facing the Palatine hill and the forum, from the last of which, an hundred steps led to the temple, divided at certain distances by large landing-places. This front consisted of three rows of pillars, and two sides of the temple were adorned with a peristyle, consisting of a double row of pillars. This edifice was burnt down more than once, but always rebuilt with the same proportions. The whole arch of it was gilt within and without, and it contained three chapels under one roof; one dedicated to Jupiter, one to Juno, and another to Minerva.

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the journey. On their return, the princes found their father occupied with the siege of Ardea, the metropolis of the Rutuli. While they lay here, it is said, that Sextus Tarquinius, having by her husband been shewn the wife of Callatinus, conceived for her a criminal passion, and went from before Ardea to gratify it, compelling Lucretia (for such was the lady's name) by menaces to comply with his desires. The injured female sending for her father and husband, when these were arrived, accompanied by several noble Romans, among whom are particularized Publius Valerius, and Lucius Junius Brutus, who had till then assumed the appearance of an ideot, she declared to them the outrage she had suffered, conjured them to revenge it, and then stabbed herself. On which Brutus, laying aside the disguise he had hitherto worn, proposed a confederacy for the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the abolition of monarchical government: which was without hesitation acceded to by the company present, and with nearly as little by the senate, the people, and the army before Ardea, which, on hearing of the commotions at Rome, the king had left to hasten to that city. In the mean time, at the suggestion of Brutus, the form of the Roman government was changed, and, instead of a monarch, two annual magistrates were elected, with the title of consuls; and the first individuals on which the new dignity was conferred, were Brutus himself, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the widowed husband of Lucretia. Tarquin, finding no admission into the city, and on his return to the army being rejected by his troops, fled to either Gabii, or Cære, in Hetruria, and those on whom the command of the army devolved, concluded with the Rutuli a truce for fifteen years, and returned to Rome. And thus terminated the first or kingly form of government of the Roman state, after it had subsisted through seven reigns, and, according to the common computation, in the two hundred and forty third of the city.

The rape of Lucretia.

B. C. 511.

The first measure of the consular government.

One of the first measures of the new magistrates was, to bind the people by an oath, never to permit a king to reign at Rome again; and they suffered even the name to remain only with an officer who was elected from among the patricians, for the performance of those sacred offices which used to be performed by the monarchs, and was

styled *rex sacrorum*. The consuls then proceeded to restore the senate to its ancient dignity, and from the Roman knights complete its number to three hundred. The new senators being termed Conscripti, that epithet was afterwards applied to the whole body.

Embassadors having arrived from Tarquinii, whither the Tarquins had retired, to demand the restoration of the dethroned sovereign's paternal estate (which demand was granted, but afterwards reversed) they took the opportunity of engaging several young people of rank in a conspirary for the restoration of the exiled king; which, being discovered, afforded Brutus an opportunity of manifesting his immoveable firmness in not only pronouncing, but seeing, the sentence of death executed on his sons, who were implicated in it. Collatinus, the other consul, betrayed an inclination to deal so leniently with the conspirators, that he fell under the suspicion of the people, and his colleague, Brutus, moved for his deposition from the consulship, when Publius Valerius was elected to succeed him. What Tarquin could not obtain by stratagem, he next endeavoured to acquire by force, but herein too he was foiled; the army he had raised from Veii and Tarquinii fleeing before the Romans after a severe battle, at the very commencement of which, Aruns, one of Tarquin's sons, and the consul, Brutus, slew each other. The consul's place was supplied by Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia. But he died a few days after his election, and left Valerius (who, from the various points in which he added to the power, and flattered the pride of the people, gained the surname of Poplicola, or worshipper of the people) sole consul a second time. Among the laws which this eminent Roman had enacted, was that for the establishment of two officers called quæstors, to whom was assigned the custody and the disbursement of the publick money, thenceforth kept in the temple of Saturn.*

A conspiracy for the restoration of Tarquin.

* These were annual officers, yet often appointed from the most illustrious patricians, and even such as had been consuls. At first there were only two, and they of the patrician order, to whom the commanders, on returning from a war, delivered in an account of the spoils on oath. As the business increased, two more quæstors were

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In the place of Lucretius, Horatius Pulvillus was elected consul, and served out the rest of the year. But as the brevity of the present work will by no means admit of the notice of every annual change, it is hoped that the reader will excuse the consuls being particularized but in the case of some important event. It was in the third consulship of Poplicola, and the second of Horatius Pulvillus, that Porsena, king of the Clusini, one of the twelve nations of Hetruria, took up the cause of the Tarquins, and attacked the Romans, with success, there is reason to conclude, much greater than the Roman historians acknowledge. Yet he certainly relinquished his first object, and left the people of Rome to enjoy the government of their choice. Under this they were repeatedly attacked by the Sabines, but at length compelled them to sue for peace, taking from them on that occasion ten thousand acres of land. The Latins next espoused the cause of the Tarquins, in the army to be raised on which occasion most of the inferior classes refused to enlist, unless their debts were cancelled by a decree of the senate, and so far spread the sedition, that a general insurrection was dreaded, when the absurdity and pernicious tendency of one of those laws by which Poplicola had increased his popularity, that called the valerian, by which appeals were allowed to the assembly of the people, were so deeply felt, that the senate determined on the measure of creating a new magistrate, with the title of dictator, whose power should be temporary, not extending beyond six months, but absolute. To

The war with Porsena.

The First Dictator, B. C. 499.

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added, whose duties were restrained to paying the troops on foreign service, and selling the plunder, and on the creation of these, two of the quæstors began to be taken from the Plebeians. These quæstors were called, consulares, militares, and perigrini: the others cerarii and urbani. In the year of Rome 488, the great increase of the republick gave occasion to the again doubling of the number of quæstors. The four new ones were called provincial quæstors, and these were afterwards increased, as Rome enlarged her empire. The pro-consuls and proprætors, had each his quæstor to take care of the revenues of the provinces entrusted to their care; when the quæstorships of the large and distant provinces were greedily sought after. The office of quæstor, though often filled by consular men, was the first step to great employments. They were first chosen by the people, then by the consuls, and afterwards by the people again.

this step, the people, unaware of its consequences, assented; and Titus Lartius, one of the consuls, was by the other, Clælius, nominated dictator.*

Lartius manifested his sense of the importance of his new office, by the dignity with which he surrounded it, creating a general of the Roman horse, to hold the next post to himself, under the title of the Master of the Horse; to this he nominated Sp. Cassius, who had been consul. When he appeared in publick, he was attended by twenty-four lictors, with both fasces and axes. By his vigourous preparations and judicious conduct, he soon induced the Latins to agree to a suspension of hostilities; and then, considering the tranquillity of the commonwealth restored, he resigned his office: though the six months assigned to it were not expired. But when the truce with the Latins was expired, the senate had recourse to the expedient of which they had experienced the benefit, and Aulus Posthumius, one of the consuls, was declared dictator: who so completely defeated the Latin army, that the nation submitted their fate to the decision of the senate; who renewed with them the ancient treaties, on condition of their restoring the prisoners, delivering up the deserters, and expelling the Roman exiles from Latium. This was the last war in which the Romans were engaged on account of Tarquin, who now being abandoned by the Latins, Hetrurians, and Sabines, retired to Cumæ, and died there in the ninetieth year of his age.

New dissensions terminated by the creation of tribunes of the people. B. C. 494.

The tranquillity which the cessation of the wars excited by Tarquin, might have produced, was prevented by domestick dissensions, occasioned by the load of debt under which the plebeians of Rome laboured, and the harsh measures which their creditors

* To this supreme office no one was admissible until he had been consul. In all particulars, but leaving Italy, and riding on an expedition, his power was uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, without consulting the senate. He could punish as he pleased, and from his sentence lay no appeal. On his entering on office, the authority of all other magistrates ceased, or became subordinate to his. On abdication of his office, he was liable to no account. The misuse of this absolute power by Sylla and Cæsar, occasioned a decree of the senate on the murder of the latter, which abolished the office for the future; nor was it again revived, until its prerogatives were assumed by the bishops of Rome.

CHAPTER IV. FIFTH PERIOD.

employed against them. In these the authority of the senate suffered, though firmly, not to say ferociously, supported by Appius Claudius, one of the consuls. Still the attacks of both the Volsci and Aurunci were defeated. Yet these intestine broils inviting the assaults of more enemies, at the head of which were the revolted Sabines, a dictator was named, Manius Valerius, the brother of Poplicola. By him, and the commanders under him, the Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines were defeated. But on his return, the senate refusing to take measures for the relief of the debtors, he abdicated his office in resentment; a step which was followed by the soldiery of the army, which the consuls immediately led out, separating from their commanders, and encamping on what was afterwards called Monssacer, three miles from the city, and beyond the Anio. Nor was this secession ended, but by the senate's agreeing to the establishment of five new officers, called tribunes of the people; whose only business was to protect the people, being for this purpose invested with the very important privilege of disannulling any edict or judgments burdensome to them; and L. J. Brutus and C. Sicinnius Bellutus, two of the most active of the revolters, were chosen by the people to this office, they themselves selecting three others for their colleagues: and the persons of all the tribunes were declared sacred.*

The institution of the plebeian Ædiles.

One of the first steps taken by the tribunes to augment their power, was the obtaining of permission from the senate to choose two plebeians to be their assistants. These afterwards had the cogni-

* Though these officers were at first only five in number, five more were in a short time added to them. Their interposition, in matters determined by the senate or the magistrates, consisted solely in rising, and pronouncing the word *Veto*: they had seats at the door of the senate, but were never admitted into it, except when called for. They wore no official habit, and were attended only by one servant, called Viator. They were not permitted to be absent from the city a day, except during the Feriæ Latinæ. Their doors were to be open day and night. Though they at first pretended only to prevent oppression, they, under this plea, gradually extended their influence, as other bodies have since done, until they had usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to support them; and occasioned far greater disturbances in the state, than those which they were at first instituted to appease; proving truly, what they were styled, the bane of the republick.

zance of many affairs, which were before within the jurisdiction of the consuls, and the inspection of all the buildings of the city: whence their name of Ædiles, with the epithet, plebeian, to distinguish them from the curule Ædiles.

Corioli taken from the Volsci.

The consul Cominius having routed the Volsci in a pitched battle, and taken from them Longula and Polusca, next made himself master of their metropolis, Corioli: on the same day, too, he defeated the Antiates. But he magnanimously acknowledged, both by publick declaration and most ample rewards, the very eminent part that Caius Marcius, a young patrician, had in both these last achievements, and bestowed on him the surname of Coriolanus. A census being made during this consulship, there were found in Rome an hundred thousand men of military age.*

Coriolanus defeats the Antiates, and is afterwards persecuted by the tribunes, and banished.

In the following year, the city suffering greatly by famine, the consuls employed the expedient of colonizing Velitræ and Norba, though opposed in this measure by the tribunes; through whose pernicious interference no army could be levied to oppose the Antiates, who made incursions to the very gates of Rome. But Coriolanus, at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into the country of the enemy, and having repeatedly defeated them, returned home with a great booty. But in the dissensions which were raised by the interested intrigues of the tribunes, the unguarded warmth with which this high-spirited soldier opposed the encroachments of the populace, brought on him the most violent persecution from the plebeian magistrates; which ended in his exile, and their triumph over the authority of the senate; and in their establishing no small alteration for the worse in the constitution of Rome, by giving still greater sway to the basest of the citizens, and rendering every man, whose virtues or abilities might make him the object of envy, insecure.

Coriolanus enters into the service of the Volsci, and obliges the Romans to sue to him for peace.

The banished Coriolanus, determined to revenge the injury he had received, applied to the general of the Volsci, and by their intrigues

* During this also, died, in as great poverty as Poplicola, Menenius Agrippa, the author of the celebrated apologue of the stomach and the limbs, which made an impression so deep on the plebeians that had seceded.

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the truce then subsisting between that nation and the Romans was soon broken; when Coriolanus, being entrusted with the command of part of the forces of the Volsci, recovered several places from the possession of his own countrymen, and carried his ravages of the Roman territories to within five miles of the city. Neither did he relent from his demands, in favour of the people in whose service he was engaged, until his wife and mother, at the head of a deputation of Roman females, besought him to have compassion on them and his country; when, with conduct which can no more justly be praised as firm in itself, than it can be applauded as fair to the Volsci, he desisted from further hostilities; and when about to make his defence before the general assembly of the last-mentioned nation, was assassinated, by men suborned by Attius Tullus, the general of it, whose jealousy he had by his achievements excited.

The Volsci and Hernici defeated, the last admitted into the Roman alliance by Sp. Cassius.

When, after the murder of this great man, the Romans had the wisdom to choose for consuls, not the obsequious courtiers of the populace, but men of integrity and ability, victory again attended their armies; the Hernici were beaten, and the Volsci received a total defeat, in which their general, Attius Tullus, had visited on him the blood of Coriolanus, and was slain. The next year the Hernici were reduced to sue for peace and alliance with the Romans: both of which were granted them by the consul, Sp. Cassius; whose attempts to carry an Agrarian law introduced much dissension, and, added to other circumstances, excited suspicions, and gave ground to an accusation of a design to usurp the sovereignty; for which he was condemned, and precipated from the Tarpeian rock.

Evil consequence of the civil dissensions.

While the perpetual wars with the neighbouring states required unanimity and vigour, the differences between the senate and the tribunes about the Agrarian law weakened every military effort, and at length introduced so much difficulty even into the election of consuls, that the senate agreed, that the administration should for a time be confided to some venerable seniors, governing by turns, and during whose administration all other authority should be suspended. The second of these brought the contending parties to a compromise, and one consul of each party was chosen. This concord ended with the year, when, through the

renewal of the disputes, the Roman territories were exposed undefended to hostile ravages, and Appius Claudius suggested to the patricians the gaining over some of the tribunes; a measure which proved very successfull; and the people enlisting, enabled one of the consuls to gain considerable advantages over the Æqui. The Hetrurians having invaded the Roman territories, were, after a long, doubtfull, and severe engagement, in which one of the Roman consuls, Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus, was slain, and the other, M. Fabius, wounded, and his brother, Q. Fabius, killed, defeated; while the conduct of the surviving consul rendered the Fabii popular.

The patriotick conduct of the Fabii.

Cæso Fabius being elected consul the third time, tried unsuccessfully to prevail on the senate to proceed to a distribution of lands; in consequence of which refusal, no army could be raised to oppose the Hetrurians, whose incursions extended even to the foot of the hill Janiculum. When Fabius proposed to the men of his own family to undertake alone, and at their own expence, to secure the frontiers against the Veientes, the Fabii consenting, and the senate approving the measure, the whole family, amounting to three hundred and six of military age, with their vassals and clients, forming altogether a body of about four thousand men, the next day proceeded to fortify a post, which was conveniently situated for the purpose, and thence made incursions into the enemy's country. Their expeditions being attended with success, on the expiration of the consulship of Cæso Fabius, and his application for permission to join the party, the senate created for him a new office of proconsul, by which he was invested with the same command over the troops as a consul, but with no other authority; though in later ages that office had much more extensive jurisdiction annexed to it. After various successfull actions with the enemy, the Veientes, being joined by the rest of the Hetrurians, at last succeeded in entirely cutting off this brave little band; so that the continuance of the family of the Fabii depended on the children of it that had been left in the city: one of the deplorable consequences of the perpetual struggle for power between the tribunes and the senate. This outguard destroyed, the Hetrurians marched towards Rome, and defeated Menenius, one of the consuls; but when about a mile from the city, were themselves routed by the other, Horatius. Yet

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still continuing in the vicinity, the pressure of famine obliged the Romans to march against them, when the former gained a complete victory.

The Tribunes persecute the consuls, but are repressed in their attempts by the sudden death of one of their own body.

The people being thus relieved from want, recurred to their ancient demands of a distribution of lands, and the tribunes added to the terrours of their office by summoning the consuls, as soon as they were out of theirs, to answer charges before the assembly of the people, under which most ungratefull persecution Menenius perished of grief and hunger. A remarkable victory having been gained over the Hetrurians in general, and the Veientes in particular having agreed to a truce of forty years, this peace abroad yielded occasion for a renewal of intestine broils, when the sudden death of one of the tribunes, which the superstition of the multitude ascribed to the divine judgment, suspended for a time the pressure of their demands. But the patricians, instead of making use of that opportunity for establishing permanent tranquillity by their moderation and equity, provoked new dissension, and by the harsh treatment given by the consuls to a plebeian named Volero, a new and able adversary was raised against them; by whose suggestion, the people, after much contention, (in which as the conduct of Appius Claudius, one of the consuls, was most unjustifiably irritating, so was that of the tribunes most presumptuously incroaching, and a civil war was nearly commencing,) the people, I say, gained a law for the election of the tribunes, not by curiæ as heretofore, but by tribes: by which the influence of the senate in the election was very much diminished, and a much wider field opened for the operation of demagogues. So that here another important and pernicious alteration may be considered as having taken place in the government of Rome.

Different success of the two consuls in their campaign.

The two consuls having taken the field, Quinctius against the Æqui, and Appius against the Volsci, the former ravaged the territories of the enemy without opposition, while Appius was, by the disobedient and mutinous behaviour of his troops, obliged to return into the Roman territories; where yet, it is well worthy of remark, those very troops submitted to the severity of military execution, and were by the consul decimated. After the expiration of his consulate, however, Appius having further irritated the tribunes by his opposi-

tion to the Agrarian law, such a persecution was raised against him that he laid violent hands on himself. Yet the removal of this opponent did not promote the enaction of the law, and the political struggles consequently continued; though in the mean time good success attended the Roman arms against the Sabines, the Æqui and Volsci, and the city of Antium was conquered for Rome. On which, it was proposed to lead a colony to the fertile district now gained, and distribute the lands of it among those who would go. When the plebeians, who had been so long clamouring for lands, refused the proffered boon, and so few citizens enrolled themselves for emigration, that the triumvirs, to whom the business was committed, were obliged to admit strangers to fill up the appointed number of colonists. Yet this circumstance had the good effect of diminishing the cry for the partition of lands.

The war with the Æqui gives the first occasion to to the decree, "Videat consul."

Civil tranquillity now prevailing, the Æqui were reduced to subjection to Rome. Yet they did not continue in the submission they had promised, but renewed their resistance, until, defeating one of the consuls, they kept him closely besieged in his camp; when to meet the exigency the senate introduced a new measure, and passed a decree by which the whole government of the state was put into the hands of the other consul. This law, to which recourse was afterwards repeatedly had, ran in the following expressive terms: "videat consul, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat." By the vigorous operations then entered on, the Æqui were repelled, and obliged to retreat into their own country. The effects of a fearfull pestilence, which swept off both the consuls, most of the tribunes, one fourth of the senate, and almost all the flower of the youth of Rome, encouraged the Æqui and the Volsci to attempt the destruction of their haughty neighbours, and they advanced with success to the very walls of the city; but finding it well fortified, and its inhabitants under all their calamity determined, they attempted not a siege. But the pestilence ceasing, the Romans quickly levied two consular armies, by one of which the united troops of their enemies were defeated with the greatest slaughter they had ever suffered.

A proposal for establishing a code of

A tribune of the people now came forward with a proposal for establishing a fixed code of laws. All differences between indi-

viduals having been hitherto decided by the consuls, either on the principles of natural equity, on the *consuetudo gentis*, or the remains of the regal laws. This proposal tending to diminish the power of the consuls, though, as far as it went only to establish a certain and known criterion for cases, it would have been highly just in itself, and most expedient for the publick welfare, was strenuously opposed by the senate, and that more especially as there was conjoined with it a further proposition for much greater restrictions on the consular power. Hence arose violent contests, in which recourse was had even to bodily force, and in this the patricians proved superior more than once. During these dissensions a Sabine, of the name of Appius Herdonius, conceived the bold project of surprizing Rome; and having induced about four thousand adventurers to join him, he actually seized the capitol by night, but in the course of the next day was slain with all his followers. P. Valerius, the consul, having fallen in the attack on Herdonius, Quinctius Cincinnatus was selected in his room; whose firm and able conduct defeated the seditious attempts of the tribunes. Yet these last were at the end of the year re-elected, in direct breach of an agreement into which the people had entered with the senate. A joint attack of the Volsci and the Æqui being repulsed, and the city of Antium which had revolted being recovered, the last-mentioned people submitted to peace on the same conditions as the Latins had before. But these they did not long observe, since the very next year they joined in an attack on the Romans, but their army were at length by Cincinnatus, the dictator, all taken prisoners, and obliged to submit to the disgrace of passing under the yoke. This dictatorship continued but sixteen days; and its expiration was followed by broils both at home and abroad. The former were settled by the senate's agreeing to the number of the tribunes of the people being increased to ten, and the latter quieted by one consul acting against the Sabines, and the other against the Æqui, who had not yet been sufficiently subdued to render them permanently tranquil.

laws gives rise to new dissensions.

Increased arrogance of the tribunes.

The increase of their number augmented, not unnaturally, the arrogance of the tribunes, who on a difference with the consuls in publick, had the presumption to command their Œdiles to seize those

magistrates. After which, again proposing an Agrarian law, the patricians by force prevented the enactment of it. While the Romans were engaged in these domestick broils, the Æqui again raised their heads, but were again defeated with great loss. Another acquisition of authority was next made by the tribunes, in obtaining a law, by which any magistrate was authorized to fine those who treated them with disrespect; a prerogative before confined to the consuls.

A fixed code of laws determined on and decemvirs appointed.

The tribunes no longer continuing to press for an Agrarian law, and still demanding the establishment of a fixed code, the senate, at length, thought proper to concede this point, and a decree was passed by that body, and confirmed by the people, appointing three deputies to repair to Greece, and there collect, and especially from Athens, the best laws and institutions they could discover. The quæstors, in whose department that business lay, dispatched three deputies handsomely appointed, and after two years they returned. When the people urged the nomination of ten commissioners, for the important task of drawing up a body of laws. This, after much purposed delay on the part of the consuls, was very unexpectedly taken up by Appius Claudius, one of the consuls elect, and by his exertions a decree was passed, that ten men, venerable both for their age and for their wisdom, should be chosen to compile a body of laws out of those brought from Greece, and that they for one whole year should be invested with the sovereign power, that of all other magistrates, and even of the tribunes of the people, ceasing. The tribunes made a fruitless attempt to get some plebeians inserted in this commission, and at length, the people being convened by centuries, proceeded to the election of the decemvirs, and ten consulars of great distinction were nominated; Appius Claudius standing at the head of them. With the greatest propriety and moderation did these officers at first conduct themselves. In translating the Greek manuscripts imported from Athens, they were assisted by Hermodorus, an Ephesian exile, then at Rome. When the whole work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people, and presenting it to them, requested they would examine and make in it what alterations they might think proper, declaring that no particular

should pass into law, but by universal consent. When the corrections which appeared requisite had been made, the ten tables were laid before the senate where no opposition was made to them, but a decree passed for convening the centuries for their ratification. In this assembly they were solemnly confirmed, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and arranged in the forum. A number of other regulations, sufficient to fill two other tables, being deemed requisite to be added, the decemviral government was continued for one year longer. At the head of this too, by meanly courting the people, Appius contrived to get himself placed, as well as to have nominated such associates as he could command; among whom, to the great surprize of the senate, were three plebeians. These decemvirs having once got into authority, began to deliberate on the means of continuing themselves in it, and assumed a reserve and haughtiness, very different from the behaviour of those of the preceding year, whence arose apprehensions of their evil designs. Nor was it long ere these were manifested; since, on their first publick appearance in their office, each decemvir was attended with twelve lictors, bearing axes among their fasces, as formerly carried before the kings, and since before the dictator, and consistently with this menacing appearance they assumed a despotick power. Henceforward no man's life or property was secure. Some of the chief citizens were whipped for complaining of the present administration; others were banished, and some even put to death. The fury of these new tyrants was chiefly vented on the people; for most of the patricians retired into the country; and too many of the younger part of them endeavoured to screen themselves from the punishment due to their licentious conduct by courting the decemvirs in the most abject manner. When the ides of May, the time appointed for the election of new magistrates, arrived, the decemvirs proposed two new tables of laws, which like the preceding, were accepted, and completed the twelve so much spoken of, and which the Romans ever after preserved as sacred. But no mention was made of an election of new magistrates; on the contrary, the tyrants laid aside all disguise. Whoever gave them the least umbrage was proscribed; and many worthy citizens sought a refuge among the Latins and Hernici.

The oppressed people looked to the senate for deliverance; but that body took a malicious pleasure in referring those who complained to Claudius, their idol.

The decemvirs raise an army which will not fight, and are at length driven from their office.

The weak condition of the Romans being known to the Sabines and the Æqui, they made an unexpected invasion to within a few miles of the city: to enable them to levy forces to repel these, the decemvirs were obliged to assemble the senate, in which, after meeting with much opposition, and receiving many reproaches, they forced through, rather than carried, a decree for raising troops; under the authority of which they enlisted ten legions. But the portion of these which were led against the enemy, would not conquer, but returned within the territories of Rome: while in the city itself, a nefarious attempt of Appius to get into his power a virgin of remarkable beauty, and whom, to preserve her chastity, her own father put to death, raised both the armies and the citizens against the decemvirs; who were at length compelled to lay down their much-abused authority; when the consular government was restored, and several laws very imprudently passed, which gave the people a superiority over the senate. After which Appius, being cited by Virginius, the father of the damsel of whose death he had been the cause, to appear before the people, he was ordered to prison, where he died; but whether by his own hand, or that of another, remains yet undecided. Oppius, one of the plebeian decemvirs, was next imprisoned, and died the same day. These examples so alarmed the other eight, that they went into voluntary exile, leaving their goods to be confiscated for the publick benefit.

The Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.

The tribunes attempt to usurp the government.

The decemvirate thus got rid of, the consuls took the field against the Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines, who were all defeated; but the senate refused the conquerours a triumph: when they, no less reprehensibly, appealed to the people, and celebrated a triumph under their order. The tribunes now formed a design of getting themselves continued, with a view of usurping the government of the commonwealth, as they had seen the decemvirs do. But in this project they were so completely thwarted, that among the next year's tribunes were nominated two patricians, and even old senators. To

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prevent this recurring again, a law, called, from the proposer of it, Lex trebonia, was passed, which directed all the tribunes to be chosen by the votes of the people; whereas till then, if, on the day of election the full number was not chosen, those who were elected had power to name their colleagues. Two years after this, on the renewal of the customary broils between the patricians and plebeians, the Æqui and Volsci again invaded the dominions of Rome, and were again completely beaten. The Roman people being chosen arbitrators in a dispute between the inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia concerning a large tract of land, they with the most barefaced iniquity did, at the suggestion and on the testimony of an old Roman, adjudge it to themselves.

Military tribunes first introduced, and censors the same.

The tribunes having succeeded in getting into the hands of the people so large a part of the government of the republick, next demanded the repeal of the law, which prohibited intermarriages of patricians and plebeians, and likewise proposed, that the latter should be admitted to the consulate. The first of these points, under the favourable circumstance of an hostile attack by several neighbouring nations, they carried. But to prevent the concession of the other, a new form of government, that of military tribunes, was devised: and it was proposed, that they should be chosen partly out of the senate, and partly from the plebeians, and be invested with consular power. The comitia were accordingly holden for the election of these new magistrates, but, as the people would vote for none but patricians, three only were chosen. And these, after holding the office three months, readily resigned it, on the suggestion, that their election, through the inauspiciousness of the auguries, was void; when it was determined to revert to the old form of government, and new consuls were elected. In the following year the office of censor was first separated from the consulate, and two new magistrates, with the title of censors, created, who were every five years to take a general review of all the Roman people, and an account of their effects: but who no sooner were established in their new office, than they took on them the reformation of manners, and subjected to their tribunal the senators and knights as much as the meanest of the people.

B. C. 444.

Not aware of the importance of which these new magistrates would become, the tribunes neither opposed the institution of them, nor demanded that plebeians should be eligible to the office.

Sp. Mælius detected, and put to death, and Cincinnatus named dictator.

A Roman knight, named Sp. Mælius, taking advantage of his own riches, and a dearth of corn, conceived a project for seizing the sovereignty of his country; but his measures being detected, Cincinnatus, then past fourscore, was again named dictator, and Mælius, when cited to appear before him, endeavouring to make his escape, was slain by Servilius Adala, the master of the horse. Yet three tribunes of the people took the destruction of this traitor to his country so ill, that they obstinately opposed the election of consuls; and to avoid a tumult, the patricians were obliged to consent to the choice of military tribunes for the next year. The people, however, much against the will of their tribunes, chose only patricians for the office. But in the next, a war appearing inevitable, consuls were again elected. One of these having lost a great number of men in the war against the Veientes, the senate determined to remove him by the nomination of a dictator, and Quinctius Cincinnatus, the younger, was by the consul, Mamercus Æmilius, named to that dignity; who quickly brought to an engagement the united forces of the Falisci, Fidenates, and Veientes, and totally defeated them.

Fidenæ taken, and three dictators in a short space of time.

In the following consulate, the Romans, being greatly distressed by a plague, the Veientes and Fidenates renewed the war. But Q. Servilius Priscus, being created dictator, defeated them, and took the city of Fidenæ. A rumour that all Hetruria was preparing for war, occasioned the nomination of Mamercus Æmilius for dictator; but the alarm proving vain, all he did in his office was to propose and carry a law for shortening the duration of the censorship from five years to eighteen months. By the exertions of the tribunes of the people, military tribunes were the next year substituted for consuls: yet none but patricians chosen. Their mortification at this the rich plebeians manifested, by proposing a law (which they also carried) forbidding those who canvassed for any superior offices to do it in garments of an extraordinary whiteness: a mode of canvassing practised by the nobility only; by prohibiting which the principal plebeians hoped to put an end to the various arts used by the

patricians to gain the favour of the people. After this, new consuls were elected; but, though experienced generals, they, through a misunderstanding arising between themselves, were defeated; on which the senate wished them to name a dictator, and, on their refusing to comply with a request which seemed to arise from a distrust of themselves, the senate most impolitickly called on the tribunes of the people to interpose their authority, who very readily assumed the privilege of commanding the consuls to obey the senate under pain of imprisonment, and thus acted as the supreme magistrates of the commonwealth. Still the consuls obeyed, and Posthumius Tubertus was named dictator, who soon raised an army, defeated the enemy, and resigned his employment.

A law passed the next year, by which all fines were directed to be paid in money, manifests the relative value of that and cattle at the time of its enaction: an ox being set down at an hundred asses of brass, and a sheep at ten. When the government was again placed in the hands of military tribunes, three of them having, through want of concert, been defeated, the people insisted on a dictator being appointed, and accordingly Mamercus Æmilius was nominated, who gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Veientes and Fidenates (which last had massacred the Roman colony in their city) taking both that city, and the camp of the Veientes. The misconduct of the last military tribunes did not prevent that form of government being again recurred to for two consequent years, when again patricians only were elected. When consuls were again chosen, a sanguinary and indecisive engagement was fought with the Volsci, for which one of the tribunes of the people would have brought the consul Sempronius to a trial, but was prevented by the interposition of some of his colleagues. After another year passed under military tribunes, the consulate was restored, and a motion brought forward for the creation of two additional quæstors to attend the generals in the field: but the tribunes of the people insisting that two of the four quæstors should necessarily be plebeians, the proposed measure was rejected by the senate. On this the contest, whether military tribunes or consuls should next hold the government, was so protracted, that an inter-rex was named, and by his persuasion a

Military tribunes again chosen.

compromise was made, military tribunes were elected, and the people being left to their own choice, patricians alone were chosen, both for this office and the quæstorship. Enraged at this, the tribunes of the people wreaked their vengeance on C. Sempronius, the former consul, who, notwithstanding all the testimonies in his favour, was, on the charge before made against him, fined fifteen thousand asses of brass.

A city of Latium having revolted to the Æqui, and their conjoined forces pillaging the territory of Tusculum, two of the military tribunes marched against them, and were drawn into an ambush, and totally defeated. On this a dictator was nominated, Q. Servilius, who in eight days routed the enemy's army, stormed Labicum, the revolted city, and returned to Rome, and abdicated his office. Two years after this, the government by military tribunes continuing, a more extensive agrarian law than before was proposed, even for robbing the patricians of their lands, and dividing them between the nobility and the people, but the proposal was unsuccessfull. When a like period had elapsed, Posthumius, one of the military tribunes, did, by his intemperate severity, so exasperate the troops under his command, that they mutinied, and killed him on the spot. Lest the murderers should be screened, the senate exerted themselves the following year to get consuls elected; and these prosecuted the guilty soldiers with such circumspection, that the few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. It was in the consulate of Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius, a second time, that the tribunes first prevailed on the people to elect three plebeians for the quæstorship. Their success in this, led them to hope, that some of them would be chosen military tribunes, and therefore they opposed the election of consuls; nor, though the Æqui and Volsci had retaken Carmentum, would they suffer any troops to be levied, until the senate had consented that military tribunes should be chosen. Still this consent was accompanied with two conditions, which disappointed the tribunes of the people in their ambitious views; and after all, patricians only were elected military tribunes. The war with the Volsci having assumed what the senate deemed an appearance of great danger, they ordered a dictator to be nominated, and

On a defeat received from the Æqui and Latins, Q. Servilius is nominated dictator.

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P. Cornelius Rutilus was named to that important office; in which he gained a complete victory over the Volsci, and then resigned it.

Anxur taken, and the Roman people relieved from serving at their own expense.

Anxur being taken from the Volsci, by the military tribune, Fabius Ambustus by storm, and he having divided the spoil among all the three armies then on foot, this opened the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was perfected by a decree of the senate, that in future the Roman infantry should be maintained in the field at the publick expence. For hitherto all the citizens had been compelled to serve at their own charges; an enormous burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently inducing their ruin: pitying which, the senate passed this decree; and to furnish a fund for the additional expence, a new tax was raised, from which no citizen was exempt. This measure was most gratefully received by the people, though the tribunes endeavoured to extenuate the favour of it. And, indeed, it should seem, that the misbehaviour of the former, generally arose from the evil suggestions of the last.

War decreed against the Veientes, and the siege of their city commenced.

The senate now finding themselves able to maintain an army abroad for a continuance, began to entertain more extensive designs; and a war against the Veientes being decreed in an assembly of the people, some of the military tribunes (for no fewer than six were that year chosen, and all patricians) led an army against them. But they declining an engagement, little else was done this year than setting down before Veii. But in the next, a part of the army marching against the Volsci, defeated them, and took and demolished the city of Artena. The succeeding military tribunes pressed the siege of Veii with great vigour: and at this siege, it is remarked, lines of circumvallation and contravallation are first mentioned; and during this, too, the senate first decreed, that the cavalry should receive pay out of the publick treasury. The next year, through the misconduct of the Roman commanders, the siege of Veii was interrupted; and the discussions which took place, in consequence of the ill behaviour of the military tribunes in question, led to new broils with the tribunes of the people; yet these were quieted by the election of a plebeian into the military tribuneship. This was P. Licinius Calvus, an old senator; for considerable

plebeians had now, for some time, been admitted to a seat in the senate.

The siege of Veii carried on with great vigour, and that city taken.

The plebeian military tribune having filled his office with universal approbation, there were next year chosen no less than five military tribunes from the plebeians; whose administration proved highly honourable. They carried on the siege of Veii with great vigour, and defeated a confederate force of Falisci, and Capenates, which came to the relief of that city. But a rapid change of weather produced a severe pestilence, when a new species of expiation was devised, and the Lectisternium first introduced.* The patricians seized this opportunity of working on the superstition of the people, by suggesting the gods were offended by seeing all distinction of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the highest offices. By these means, and proposing no candidate but of high merit, they procured that none but patricians were elected for military tribunes. While these administered the government, an extraordinary swelling of the lake Alba caused much discourse, when it being declared by a diviner of Veii, that that city would never be taken, until all the water was run out of that lake, the Roman senate deemed it worth while to consult the Delphic oracle on the point, when the words of the diviner being confirmed, they ordered a canal to be made sufficient to carry off the waters, and thence they were conveyed by trenches over the lands. The election of the military tribunes of this year being declared irregular, six others, all plebeians, were chosen. Two of these, in marching to oppose a large body of Hetrurians, advancing to the relief of Veii, were drawn into an ambush, and one slain, and the other driven out of the field. The senate at the news of this, were sufficiently alarmed to have recourse to a dictator, and

* This rite the Duumviri pretended to have found in the Sybilline books. It consisted in putting three beds in a temple, round a table plentifully furnished, and placing the statues of Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune, on them, and serving up to them magnificent repasts for eight days together. While in private families these publick ceremonies were imitated. Open house was kept, even for enemies. All law-suits and animosities were suspended, and the very prisoners released to partake of the publick rejoicings

Furius Camillus, a patrician of high military reputation, was named. As soon as he took the field he totally defeated the united troops of the Falisci, Capenates, and Hetrurians, and then most vigorously pressed the siege of Veii, by sap; when, from the advance made by his miners, the dictator conceived himself certain of carrying the place, by a decree of the senate, permission was granted to all the citizens of Rome to repair to the camp, and partake in the pillage of the devoted city. The assault succeeded, and all who surrendered were put to the sword; and thus the rich city of Veii was taken, after a siege of ten years. But the Roman populace took offence at the money arising from the sale of the captives being reserved for the public use, but still more at the dictator's demanding back a tenth of the spoil, to discharge a vow he had made to Apollo just before the assault, and afterwards forgot. The singular pomp which Camillus observed in his triumph, contributed to lessen his popularity still more, and the tribunes gladly seized the opportunity of inveighing against so eminent a patrician. The produce of the plunder thus returned was destined to the purchase of a gold vase, as an offering to the Delphic Apollo; but little gold being to be bought in the city, the Roman ladies voluntarily contributed their toys and ornaments, from which was made a vase of the weight of eight talents: and in return for this generosity, the state granted that funeral orations should be spoken for illustrious women, as well as for eminent men, and that the ladies might ride in chariots at the publick games.

The Falisci admitted into alliance with the Romans.

Two years after this, Camillus himself was chosen one of the military tribunes, and the war with the Falisci being committed to his care, when at the siege of Falerii, their capital, he could, through the treachery of the publick schoolmaster, have taken captive all the children of the city, he generously had the traitor, with his hands tied behind him, whipped back into the city by the very children he would have betrayed. Such was the effect of this conduct on the Falisci, that they immediately offered to treat for a surrender, and were admitted into alliance with the Romans, on only paying the expences of the campaign. But Camillus's soldiers, disappointed of

their plunder, were offended at the terms he granted the enemy, so that the hatred of the multitude to this great man increased with his reputation.

The Æqui defeated and dissensions at Rome appeased.

While Camillus was thus employed, two of his colleagues gave a defeat to the Æqui. But, in the mean time, at Rome considerable dissensions prevailed, in which the senate having got the better, they recompensed the people with an assignment of six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. The next year, the two consuls being seized with a contagious distemper, so prevalent as to cause the suspension of military operations, they, as inauspiciously chosen, were ordered by the senate to abdicate, and after a short interregnum military tribunes were again elected. A census being now taken, the number of citizens able to bear arms, amounted to an hundred and fifty two thousand five hundred and eighty-three. The frontiers of the republick now extended above sixty miles beyond the Tiber.

The Gauls appear in Italy, and being irritated by the misconduct of the Romans advance towards their city.

But while the Romans were enjoying tranquillity at home, after their success abroad, a new enemy appeared. This was the Gauls: for a multitude of the tribe of the Senones, who possessed the country lying between Paris and Meaux, being solicited by an Hetrurian to make an irruption into Italy, that he might through them be revenged for an injury he had suffered, had passed the Alps, and possessed themselves of all the country from Ravenna to Picenum. After settling themselves in their new acquisitions, while the Romans where carrying on the siege of Veii, Arunx, the above-mentioned Hetrurian brought them before Clusium, at the time that Camillus had been driven into banishment by one of the tribunes of the people. The Clusini immediately sent embassadors to implore the assistance of the Romans. On which the senate sent others to endeavour to effect an accommodation between the two nations. But these receiving from Brennus, the commander of the Gauls, an haughty answer, though such in great part of it as was merited by the Romans, requested permission to enter the besieged place under the plea of conferring with the magistrates; but when there, forgetting their characters of embassadors and mediators, they put themselves at the head of the Clusinians in a sally, in which Q. Fabius slew

one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Upon which, Brennus exclaiming against the perfidy of the Romans, immediately raised the siege of Clusium, and marched leisurely to Rome, sending an herald before him to demand that the embassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered to him. The senate, unwilling to act in a matter so unpleasant, referred it to the people, and they chose the very persons demanded, for military tribunes at the ensuing election. Brennus viewing this as an insult, hastened his march to Rome. To meet him the six military tribunes, three of them Fabii, marched from Rome with forty thousand men, and between seven and eight miles from the city were attacked by the Gauls, to the number of seventy thousand, and completely defeated. The day after the battle, Brennus advanced to the neighbourhood of Rome, and, on hearing that the gates of the city were open, and that no one was to be seen on the ramparts, he suspected an ambuscade, and advanced so tardily, that the Romans had opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men able to bear arms; while the defenceless citizens fled for refuge to the neighbouring towns, the vestal virgins retired to Cære, a city of Hetruria, and continued there to perform their usual rites, whence they gained the name of Cæremoniæ, and thence Ceremonies. But while the rest fled, about fourscore of the most illustrious old men chose to devote themselves to death, and after having solemnly made their vows, they, each dresssed in the robes peculiar to his rank, seated themselves in the forum, in their curule chairs, expecting, with unshaken resolution, the enemy and death.

Brennus enters Rome, and burns it.

At length Brennus entered Rome, the solitude of which augmented his anxiety; and advancing into the forum, he was stricken with admiration at the sight of the old men, who continuing motionless, the Gauls for some time were afraid of them, till at length one soldier, bolder than the rest, touched the beard of one of them, who, offended at the liberty, struck him over the head with his ivory staff. The soldier immediately slew him, on which the other Gauls slaughtered the rest of those seniors without mercy. After this, the fury of the enemy knew no bounds, they plundered every place, and put to the sword all whom they found shut up in the houses.

The capitol was then invested; but here being repulsed with loss, Brennus, in revenge, commanded his soldiers to set fire to the houses, demolish the temple, and overthrow the walls. Thus was Rome entirely destroyed, except the capitol, the space in which it had stood presenting nothing but ruins. While Brennus, despairing of taking the capitol but by famine, converted the siege into a blockade.

Camillus defeats the Gauls before Ardea, is nominated dictator by the Romans, and assembles an army.

Camillus, who had now lived two years in exile at Ardea, when the inhabitants of that city came to deliberate what course to take, on the appearance of the Gauls advised them to arm in their own defence, and resist the entrance of the barbarians into their city. But these encamped before it, and as they held the Ardeates in contempt, they preserved no discipline in their camp, which Camillus observing, he, in a very dark night, led out the youth of Ardea, surprized the Gauls drowned in wine, and made a fearfull slaughter of them. This defeat encouraged the fugitive Romans to beg him to take them under his command, but this he would not do, until, having opened a communication with those in the capitol, he was formally nominated dictator; when soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp, and he soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men, partly Romans, and partly allies. While Camillus was thus preparing to raise the blockade of the capitol, Brennus made an attempt to surprize it, but when a party of the Gauls had ascended the rock, some sacred geese kept there gave the alarm, and awaked a brave man of the name of Manlius, who had once been consul, and successfully opposed those enemies that had made the assault, until a number of Romans joined him sufficient to repel the assailants.

Camillus advances to Rome, and totally defeats the Gauls.

Camillus continuing to prevent all supplies of provisions from reaching the Gauls, both besiegers and besieged now suffered so severely from want, that a negociation was entered into, and an agreement made and sworn to, that the Gauls should quit the Roman territories on the receipt of a thousand pound weight of gold. When this came to be weighed, it is said, not only that the scales and weights of the Gauls were fraudulent, but that Brennus threw his sword and belt into the scale with the weights, and on being asked the reason of it, answered only, "Væ victis," "Woe

to the vanquished;" when the Romans debated among themselves, whether they should not take back their gold, and endure the siege to all extremity. But during these disputes, Camillus advanced close to Rome, and being apprized of what was passing, hastened with the choicest of his troops to the place of parley. The Romans, with the greatest joy, received him as the supreme magistrate of the republick, and complained of the imposition of Brennus. On which the dictator ordered the treaty to be broken off, pleading the incapacity of any inferior officer to conclude one without his consent. Enraged at this, the Gauls appealed to the sword; but after inconsiderable loss retired to their camp; neither did they stay the night through there; but removed eight miles further. As soon as it was day, Camillus pursued, overtook, and gave them a total overthrow. Yet on the part of the Gauls the action was so ill sustained, that more were slain in the pursuit than in the battle; but the largest portion of all was destroyed by the inhabitants of the country, as they wandered about it after their defeat; and, it is stated, that not one of the Gauls survived to return to his own country.

The Roman people, on their descent from the capitol, finding nothing but a heap of ruins, were much inclined to embrace the advice of the greater part of their tribunes, and make Veii their metropolis; but this was opposed by both Camillus and the senate, by which last, the former was continued in the dictatorship for a whole year; when, by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, he prevailed on the people to relinquish all thoughts of leaving Rome. A short interregnum having succeeded the dictatorship of Camillus, military tribunes were next elected. By these were collected as much of the religious monuments and civil laws of Rome, as could be recovered from the ruins of the demolished city; and they sedulously applied themselves to rebuild it. The expense of rebuilding the private houses was partly defrayed from the publick treasure. The Œdiles had the direction of the works; yet these were carried on with so little order, that the new city was more irregular than even that of Romulus.

Rome rebuilt.

Rome was scarcely restored when a confederacy of the neighbouring states rendered it requisite to appoint a dictator, and

Camillus was named. Even her allies, the Latins and the Hernici, had joined those who wished to prevent her recovery of her pristine greatness. All these, under the direction of the dictator, were defeated. Against the Æqui and Volsci he marched in person, made himself master of the capital of the former, and greatly reduced the last, after they had waged war with the Romans for an hundred and seven years. After the short time in which he performed these achievements, Camillus returned to Rome, and resigned his office. During the administration of the succeeding military tribunes, the country of the Æqui was laid waste to disable them from revolting again, and two cities, Cortuosa and Contenebra, taken from the Hetrurians, and entirely demolished. And in the ensuing year four new tribes beyond the Tiber were added to the former, making the whole, that had a right of suffrage in the comitia, twenty-five. As a war appeared approaching, Camillus was chosen one of the new military tribunes, and to him his colleagues yielded the whole management of affairs. The parties in this war were the same as in the last, and their success parallel, being in every case vanquished. When Camillus's military tribuneship was expired, M. Manlius, who had saved the capitol, stung with envy at his fame, began to court the multitude, and proceed to conduct so factious, that the senate thought it necessary to create a dictator, and A. Cornelius Cossus was nominated, for which the Volsci having raised an army afforded a specious plea. This army the dictator defeated in the Pomptine territory. But when he purposed to keep the field, because he found reason to expect that the Latins and Hernici would appear in it, he was recalled to the city by the disturbances raised by Manlius. Among the charges brought by the last against the patricians was, that they had concealed the gold which was raised by a general contribution to be paid to the Gauls. The dictator having summoned Manlius before him, called upon him to declare who were the persons that had concealed this treasure, and where it was hidden; and on his not complying with this command, he committed him to prison, where he continued till Cossus abdicated his office, when the senate were so intimidated by the threats of the

Camillus again dictator, defeats the nations confederated against Rome.

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populace to break open the prison and liberate Manlius, that they weakly ordered him to be released.

Manlius condemned and executed on a charge of aiming at the usurpation of the sovereignty.

Under the next military tribunes the designs of Manlius became so manifest, that even two of the tribunes of the people preferred against him an accusation of aiming at the sovereign power, of which he was convicted before the people, and precipitated from the Tarpeian rock. Though several of her colonies revolted from Rome, and did much damage to some of her allies, the prevalence of a pestilence in the city prevented any measures against them this year: neither was much effected the next; but in the following, Camillus, though very infirm, being prevailed on to become one of the military tribunes, he gave the Volsci a complete defeat, and afterwards put a stop to the defection of the inhabitants of Tusculum, who on their submission were not only pardoned, but admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens. Under the next military tribunes considerable differences arose between the patricians and the tribunes of the people, the former wishing to defer the filling up the office of censors, and the latter exerting themselves to bring on the election of new ones. During these contests the Prænestins entered the Roman territory, and advanced even to the gates of the city. But all levies were stopped by the tribunes; on which Titus Quinctius was immediately named dictator, who raised an army, defeated the enemy twice, took all their strong holds, and Præneste itself, in the space of five and twenty days, when he resigned his office. The military tribuneship was next year equally divided between patricians and plebeians; but two of the former much disgraced themselves by their misconduct, through which both their camps were burned, and the army, which they had divided into two bodies, was nearly cut off. The next year, though patricians alone were chosen for military tribunes, yet the people obtained their object of having censors elected, who took an exact account of the people and their effects. But in their undertaking of relieving the debtors from the excessive usury wrung from them by their avaricious creditors, they were interrupted by the news, that the Volsci were ravaging the Roman lands. But these enemies did not venture to face the Romans in the field, but suffered

them, unopposed, to lay their country waste, and carry off an immense booty to Rome.

A confederacy entered into for a law, that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian.

Under the next military tribunes, who were all patricians, the Latins and the Volsci again confederated against Rome, but were defeated so completely as to give the city an interval of rest from foreign war. But from this the poorer ranks drew no benefit, the oppression of the rich creditors arising to that height as totally to depress the spirits of the people, and induce them to leave the whole administration of publick affairs in the hands of the patricians. When suddenly a very trifling accident converted an illustrious patrician into a strenuous advocate for plebeian authority.* This was Fabius Ambustus, who entered into an association with a plebeian, named Licinius, to whom he had married one of his daughters, and L. Sextius, another plebeian, of extraordinary abilities, to restore the consulship, and procure for the plebeians a share in that dignity. Licinius and Sextius first got themselves elected tribunes of the people. But to prevent the enaction of the laws which they proposed, the patricians gained over all their colleagues; and through the constant opposition that then ensued, none but plebeian officers were chosen in the state, that is, tribunes of the people and Ædiles, for five consequent years. But in the sixth, the Tusculans, who had long been allies, and had lately been admitted citizens of Rome, being attacked by the inhabitants of Velitræ, Licinius and Sextius withdrew their opposition to the election of military tribunes, and six patricians were chosen, who defeated the enemy, and formed the siege of Velitræ; and this place not being

* This patrician, it is said, had married his elder daughter to Ser. Sulpicius, a patrician, and at that time a military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian. It happened, that during a visit of the younger sister to the elder Sulpicius and his train returned from the forum. The noise made by the lictors alarmed the wife of Licinius, who was unaccustomed to it; at this her sister laughed: and so offended was the younger, at what she conceived an insult, that her dejection attracted the notice of her father, who, having persuaded her to acknowledge, that it was the difference between her own condition and her sister's, which occasioned it, assured her, that she should soon see as much state at her own house, as at her sister's. And for this important and laudable purpose, the wise Ambustus from thenceforth laboured to confound all ranks in the city.

reduced ere the year expired, six new military tribunes were chosen without opposition; among whom, unfortunately for the cause of the patricians, was Fabius Ambustus himself, whose promotion encouraged his confederates to proceed still more vigourously; when they found means to gain over three of their colleagues. Still, though they held meetings, and harangued so in the presence of the populace as to make much impression on them, they suspended any other measure until the siege of Velitræ should be over. This, however, proceeding but slowly, military tribunes were chosen for the next year. But when the citizens which composed the army were returned to Rome, the determined proceedings of Licinius and Sextius, necessitated the patricians to get a dictator nominated, and Camillus was unwillingly brought forward to fill that office a fourth time. Still Licinius and Sextius, with the most unbridled insolence, and most shameless disregard of the laws, continued to assemble the people, until by the indignant menaces of Camillus they were dispersed; when the dictator retired to his own house, and soon after resigned his office. Another dictator was soon named to succeed him, but he, P. Manlius, soon proved very partial to the people, and under his administration Licinius and Sextius got one of the laws they had proposed passed, which was, that instead of two only, ten officers should be chosen to preserve and interpret the Sybilline books, and that five of them should always be plebeians. Contented with this, at present, the people chose six patricians for military tribunes; yet the contests concerning the other laws which Licinius and Sextius strove to have enacted, became so violent, that the citizens were on the point of taking arms against each other, when news arrived, that a numerous army of Gauls was advancing, with a design to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. This suspended the divisions, and occasioned the nomination of a dictator in the great Camillus, who marching out of Rome with the vivacity of a youth, after totally defeating the Gauls, received the submission of the so-long-besieged city of Velitræ. Camillus, on account of the distracted situation of affairs at home, retained his office, in the exercise of which he was most grossly insulted by Licinius and Sextius, and the populace they had irritated; nor did they fail of at length obtaining the object of

the struggle in which they had for so many years been engaged. The interest of the money which had been discharged by the poor debtors, was considered as part of the principal, and the remainder of this was to be paid at different equal payments. No Roman citizen was to possess more than five hundred acres of land; and one of the consuls was always to be a plebeian. Thus was the government changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever.

A plebeian consul being chosen, in L. Sextius, the ambitious tribune, the senate absolutely refused to confirm his election. Nor were the violent disputes, which arose from this refusal, settled, but by an expedient devised by Camillus, now nominated dictator again; who recommended the separation of the office of judge in civil affairs from the military duties of a consul, and the creation of a new magistrate, who, with the title of prætor, should act in the city as judge; and that, on condition of his being always a patrician, the senate should consent to one of the consuls always being a plebeian. This suggestion being by both parties accepted, all dissensions were laid aside. The senate, in acknowledgment of the restoration of tranquillity being a blessing received from heaven, ordered the great games to be celebrated, adding to them a fourth day, and terming them *ludi maximi*, or the greatest games. For these the Ædiles refused to make the necessary preparations: when the young patricians offered to perform the religious duties of that office, which had hitherto been filled only by plebeians. On which the dictator proposed to the people the institution of two patrician Ædileships, to which they agreed: and these, from the ivory chair in which they sat, called *sella curulis*, were termed curule Ædiles. To them was assigned the care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repair of the city walls, as well as that of seeing that no novelty in religion was introduced. They afterwards had the examination of pieces written for the stage; and to them were delivered the corn and provisions taken from the enemy. By the creation of these officers, and that of the prætor, the patricians appear to have gained as much real weight in the state, if not more, than that of which they were deprived by one of the consuls being always

The office of prætor instituted.

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taken from the plebeians. And by these institutions, so effectual towards preserving some kind of balance in the state, Camillus finished with honour his political career; and abdicating the dictatorship, spent the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of private life.

The tribunes of the people, however, overlooked not the advantage which the patricians had gained, by having three curule magistrates for the one consul conceded to the people. Their complaints on the point exciting murmurs among the people, the senate weakly conceded the countervailing influence acquired by the patricians, and consented first, that the curule Ædiles should be plebeians every other year, and afterward that they might be so every year. These arrangements made, Rome enjoyed a profound peace; but a severe pestilence broke out, during which fell the great Camillus, a man who in probity as well as ability, would not shrink in comparison with any of the Romans. The pestilence continuing to rage a second year, and the ceremony of the Lectisternium failing to stop it, scenic sports were now first introduced,* in the hope, that the per-

Plebeians allowed to partake in the curule Ædileship.

* The performers of these representations were brought from Hetruria, in the language of which country Hister signified a player, whence the Latin term Histrio. These actors danced to the flute, keeping time with their motions and gestures, but without the repetition of any thing by the voice. Afterwards, the Roman youth imitating these foreign dances, and mixing with them such jokes and raillery as were suitable to them, this mixture became so agreeable to the people, that some were induced to compose verses for the stage. But the first speakers, in the barbarous taste of the Fescennini, a people of Hetruria, threw rude and unpremeditated jokes at one another, without order or connection. These were soon succeeded by satires, written in verse, and set to the flute, which were repeated with suitable gestures. Some years after, Livius Andronicus turned the satires into regular plays, and then the farces fell, for some time, into neglect: but the Roman youth revived and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. Nor did they ever suffer the professed actors to bear any part in these pieces, which were termed Exodia, and first brought from Atella, a city of Campania. In consequence of this restriction, the persons who acted in them were not liable to the penalties inflicted on the Histriones. Their names were not blotted out of their tribes; nor were they excluded as infamous persons from serving in war. Among the Greeks, indeed, the profession of an actor was honourable: but among the Romans it was deemed infamous. A senator, if he acted but once on the stage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An

formance of them might prove available for that purpose. But this not accomplishing it, an old religious ceremony of driving a nail by a dictator, into a particular part of the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was next resorted to, and T. Manlius was nominated dictator for that specifick purpose. When in possession of that authority, however, he would have raised forces, under the plea that the Hernici were preparing to rebel; but was by the tribunes of the people compelled to resign his office. After which he was accused by one of the tribunes, but was delivered by the bold, but generous interposition of a son whom he had treated very ill. In the events of this year is recorded a remarkable occurrence, which, if it really took place, must have excited much consternation. The earth, it is said, opened in the middle of the forum at Rome, and to fill up the chasm the citizens laboured in vain; when the augurs declared, that it could not be stopped, but by casting into it that in which the power of the Romans consisted. Interpreting this of arms and valour, a young patrician, M. Curtius, devoted himself for his country, and rode completely armed at full speed into the gulf: on which, it has been said, the ground immediately closed. But the most sober writers confess, that it was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbish. The devotement of Curtius seems not to have improved the Roman affairs; for the plebeian consul, Genutius, marching against the Hernici, fell into an ambuscade, and being abandoned by his legions, which were seized with a sudden fright, he was slain. This led to the creation of a dictator in Appius Claudius, who, after a well-contested battle, in which a great number of the Romans, as well as of the enemy, fell, obliged the Hernici to retreat under the walls of their city.

The next consuls took Ferentinum from the Hernici; after which the dread of another attack from the Gauls occasioned the nomination of another dictator, T. Quinctius Pennus, who met the Gallic army no more than three miles from Rome. But here, a champion

The Gauls again advance within three miles of Rome; but their champion being slain by Manlius, they retire.

actress was infamous, and subject to the same laws as common prostitutes. But the actors of the Atellanæ were not subject to these penalties, the Roman nobility confining these performances to themselves.

of enormous stature challenging the bravest of the Romans to engage with him in single combat, that Manlius who had rescued his father from the prosecution of the tribune, obtained the dictator's permission to fight him; when having with no great difficulty slain him, the Gauls, discouraged at this event, abandoned their camp by night, and retired into Campania. This Manlius having torn from the neck of the expiring Gaul a golden collar, and placed it on his own, thence acquired the surname of Torquatus, which was continued to his posterity. The next year the Gauls appearing again, advanced to the very walls of Rome in the absence of the consuls; when Servilius Ahala being nominated dictator, came to an engagement with them, and routed them; and in the meantime the consuls proving successfull, the dictator, after highly commending them, abdicated his office. In the consulship of C. Fabius Ambustus and C. Plautius Proculus, the latter totally subdued the Hernici; but the former suffered a defeat from the Tarquinienses; which was followed by news of the Boii having suddenly advanced to Pedum, a Latin city, not more than ten miles from Rome: when the Latins very opportunely renewed their alliance with Rome, and supplied her armies with the same quota as before. A dictator was now named in Sulpicius, surnamed Peticus, who defeated the Gauls, destroying most of them, and on his abdication leaving Rome in a condition as flourishing as before it was taken by the Senones. Under the next consuls, the interest of money, till then arbitrary, was fixed at the very low interest of one per cent.: Licinius Stolo, who had so zealously exerted himself in promoting the law which forbad any citizen to possess more than five hundred acres of land, was now detected in being possessed himself of a thousand, a breach of the law, which, with the true spirit of a demagogue, he endeavoured to evade by a fraudulent conveyance of half the land to his son; of which he was convicted before the prætor, and fined ten thousand asses of brass. Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, one of this year's consuls, took the unwarrantable step of assembling the tribes in his camp, and there passing a law, that the twentieth part of the price of every slave should be paid into the publick treasury. To this law the senate gave their approbation: but the tribunes of the people, justly

The Hernici subdued, and another army of Gauls routed.

thinking that this mode of enacting laws might be of dangerous consequence, got one passed prohibiting any magistrate to assemble the comitia any where but in the city under pain of death.

First plebeian dictator.

Upon a numerous army of Hetrurians in the next year approaching Rome, the first plebeian dictator, C. Martius Rutilus, was nominated; by whom the enemy's camp was surprized and forced, and great numbers of them killed; for which victory this dictator triumphed. After some disputes about the consulship, and the law requiring that one consul should be a plebeian being set aside, the victories gained over the people of Tybur and the Tarquinii by the Romans raised their reputation in Italy so high, that the Samnites sent an embassy to propose an alliance with them; which was concluded on the conditions, that the Samnites should furnish them with troops when required, and that the Romans should protect the Samnites from their enemies, both at home and abroad. The news of several nations confederating against Rome being received, Titus Manlius Torquatus was appointed dictator, though he had never been consul; whose very name daunted the enemy so, that he found none with whom to contend. Under the succeeding consuls, one of which, after a very obstinate contest, was a plebeian, the payment of debts was regulated, by the appointment of five commissioners, having liberty to draw on the publick treasury. Those who had voluntarily plunged themselves into debt, either borrowed money of the commissioners, giving the publick treasury security for it, or deposited in their creditors' hands effects valued by the commissioners to the amount of their debts. Thus were the greater part of the debtors relieved without injury to any one, and with little loss to the publick.

The Tarquinienses and Falisci sue for a truce.

The Tarquinienses and Falisci wearied out with war, having, by their submission to the Romans, obtained a truce for forty years, the peace thus produced was seized as a favourable opportunity for the election of the new censors, when a plebeian being elected for one, one of the tribunes of the people proposed, that in future not the consuls, but the censors, should have the privilege of filling up the senate; and a law for this purpose passed. Soon after the Gauls appeared again in Latium, but were defeated, and had their camp

taken by the consul, Popilius Lænas. Yet in the next consulate, great numbers of them appeared again on the sea coast of Latium. Against these the consul, L. Furius, the son of the great Camillus, took the field and totally defeated them; when they retired to the coasts of the Adriatick. By the succeeding consuls a treaty of friendship which had been made between the Romans and Carthaginians in the year after the expulsion of Tarquin, was renewed with a difference in some particulars. In the following year the rate of interest was again reduced, and fixed at one half per cent. A new war with the Volsci breaking out under the next consuls, Valerius Corvus defeated them, and taking the town of Satricum burnt it. The secular games were now celebrated for the second time. A war having broken out the next year with the Aurunci, L. Furius Camillus was named dictator and defeated them.*

The Campanians surrender themselves and their country to the Romans.

The Campanians, being involved in a war with the Samnites, to prevail with the Romans to engage in their defence, made a formal surrender of themselves and their country to them. On this the senate sent embassadors to the Samnites, to entreat them to spare a province belonging to Rome, and in case of the request not being complied with, to warn them to quit the country immediately. But the magistrates of the Samnites ordered the commanders of their troops, in the presence of the Roman embassadors, to immediately ravage Campania. A war between the two nations directly ensued, and the first engagement took place in Campania, where the Romans, commanded by Valerius Corvus, the consul, in an hard-fought battle which lasted the whole day, so far got the better of the Samnites, that the last abandoned their camp in the night. In the mean time Cornelius Cossus, the other consul, after imprudently bringing his army into great difficulty on the confines of Samnium, was, by the ability and courage of P. Decius Mus, a military tribune, not only delivered

* On his return from this expedition he built a temple, which he had vowed during the action, to Juno Moneta; so called because she was supposed to have given the Romans warning of the calamities coming on them, before the taking of their city by the Gauls. This temple being afterwards made a publick mint, the coin stamped there was called Moneta or Money.

from his danger, but enabled to gain a very important advantage over the enemy; while Valerius attacked in their camp another army of Samnites, and made a great slaughter of them. By a census with which this year was closed, the number of Romans able to bear arms, was found to amount to an hundred and sixty thousand. The Roman soldiers who had wintered in Capua becoming very depraved, and dreading the correction which they apprehended the new consul, Q. Servilius Ahala, was preparing for them, a desertion of a whole cohort took place, who, being joined by a great number of malcontents, marched towards Rome, and there obtained from the timidity of the senate, not only a general pardon, but some very important concessions, among which was, that both consuls might be chosen from the plebeians. These concessions to the rebels diminished the respect of their neighbours for the Romans. Yet so weakened were the Samnites, that they sued for peace and alliance with Rome. The Latins however took to arms, and being joined by the Sidicini, and Campanians, attacked the Samnites, while it appeared that the Romans were unable to assist their new allies. This giving the Latins more courage, under pretence of preparing for war against the Samnites, they combined with the Campanians to attack the Romans. Informed of this, these last took care to elect for consuls, two of their most eminent commanders, Manlius Torquatus, and Decius Mus. The two consuls, failing in their attempts to prevent the revolt of the Latins, two armies, commanded each by a consul, marched into Campania, when, it is said, both these commanders had a dream, signifying that that army, the general of which should devote himself for his country, should gain the victory, on which they agreed each to command a separate wing of the army, and that he whose troops should first gave way, should devote himself. In the mean time the son of the consul, Manlius, having without orders engaged in single combat with an enemy, who challenged him, though he slew his opponent, was by his own father condemned to death, and executed. A few days after this the Roman and Latin armies joined battle; when the wing commanded by Decius giving way, he devoted himself as agreed on, and was slain fighting in the middle of the enemies; while Manlius gave

Further contests with the Latins, who are at length entirely subdued.

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proof of his being a very able commander, and obtained a victory so complete, that scarcely one fourth of the Latin army survived the engagement. The Latins however quickly raising another, Manlius gave them a second overthrow, and, entering their country, ravaged it without opposition. All the Latin cities, and Privernum in the territory of the Volsci, surrendered at discretion, and all Campania, with Capua its capital, was reduced to subjection. Yet under the next consul the Latins revolted again; but in the course of two campaigns all Latium was again reduced. A distinction was then made between the cities according to the manner in which they had behaved. Some were made Roman municipia, and had their soldiers incorporated in the legions. Velitra was demolished. The Antiates had the freedom of Rome granted them, but the gallies they had were partly burned, and partly carried into the Roman ports: and with the brasen beaks of their vessels, in Latin termed rostra, the consul ornamented the place from which the Roman magistrates harangued the people; whence that was ever after called the rostra. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneste, were deprived of all their lands; and the Latins in general forbidden to assemble their diets, or to have fairs for trade. From the cities of Campania their lands were taken, and divided among the Romans. Thus were subdued two of the most fertile provinces of Italy, and the Latins from allies made the subjects of Rome.

B. C. 339.

The plebeians gain the first access to the prætorship.

In the next year a plebeian obtained the only great dignity, in which those of his rank had not yet participated, the prætorship. Then followed some wars with the Sidicini and Ausones, when in the siege of the metropolis of the last, covered galleries and moveable towers were invented, by M. Valerius Corvus; and three years after, the number of Roman citizens being greatly increased after the reduction of the Latins, two new tribes, the Mæcian and the Scaptian, were added to the twenty-seven already existing. About this time, by the evidence of a female slave, was brought to light a most singular and nefarious conspiracy, of between three and four hundred women of distinction, who had combined to destroy their husbands by poison, and, on detection, saved themselves from a more painfull death by swallowing their own preparations. Privernum, a town of

the Volsci, having revolted, and being after a long siege taken, by the benevolent exertions of C. Plautius, one of the consuls, in behalf of the inhabitants, the town was declared a municipium, and was thus incorporated into the Roman state.* During a war with the Palæopolitans (an Eubœan colony, which built Cumæ, and then Naples) the Romans were informed, that the Samnites had solicited the inhabitants of three towns to revolt, and to embassadors which they consequently sent to the Samnites, this people are said to have refused to refer their differences to any arbitration, but that of the sword. This appeal made, the Roman consuls, being joined by the Lucanians and Apulians, two nations to which the Romans had till then been strangers, penetrated into the enemy's country, and seized the three cities of Attifæ, Callifæ, and Rufrium; while Palæopolis, though a body of Samnites had thrown themselves into the place, was taken by the proconsul Publius. The capture of this place, however, increased the enemies of Rome. The Tarentines became jealous of the growing power of the Romans, and seduced the Lucanians to desert them, and join the Samnites.

The persons of debtors relieved from seizure by their creditors.

At this time, the power which the law of the twelvs tables had given creditors over the persons of their debtors, by which they seized and kept them in their houses under the title of *nexi*, until by their service they had discharged the debt, was taken away by a law which declared, that creditors should only have a right to attach the goods, and not to seize the persons of their creditors. The Vestini, an inconsiderable people on the Adriatick, having declared war against the Romans, were defeated by the consul, D. Junius Brutus, who also took from them Cutina and Cingilia. But the other consul, L. Furius Camillus, being from illness obliged to nominate a dictator, he named L. Papirius Cursor; who, after taking the command of the army in Samnium, thought it proper to return to Rome, leaving his general of the horse, Fabius Rullianus,

* A municipium was an infranchised place, where the natives were allowed the use of their own laws and constitution, and at the same time favoured with the privileges of Roman citizens; but this last in various degrees, according to the measure of favour shewn to the people.

to command in his absence, with orders not to venture on an action. These were not obeyed, and Fabius obtained a victory over the Samnites, in which their slain only amounted to twenty thousand. But after it manifested very high disrespect, for both the law and the dictator. The last having returned to the camp, began to animadvert on his disobedient general of the horse, who, finding him determined to proceed, fled to Rome. But hither the dictator followed him, and firmly withstanding all the opposition he met with, when that was changed only for intreaties, he pardoned the offender.

The Samnites defeated twice, with the Apulians.

The dictator, on his return to the army, found his troops so displeased with him, that when the enemy offered him battle, they merely defended themselves. But the forbearance and kindness which he then manifested, recovered their affections, and having his office continued another six months, he gave the Samnites a total defeat, and reduced them to sue for peace, which he granted on condition that they should clothe his troops, give them a year's pay, and that the senate ratified the treaty. Yet of these terms the senate disapproved, agreeing to no more than a truce for a year; which the Samnites broke on hearing that Papirius had resigned the command: they were joined too by the Apulians. The consuls who marched against them were Quinctus Fabius, the same who had been general of the horse to Papirius, and L. Fulvius Corvus. These with great difficulty entirely defeated them with a dreadfull carnage. After which the Samnites ascribing their losses to the divine vengeance on their injustice in breaking the truce, passed a decree, that the chief author of it, and all his effects, together with the spoils and captives taken during the truce, should be delivered to the Romans. The consul, Fabius then led an army against the Apulians with such success, that he triumphed over them.

The Roman army surrounded by the Samnites.

The Romans, though they accepted the restitution made by the Samnites, would not grant them peace; the latter people therefore, in their diet appointed an able general, named Pontius, to command their troops; who soon drew the consuls and their army into a situation in which they were surrounded, and compelled to give six hundred Roman knights as hostages for the Romans quitting Sam-

nium, and restoring all the Samnite cities they had seized, the whole army was obliged to pass under the yoke. The news of this disgrace was received at Rome with the deepest grief, and with indignation against the army; but which on its arrival was converted into pity. After two inefficient dictators having been appointed, all eyes were cast on Papirius Cursor and Publilius Philo, for consuls, who, after entering on their office, took into their consideration the stipulations made with the Samnites, and by the advice of Posthumius, one of the consuls who had capitulated, determined not to ratify the treaty, but to deliver to the Samnites all the officers who had agreed to it. A new army was raised; and when this came near the enemy's camp, a Fecialis conducted the officers bound to the Samnite general, and delivered them up. On which Posthumius, with the most contemptible craft, struck the herald with his knee, and declared, that he having done it as now a Samnite, the Romans were justified in making war on that people, as guilty of violating the law of nations. For this the Samnite general most justly reprehended him, and having represented the unfairness of the behaviour of the Romans, dismissed all the prisoners which they had sent him. Unaffected by this, the Roman generals, who appear to have been L. Cornelius Lentulus, nominated dictator, and Papirius Cursor, his master of the horse, bent their efforts to rescuing the six hundred knights, which had been given as hostages to the Samnites. While pursuing this object, the dictator routed the Samnite army, and took their camp: and then proceeded to cover the siege of Luceria, undertaken by Papirius, because there the Roman hostages were confined. These commanders jointly attacked another Samnite army in their camp, and carried it with great slaughter of the enemy. When, too, the garrison of Luceria became pressed by famine, and offered to release the hostages provided the siege was raised, Papirius insisted on the additional condition, that the Samnite soldiers should pass under the yoke, to which they submitted.

Repeated defeats of the Samnites.

The following consuls, of which Papirius was one, defeated the Samnites in Apulia, took the town of Tarentum in that country, and Satricum, a city of Latium, which had revolted to the Samnites. When the Samnites, the next year, sued for peace, they could

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obtain only a two years truce. And at the same time Campania was converted into a Roman præfecture; and in that country a new Roman tribe was formed, called the Falerian tribe, another tribe also being established on the borders of the Ufens, called the Ufentine tribe: the Romans had now thirty-one tribes, having a right of suffrage in the comitia by tribes. By a census taken this year, the number of men in Rome fit to bear arms, were found to be two hundred and fifty thousand. The succeeding year Antium followed the example of Capua, in asking a governour and laws of Rome. But the care of making laws for that city was consigned to the patrons of the colony. For not only private families, but cities and provinces, had their patrons at Rome. Scarcely were the succeeding consuls entered on their office, when they nominated a dictator, who was L. Æmilius. He defeated the Samnite army sent to relieve Saticula, which he had invested. During the next year, Q. Fabius was nominated dictator, who by a stratagem drew the Samnites to an engagement and defeated them, and plundered their camp. His successors in command, the new consuls, continued the siege of Sora, which Fabius had begun, and by the help of a deserter took the place. Though the Romans now made some very severe examples of towns which either had actually revolted, or were accused of an intention to do so, the Campanians prepared once more to throw off the Roman yoke, on which C. Mænius was named dictator. In the meanwhile the consul, Sulpicius, engaged an army of the Samnites, which had approached to join the Campanians, and killed or took thirty thousand of them. Still two years passed ere the Romans recovered by force of arms, all the cities which the Samnites had drawn from their interest by negociations.

The conduct of Appius while censor.

While these things were doing abroad, Appius, one of the censors, introduced into the senate Libertini, that is, the sons of slaves who had acquired their liberty; and after thus debasing the senate, he prevailed with the Potitii, who held the oldest priesthood, to resign it to the public slaves, a wantonness of degradation for which it is difficult to account. On the other hand, this same censor brought to the city, by an aqueduct seven miles long, a plentifull supply of good water, of which it stood in need. And he made the famous

road from Rome to Capua, called from him the Appian way, and which Julius Cæsar afterwards continued to Brundusium. It lasted entire above eight hundred years. By the next year's consuls, however, Appius's new list of senators was so complained of to the people, that it was cancelled in the comitia, so that the senate recovered its former dignity. At this time too, the people appointed two officers to superintend the naval affairs of the republick.

The Hetrurians repeatedly defeated.

The Hetrurians having commenced hostilities, the consul, Æmilius, marched against them, and defeated them. While his colleague, C. Junius Brutus, took from the Samnites, first Cluvia and then Bovianum, which last was one of their principal cities, if not their capital. The Samnites now laid a plan for drawing the Romans into another ambush, but so far failed of success, that they were themselves defeated with the loss of twenty thousand slain. In the following consulship, Appius, the censor, was impeached for continuing in office beyond the time fixed by law; but, drawing some of the tribunes to his side, he evaded the prosecution, and, in defiance of all held the censorship alone (for his colleague had resigned at the proper time) more than three years longer. While this was passing at Rome, the consul, Fabius, attempted and achieved the passage of a forest on the borders of Hetruria, until then supposed to be impassable, and, after a detachment from his army had defeated a body of Hetrurians, and brought off a great booty, he returned to his camp near Sutrium, time enough to meet a message from Rome, positively forbidding him to enter the Ciminian forest, which he had passed. On the alarm excited by Fabius's troops appearing in Hetruria, great numbers of that nation taking the field, advanced to the camp of the Romans. While Fabius, pretending fear, kept within his intrenchments; but ere the night was passed he marched out and surprized the enemy, of whom the slain and prisoners amounted to sixty thousand, and whose camp was seized and plundered. After this defeat, three of the most considerable Lucumonies, of Hetruria, sued for peace, and obtained a truce for thirty years.

The war spreads, but in the end

After the first fleet which the Romans had ever sent to sea, had failed in an expedition against the Samnites, this people gave the other consul, Martius, battle, in which he was dangerously wounded,

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and certainly without having gained any advantage over the enemy. The arrival of this news at Rome caused Papirius Cursor to be nominated dictator, who quickly obtained a signal victory over the Samnites; as Fabius had one over the Hetrurians, after putting an army of Umbrians to flight. In the following year this nation assembled all their forces, and boasted that they would march to Rome; but Fabius, now again consul, quitting Samnium, marched through the country of the Sabines into the very heart of Umbria; when the inhabitants were so terrified, that though they did venture to engage, their whole army were made prisoners, and soon after all the nation submitted. Fabius being continued pro-consul in Samnium, gained a considerable victory over the Samnites, while Volumnius, one of the consuls, spread the terrour of the Roman name in the extreme part of Italy, by his success against the Salentines. The Hernici being excited to arms by the harsh treatment received by some of their countrymen, were in a few days reduced by one of the next consuls, Marcius Tremulus, to surrender at discretion; and he afterwards joining his colleague in Samnium, they, by two defeats, compelled the Samnites to sue for peace. The case of the Hernici the senate first determined; those of their cities which had not swerved from their fidelity, were permitted to choose whether they would live under their own laws, or have the right of Roman citizenship, and they chose the former, the rest were made Roman citizens, whether they would or not.

success attends the Romans.

Though the Samnites had sued for peace, the new consuls were ordered with two armies into their country, when they gave the Samnites two severe defeats; in the last of which the consul, Minucius, falling, Fulvius Curvus being immediately appointed to succeed him, finished the campaign by the reduction of Bovianum and several other cities. The Samnites now applied for a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the Romans; but this was not granted until it appeared that their desire for it was unfeigned. The Æqui who had openly espoused the cause of the Samnites, were next reduced in a very short space, which occasioned the Marsi, Peligni, Frentani, and Marrucini, to solicit an alliance with Rome, and their request was granted. Q. Fabius being elected censor, set himself to rectify

The Samnites reduced to sue for a renewal of their ancient alliances with the Romans.

the abuses which Appius, to augment his own influence, had introduced; and such was the reformation he wrought, that on this alone the surname of Maximus was given him; which was afterwards perpetuated in his branch of the Fabian family.

Victories gained over various nations, and a law passed for allowing an appeal to the people in capital cases.

The year of the following consuls was marked only by sending colonies to the conquered cities, and the destruction of a band of robbers in Umbria, who using as a retreat a cave with two entrances, the Romans lighted a great fire at each end, so that some of the wretches (who in the whole amounted to two thousand) were stifled, and the rest threw themselves into the flames. An insurrection of the Æqui being next reduced in eight days by Junius Brutus, for that purpose appointed dictator, he at his return dedicated a temple, which he had before vowed, to the goddess of health; in ornamenting which, the art of painting seems to have been first exercised at Rome by C. Fabius, whence he acquired the surname of Pictor. Fabius Maximus being the next year nominated dictator, on account of the revolt of the Marsi, he quieted the insurrection by a single victory. The dictatorship of Fabius having expired, and hostilities with the Hetrurians breaking out, another dictator, Valerius Corvus, was nominated; who by a single victory so humbled the enemy, that they sued for peace, but obtained only a truce for two years. The interval of tranquillity abroad which now followed, gave occasion to the plebeians to obtain a law for augmenting the number of pontefices and augurs, by adding four plebeians to the number of the former, and five of the same to that of the latter, making the whole of the first eight, and of the last nine. Now, too, was revived an old law, that in capital causes the accused should have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people.

The Hetrurians and Samnites again defeated.

In the following year the Hetrurians broke the truce, and the consul, Manlius Torquatus, being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus was chosen consul for the sixth time. His very appearance at the head of the army deterred the Hetrurians from continuing in the field, nor could the ravaging of their country provoke them to a battle. During the next consulship the Hetrurians again appeared in arms, and the Samnites broke their alliance with Rome. The former, after a doubtfull action with one of the consuls,

returned to their respective Lucumonies, and the latter were unquestionably defeated by the consul Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. Fabius being, unwillingly on his part, chosen one of the next consuls, defeated the Samnites, after which he and his colleague Decius made incredible devastation in their country. These two continuing in command as proconsuls, while Fabius kept the Lucanians, who had lately taken arms, in awe, Decius reduced the Samnites to the last extremity, having driven their army out of the country. This took refuge in Hetruria, where they proposed to unite with the Hetrurians against the Romans. This coalition drew thither first one of the consuls, and then the other, who totally defeated the allied army, and took their camp. Yet the Samnites raised fresh troops to ravage Campania, whither the consul Volumnius repaired, and surprising them, slew six thousand men, and recovered the spoil they had taken. Advice being received that the Hetrurians, Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls, had entered into a new treaty, and already formed two camps in Hetruria, Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus were chosen consuls for the next year; and to the first was Hetruria assigned for a province, and the apprehensions of the citizens induced him to take his fellow consul with him into that country. Here, in an obstinately-disputed battle, the consul Decius devoted himself after his father's example, and his surviving colleague revenged his death by defeating all the enemies, of whom no fewer than twenty-five thousand were slain, and eight thousand were taken prisoners. But neither this victory, nor the advantages gained by the pro-prætors in Hetruria, nor a considerable victory of the pro-consul Volumnius over the Samnites, entirely quieted these determined nations. Fabius was obliged to lead his army against the Hetrurians again; and another victory over them was the last of his exploits as commander in chief. The Samnites, too, brought into the field two new armies, but they were defeated in a pitched battle by the pro-consul Volumnius, and lost more than sixteen thousand men.

The Samnites and Hetrurians continue the struggle; but the Falisci are reduced to sue for peace.

The Samnites after forty-eight years' struggle, not yet despairing of victory, made such preparations that the new consul, M. Atilius Regulus was sent against them, whose army was reduced to a situation so disadvantageous, that it was thought necessary that the other

consul should join him with two legions more; on whose arrival the Samnites abandoned their country to pillage. The consuls then separated, and while the other employed himself in taking towns, Atilius fought two engagements with the enemy, the second of which was more successfull than the first, the Romans gaining a decided victory, though with the loss of seven thousand men and upwards. Posthumius Megellus, the other consul, in the mean time marched into Hetruria without the senate's order, defeated the Hetrurians, and reduced four of the Lucumonies to sue for peace; and the senate granted them a truce for forty years, on their paying each half a million pounds of brass to the republick. By a census taken this year the number of citizens fit to bear arms were increased to two hundred and seventy thousand. The Samnite preparations for another vigourous effort against the overwhelming power of Rome called both the new consuls into that country, where that brave people were again defeated, partly by stratagem, with the loss of twelve thousand men, while several of their towns were taken. One of the consuls being ordered into Hetruria, the inhabitants of which had begun to arm, while the Falisci joined them, he took Tressulum by assault, and reduced the Falisci to sue for peace. This year the first sun-dial was fixed at Rome, the invention, which was that of Anaximenes the Lacedæmonian many years before, having not reached Rome until now.

The war with the Samnites at length brought to an end, and the Sabines subdued.

While one of the next consuls, Junius Brutus Scæva, made by the assistance of his lieutenant a successfull expedition against the Falisci, the other, Fabius Gurges, having by his temerity been defeated by the Samnites, his father, the renowned Fabius Maximus, offered to serve under him, when the enemy again venturing to engage were soon routed, with the loss of twenty thousand men slain, and four thousand, among whom was Pontius Herennius, their general, taken prisoners. The joy of the Romans for this victory was checked by the fearfull devastation made among them by a pestilence. To cure this they were told, that the Sybilline books declared, that Æsculapius, adored under the form of a serpent, must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus in Peloponnesus; and an embassy was accordingly sent, and a tame snake purchased of the

priests of the temple was next year brought to Rome, and the plague either stopt before, or did not last long after it arrived. The new consul Posthumius arrogantly superseded young Fabius and his father in the command of the army in Samnium, but behaved himself gallantly in it: yet after it expired, he was prosecuted and fined for having employed his soldiers in servile labour for his own profit. One of the succeeding consuls, Manius Curius Dentatus, obliged the Samnites, who had now lost their brave and able conductor Pontius, inhumanly beheaded by the Romans, to sue for peace; when the Romans for the fourth time consented to an alliance with them. In forming this the Samnites endeavoured to corrupt Dentatus with a bribe, but in vain; though so poor as to be dressing his own dinner of roots, seated on a sorry wooden stool. The conquerour divided the conquered lands among those Romans who had none of their own. And thus, to the great joy of the people of Rome, ended a dangerous war, of forty-nine years duration. The reduction of the Sabines followed that of the Samnites, to whom they lent assistance. Curius subdued them entirely, but, in consideration of the long-standing alliance between them and Rome, they were admitted to the Roman citizenship, but without the right of suffrage.

Curius Dentatus extends the dominions of Rome. Civil dissensions arise, and are healed by laws in favour of the people.

The assistance of the Romans being implored by the inhabitants of Thurium against the Lucanians, Curius led an army against the last, in the command of which, as pro-consul, he was continued by the next year's consuls: when he established the Roman dominion through almost the whole extent of country from the Adriatick to the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas. In the consulship of Q. Marcius Tumulus and P. Cornelius Arvina, civil dissensions again grew to a great height concerning the abolition of the law which subjected insolvent debtors to slavery, and which the patricians had since its repeal got re-enacted; and in the following consulship the people made a secession to the hill Janiculus beyond the Tyber. On this the patricians named Q. Hortensius dictator, to treat with the separatists; but he dying while the negociation was pending, the illustrious Fabius, now in extreme old age, was nominated to the same dignity, and perfected the accommodation, on the conditions, that, besides the repeal of the law in question,

the decrees made by the tribes should be observed by the patricians as well as the plebeians: that laws should first pass the senate, and be brought after to the comitia, to be approved or rejected, and not in the contrary course: and attention was paid to the complaint of the country people, that they could not get their causes heard by the judges on a market day. This was the last publick scene in which Fabius appeared, he soon after dying.

Rome now passed two years in perfect domestick tranquillity; and abroad she had brought the Latins, Sabines, Hernici, Æqui, Marsi, and Campanians into subjection; and the Volsci were no more a people. The terrour of the Roman arms kept Apulia in awe. A part of Lucania on the one hand, and on the other Umbria and Picenum, quite to the frontiers of the Senones, were either obedient to the Romans, or awed by Roman colonies near them. On the other side of the Tyber, part of Hetruria was subdued; and Samnium was in all appearance quieted. But in the consulship of C. Servilius Tucca, and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the Romans, at the request of the Aretini, raised an army to defend them against the Senones, and sent a deputation to the last to persuade them to desist from their designs against a people in truce with Rome. The barbarians slew the embassadors, and brought their troops before Aretium; when the consul Cæcilius endeavouring to relieve the place, was defeated by the Gauls, being killed himself, with seven legionary tribunes, the greater part of the Roman knights, and thirteen thousand men. On the news of this unusual defeat, Curius Dentatus was sent with some new levies to supply the consul's place. But he avoiding an engagement with an enemy animated by success, entered the enemy's country, and reduced it to a desert, putting all the men to the sword, and carrying the women and children into slavery.

A war with the Senones, from whom the Romans receive a severe defeat, in revenge of which Curius ravages their country.

After the next consuls had entered on their office, through the secret intrigues of the Tarentines, the Boii, Hetrurians, and Samnites, all declared against Rome; while the Gauls, to revenge the sufferings of their country, marched for that city, but in Hetruria were met and totally routed with great slaughter by the consul Cn. Domitius. After which his colleague, P. Cornelius Dolabella had a pitched battle with the united Hetrurians and Boii; of the former of whom

A confederacy against the Romans raised by the Tarentines, who at length openly declare themselves, and call in Pyrrhus.

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the troops were almost all slain, and those of the latter which escaped, being beaten a second time, sued for peace. Yet in the following consulship, almost all Italy was induced to rise up in arms against the robbers, as the Romans were then (and perhaps not very unjustly) called. On one side the remains of the Hetrurians and Boii, on the other the Lucanians and Bruttians with the Samnites, associated to overthrow the imperious republick. These last the consul, C. Fabricius, defeated; and then forcing their camp, slew twenty-five thousand of them with their general. An accident now made the Tarentines, the real authors of this war, throw off the mask: one of the maritime decemvirs happened to come with ten ships to the mouth of their port, which the Tarentines imagining to be done with ill intentions, they, without further enquiry, rushed like Bacchanals to the port, sunk one of the ships, and took four. For this insult the Romans sent a consular man at the head of an embassy to demand satisfaction, who was treated by the Tarentines with the grossest insolence. But when they came to their senses, they saw the necessity of looking out for more powerfull assistance than they could find in Italy, to preserve them from the vengeance which they had provoked, and cast their eyes on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, then highly celebrated for courage and military skill. But to amuse the Romans until they received the king's answer to their request of assistance, they besieged Thurium, in which was a Roman garrison, and took it.

War resolved on against the Tarentines: Pyrrhus arrives in Italy, defeats Lævinus, and offers to negociate for peace.

When, under the next consuls, the news of the insult offered by the Tarentines were brought to the senate, a very long debate took place, whether it would be expedient to resent it immediately, or defer it, on account of the various enemies with which the Romans then had to contend; and the former opinion prevailing, the new consul, L. Æmilius Barbula, was ordered to march directly to Tarentum. The demand of satisfaction now repeated by him seems to have been answered only by a resolution of the Tarentines to invite Pyrrhus into Italy; the decree for which was no sooner known in the Roman camp, than the consul commenced hostilities, and destroying all before him, compelled the Tarentines to flee to their walls for refuge. But finding he could do nothing effectual against that

city in the present campaign, he led his army into winter quarters in Apulia, and thence repaired to Rome, where his colleague, Q. Marcius Philippus, triumphed for conquests in Hetruria. Of the next year's consuls, P. Valerius Lævinus had Tarentum for his province, where Pyrrhus was now arrived; and who advanced into Lucania to meet Lævinus, who passed a river to meet him, but was in the end, perhaps chiefly through the terrour which the elephants excited in the Roman army, defeated with the loss of fifteen thousand men, and that of his camp. Nor was the loss of the king very inferior. After this victory Pyrrhus being joined by the troops of the Lucanians and Samnites, received the submission of many cities, and advanced within thirty miles of Rome. But hearing that the other consul, Tib. Coruncanius, who by a successfull campaign had effected an alliance between the Romans and the Hetrurians, was advancing against him, he returned to Tarentum; in his march to which, however, he found in Campania Lævinus, with an army recruited to more than its former number; and not thinking proper to attack it, Pyrrhus continued his march. While this monarch was at Tarentum considering how little advantage he was likely to derive from the war in which he was engaged, embassadors from Rome proposed either an exchange or a ransom of prisoners: in return to this Pyrrhus sent his great confident Cyneas to Rome to negociate a peace; but the answer given him to carry to his sovereign was, that the Romans would enter into no treaty with him while he continued in Italy; on the receipt of which the king prepared for another campaign.

After another battle and a new effort to set on foot a treaty of peace, Pyrrhus passes over into Sicily.

The transactions of this were but few; the Roman consuls met the king in Apulia, where an engagement took place, in which the latter was dangerously wounded, and one of the former, P. Decius Mus, killed; after the battle Pyrrhus retired to Tarentum, and the surviving consul led his troops into winter quarters in Apulia. In the following year the Romans had an offer of naval assistance from the Carthaginians, which they thought proper to decline. Yet they entered into a defensive treaty with Carthage. The consuls having marched their troops into the territory of Tarentum, Pyrrhus encamped within sight of them. While the armies were thus watch-

ing each other, Fabricius, one of the consuls, received an offer from the king's principal physician of taking him off by poison. This letter, he, like a fair enemy, transmitted to Pyrrhus, who was so affected with this generosity of the Romans, that he immediately liberated all their prisoners without ransom. In return for which the Romans released an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners. After which Pyrrhus sent Cyneas once more to Rome, but the senate would enter into no negociation till he had withdrawn his troops from Italy. But the king having lost in his last action his best and bravest commanders, gladly seized the opportunity of withdrawing from Italy, given him by a request which he had received from the Sicilians, to come and deliver them from the Carthaginians; and leaving in Tarentum a strong garrison, he set sail for the island. And after his departure Fabricius fell on the united Bruttians, Lucanians, Tarentines, and Samnites, defeated them, and laid their countries waste.

The next consuls at first acted together against the Samnites with success so ill, that, mutually criminating each other, they separated, and one of them by a stratagem took Croton, a considerable city of the Bruttians; Locri also surrendered to the Romans. Q. Fabius Gurges, one of the next consuls, reduced the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, to send to Pyrrhus, and beg his return; an invitation which his situation in Sicily at that time rendered very acceptable to him. With this, therefore, he immediately complied, but in his passage lost a considerable number of his vessels by an attack of the Carthaginians. He landed, however, near Rhegium, and with the remains of his forces marched towards Tarentum; but in his way thither he was attacked by the Mamertines, who slew many of his men, yet were in the end repulsed by the personal exertions of Pyrrhus himself. Of the new consuls, Curius Dentatus was one, who finding the Roman youth unwilling to enlist, put the names of the tribes into an urn, and the first man whose name came up refusing to enlist, he ordered his goods to be sold, and on his appealing to the tribunes, commanded him to be sold too; and thenceforward it became customary, if a Roman refused to enlist, to sell him for a slave. This severity proved wholesome; two armies were

Pyrrhus is recalled into Italy, but receiving a severe defeat from the Romans, returns to Epirus.

raised: that commanded by Curius Pyrrhus himself met, when the Romans gained a complete victory, and added to it the capture of the royal camp; by learning the arrangements of which they greatly improved their own. Pyrrhus retreated to Tarentum, and leaving there a strong garrison under Milo, whom he had before entrusted with the command of the place, he returned with the poor remainder of his forces into Epirus.

The riches of Curius's triumph, with his moderation. Embassy from the king of Egypt.

The triumph of Curius exhibited to the Romans a richness of spoil which they never before witnessed, but their admiration was chiefly raised by the elephants; though the moderation of the conquerour seems to have been still more worthy of it; since, when the senate would have had him take to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands, he declined the favour from a fixed opinion, that seven were sufficient for the support of any honest man.* The above-mentioned triumph was followed by that of the other consul, who had made a successfull campaign in Lucania. Curius being again chosen consul, turned his forces against the Samnites and Lucanians, who retired to their mountains. For the Tarentines seemed likely to ruin themselves by their divisions, having driven the garrison which Pyrrhus left into the citadel. But in the following year the Samnites and Lucanians again appearing in their plains, C. Claudius Canina, one of the new consuls, defeated them. It was in this year that Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Rome the embassy which has been already noticed; a compliment which the senate returned by four embassadors, who, when they came back to Rome, deposited all the rich presents which they had received from the king in the publick treasury. But the senate and people ordered the quæstors to restore to them what had been given them for their own use.

The Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Tarentines reduced.

The news of Pyrrhus's death, which arrived the next year, rendered the Samnites so desperate, as to venture their fate on a single battle; and by being totally conquered, they gave an end to

* This was not the only instance of the moderation of the times, given during that consulate. For the censors having made a new list of the senate, and excluded all who led dissolute lives, struck out of the roll Cornelius Ruffinus, who had been consul and dictator, only for having ten pounds weight of silver plate for his table.

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this bloody war, which had endured seventy-two years. The Bruttians and Lucanians soon afterwards submitted. The consuls then invested Tarentum, of which, through the means of Milo, who commanded the garrison left by Pyrrhus, they soon got possession by capitulation. A Carthaginian fleet which had appeared before the place, under the pretence of acting only against Milo and his Epirots, gave rise to suspicions, which produced a coldness between what were now becoming the two rival republicks. The Romans now turned their attention to Rhegium, which had been seized by the perfidious Campanian legion; and their army being supplied with corn by Hiero, king of Syracuse, as well as reinforced by some Sicilian troops, they after a long siege took the town, and reinstated in their lands, liberties, and laws, those of the old inhabitants who had escaped the cruelty of the usurpers.

Picenum conquered, the Sarcinates and the Salentines the same.

Trifling were the events of the two following years,* but the third was marked by the conquest of Picenum, and the surrender of that whole nation to the Romans, and which alone was able to supply her armies with three hundred and sixty thousand soldiers. At this time, too, the Sabines became entirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage. The Salentines, whose principal cities were Hydruntum, Aletium, and Brundusium, were now almost the only people in the eastern extremity of Italy yet unsubdued by the Romans. These last found pleas for attacking that nation. Brundusium was taken by the next year's consuls: but the Salentines so bravely defended themselves, that it was not until the year after that they were totally subdued, after the Sarcinates in Umbria had been the same. And now Rome was mistress of all the different nations of Italy, from the farthest part of Hetruria to the Ionian Sea, and

* During the last of them, however, the coinage of silver at Rome, and its introduction into commerce, first took place. The new coin, instead of being stamped with figures of animals, as the brass coin, was made to represent the exploits of Roman heroes, by hieroglyphics. Some of these pieces of silver being worth ten asses of brass, were called Denarii, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five, were called Quinarii, and marked with the letter V. The Sestertii, which were worth but two and an half, were distinguished by the letters H. S. i. e. 'Duo et Semis tertius.'

from the Tuscan Sea across to the Adriatick. But to these nations were granted different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, according to their fidelity, and the services which they did the republick. They all, however, contributed to her strength; and being with few exceptions warlike nations, when thus consolidated they formed the body of that prophetick beast, dreadfull, and terrible, and strong exceedingly, which proceeded, after triumphing in its contest with its great African rival, to devour and break in pieces the other sovereignties which were doomed to fall before it.

The friendship of the Romans courted by foreign states.

The increase of the Roman power and dominion induced cities and nations separated by the sea from Italy, to court the friendship of this fast-rising republick. The city of Apollonia, in Illyricum, having sent a complimentary embassy of this kind, the embassadors were insulted by two young Romans of distinction, and then Ædiles; who were with great justice sent to Apollonia to be punished, as that city might think proper: and henceforth it became a law of Rome, that whatever citizen insulted an embassador, should be delivered to the nation injured. The offenders in the present case were sent back unhurt to Rome. Under the next consuls the revenues of the state were arranged, and four provincial quæstors were appointed to take the charge of the four provinces into which Italy was divided.* At this time a most dreadfull plague raged both in the city and the country; yet under all the havock made by this, the citizens able to bear arms appeared, by a census now taken, to amount to two hundred and ninety-two thousand, two hundred and twenty-four. The freed-men in the city of Volsinii in Hetruria, having, through the sloth and profligacy of their old masters, rendered themselves the tyrants of the city, on application to Rome one of the consuls marched to deliver the oppressed citizens; but while entering the town he was slain, and his army in consequence repulsed. After

* The revenues of the Roman state arose from four funds. 1st. The tribute paid by each province; 2dly, the rents of certain demesne lands which the state reserved, whenever any conquered territory was divided among the citizens; 3dly, from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on Rome; and, lastly, from the imposts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions.

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which Decius Mus besieged the place in form; and when, in the following year, it surrendered to the consul Flavius Flaccus, the guilty freed-men were put to death, the city was demolished, and the inhabitants were transplanted.

Commencement of the first Carthaginian war.

Now began the struggle for dominion between the potent rivals Carthage and Rome. It commenced in a contest for the patronage of the city of Messana, in Sicily. This, by hostile and unfair conduct on both sides, led to undisguised war, in which the superiority soon appeared on the side of the Romans; and the presence of two consular armies in Sicily brought over to them, in a few months, sixty-seven places, among which were two cities of great importance, Taurominium and Catana. And no sooner had they invested Syracuse, than its king Hiero, who had previously joined the Carthaginians, left the sinking party, and on releasing all the Roman prisoners, and paying an hundred talents of silver, was acknowledged the friend, and taken under the protection of Rome. The next campaign the Romans, after a long siege, and defeating a large Carthaginian army, took Agrigentum, which had been made the grand magazine of stores and provisions. The Romans, sensible that the great impediment to their conquest of the whole of Sicily, was their inferiority in point of vessels, applied themselves to remedy this, by building, we are told, in the space of two months, a fleet of an hundred quinqueremes, and twenty triremes. Seventeen sail of this new fleet the Carthaginians soon took by a stratagem: but the rest sailing to the coast of Sicily, defeated the Carthaginians in two sea-fights, and in the last, which was the most important, chiefly through the use of a new contrivance for boarding the enemy's ships: and the pillar of white marble, termed 'Columna rostrata,' which was, on this occasion, erected in honour of C. Duilius, the consul who commanded the Roman fleet, has been recovered, and is still extant among the antiquities of the present day. The progress of the Roman operations were next year slightly impeded by a conspiracy of four thousand Samnites, who had been brought to Rome to serve at sea, and the malcontent slaves, to burn and plunder the city; but those concerned were soon detected, and put under confinement. Neither in the meantime were both the consuls detained at home; since L.

Cornelius Scipio, to whose lot fell the command of the fleet, took from the Carthaginians the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; and although the other consul, C. Aquilius Florus, did not arrive in Sicily until near the end of the campaign, ere he was superseded by his successor in the consulship, he drove the Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar, quite out of the field. The same success, with but few interruptions, attended the Roman arms both by sea and land, until their enemies retaining in Sicily only Lilybæum, Panormus, and a few places in that neighbourhood, the Romans conceived the idea of attacking Carthage itself. With this view both the consuls of the year, L. Manlius Vulso, and the afterwards so renowned M. Attilius Regulus, were sent with a large fleet, and an army of near forty thousand men to make Africa the seat of war, and being met by the Carthaginian fleet, more numerous and far better manned, a bloody and well-supported engagement ensued, which, though their opponents highly distinguished themselves, ended in favour of the destined conquerours of the world.

Having after this refitted their fleet in the ports of Sicily, the consuls made a landing in Africa, and took the city of Clupea, to the east of Carthage, whence they made prædatory excursions into the fertile plains of Africa, collecting an immense booty, and above twenty thousand captives. And here, his colleague being ordered home, Regulus remained, and as proconsul pushed his conquests with incredible rapidity, and at length arrived on the banks of the Bagrado, where his army is said to have encountered an enormous serpent, whose skin, an hundred and twenty feet long, Regulus transmitted to Rome. Pursuing his conquests, the proconsul took Adis, defeating with great slaughter the army sent to its relief. After which victory, he, in a few days, became master of fourscore towns, among which was Utica. He then besieged and took the large city of Tunis, about nine miles from Carthage. Then advancing to the very walls of the capital, he made proposals of peace, but such as manifested to the Carthaginians, that their war with the Romans must end either in victory, or the most disgracefull slavery, or their own excision. One of the first circumstances towards postponing the day of this last, was the arrival of some Grecian mercenaries,

and among them a Lacedæmonian, named Xantippus, under whose conduct the Carthaginians having prudence to place their army, he quickly gave Regulus a complete defeat, taking him and about five hundred chosen Romans captive, and cutting all the rest, with the exception of two thousand who escaped to Clupea, to pieces. Xantippus, though at first highly honoured, left Carthage unrewarded, and Regulus was most severely treated.

Further success of the Romans, yet great losses at sea.

On the news of this ill success, the Roman senate ordered another armament for Africa, where the Carthaginians could not expell the garrison of either Clupea or Utica. Neither, when their fleet again encountered that of the Romans, did they succeed better than before; they lost, in sunk and taken, an hundred and thirty-four ships. And when the Romans landed at Clupea, the land army, which there attacked them, was routed at the first onset with the loss of nine thousand men. Still the conquerours were compelled, from want of provisions, to evacuate the places they had in Africa, and sail homewards. But on their voyage, taking a course from which the pilots would have dissuaded the consuls, they were met by a very violent storm, by which, out of three hundred and seventy vessels, two hundred and ninety were wrecked. The war was now again transferred to Sicily; and the Romans there made themselves masters of the cities of Cephalædium and Panormus, the last the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily; but the vessels freighted with the spoils of it were taken in their passage to Italy. The losses which they suffered at sea the next year, in addition to what they had before undergone, were by the Romans interpreted into a divine declaration against their design of depriving the Carthaginians of the dominion of the sea; and they therefore made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty vessels should be equipped, and those be employed only in guarding their coasts, and transporting troops. By land, however, their success continued, for the next year the city of Himera and the island of Lipara were added to their conquests.

Domestick transactions.

A plebeian of eminent probity, being raised to the dignity of pontifex maximus, he, the consul C. Aurelius Cotta, and the censors, concurred in punishing irreligion and profligacy, and military dis-

obedience. Thirteen senators were ignominiously stricken out of the list, and, on the motion of Aurelius, four hundred knights degraded. By a census now taken, the men in Rome fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven. The Carthaginians making new exertions, the Romans did the same, and L. Cæcilius Metullus, first consul, and then proconsul, signalized himself by a victory in Sicily, by which the Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, lost twenty thousand men in slain. To emulate Metellus, the other consuls undertook the siege of Lilybæum, the sole place of retreat for the Carthaginian armies; an enterprize, of which the report so discouraged the Carthaginians, that they began to think of peace, and determined to make use of Regulus in opening negociations for one. He was therefore sent with embassadors to Rome, where, with a magnanimity deserving of the highest admiration, though sensible he should at his return be most unrelentingly tortured, he advised the senate not to consent to either a peace or an exchange of prisoners; after which, though pressed to stay, he, in compliance with his parole, returned, and was by his enemies, it is said, most diabolically tortured to death. To the disgrace of their common nature, the Roman senate permitted the widow of Regulus to retaliate the cruelties he suffered on the chief of their Carthaginian captives; yet, at length relenting, caused those who survived the torments she had inflicted on them, to be treated with more humanity.

The mission, magnanimity, and sufferings of Regulus.

While these enormities were transacting on both sides at home, the siege and the defence of Lilybæum were gallantly carried on, and such was the Roman loss before it, that debates in the senate on the question of peace grew so warm, that the orators came to blows, and one senator, who was thought too zealous for putting an end to the war, was killed. The following year the pride and rashness of the consul, P. Claudius Pulcher, added to the losses of Rome; for, having got his fleet into a very disadvantageous situation, he not only would engage, contrary to the opinion of his officers, but discouraged his troops by treating the auspices with contempt; and when the sacred chickens refused to feed, he, throwing them, coop and all, into the sea, exclaiming "If they will not eat, let them

The Romans meet with great losses.

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drink." In the ensuing action, though Claudius himself escaped with thirty gallies, the Romans lost ninety; and eight thousand of their men were killed, and twenty thousand made prisoners; while the enemy lost neither man or ship. This misfortune was attended with another, in the loss, by a storm, of the whole fleet, commanded by the other consul. An attempt of the Carthaginian general, Carthalo, to ravage part of Italy, was soon counteracted by the prætor of Rome leading an army against him: when he returned to Sicily, where he was soon superseded in the command by Hamilcar, the father of the celebrated Hannibal, who made a more successfull invasion of Italy, and returned to Sicily with an immense booty, and there harrassed both the Romans and their allies.

The prowess of the Roman privateers.

The Romans encouraged privateers to act against the enemy, and a squadron of them, after doing much mischief on the coast of Africa, gained a considerable advantage over a Carthaginian fleet. It appeared by the census of this year, that the population of Rome had undergone a considerable diminution, the number of citizens able to bear arms, amounting to no more than two hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty, which was less than at the last census by more than eighty-six thousand. Little or no progress was at this time made in the siege of Lilybæum through the counter exertions of Hamilcar; and in the next consulship, a female of the first rank was fined twenty-five thousand asses of brass, for insulting the Roman people by some expressions she dropt, which certainly intimated but little affection for them, or reverence for the majesty of the Roman populace. After the Roman privateers had gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginian fleet, they themselves suffered still more by a storm. By the address and valour of Hamilcar, in possessing himself of the strong city of Eryce, the war in Sicily took a new turn. Here he amused the Romans two years, during which they raised the siege of Drepanum, and carried on that of Lilybæum very slowly.

The Romans build another fleet, and vanquishing the Carthaginians by sea, a

The senate, now convinced that Sicily could not be conquered, unless they commanded the sea, determined to build another fleet, and man it with foreigners; and, the publick treasury being exhausted, this was done by subscription; and the armament far excelled any

of the kind which they had before fitted out. Both consuls the following year being unable to take the field, another prætor was created with the title of prætor peregrinus, and the civil part of his duty was to hear causes between citizens and foreigners. The consul, C. Lutatius Catulus, having failed, through receiving a wound, in an assault on Drepanum, turned all his efforts to gain the superiority at sea, and succeeded by completely defeating a Carthaginian fleet of four hundred sail, coming with supplies to Sicily. In this engagement fifty Carthaginian vessels were sunk, and seventy taken; and by it was decided the fate of Sicily. Hamilcar, deprived of all hopes of succour, was obliged to capitulate, and receiving from home an unlimited commission, he concluded with Lutatius a treaty of peace, subject to the approbation of the people of Rome, on the following conditions: 1st, The total evacuation of Sicily by the Carthaginians: 2dly, The payment to the Romans, at equal annual payments in twenty years, of four hundred and thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, sterling: 3dly. The restoration of the Roman captives and deserters without ransom, and the redemption of their own: 4thly, An engagement not to make war on king Hiero or his allies. To which were added, by commissioners sent by the Roman people to treat with Hamilcar, two more, viz. That a thousand talents of those agreed on should be paid immediately, and the other twelve hundred in ten years at equal payments, and that the Carthaginians should quit all the little islands about Italy and Sicily, and never approach them with ships of war, or raise mercenaries in them. This peace the consuls of the next year, after they had subdued a sudden rebellion of the Falisci, and razed their capital, ratified by a solemn sacrifice, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. And thus ended the first punic war.

treaty of peace is concluded.

The great scene of contention, the island of Sicily, except the kingdom of Syracuse, was now declared a Roman province; certain officers, called publicans, generally chosen out of the Roman knights, were appointed to levy both the fixed and casual taxes, and the latter were by them farmed at a certain annual rent. The joy of the Ronans at these triumphs, was much damped by a flood and a fire, by the last of which, it has been asserted, that Rome lost more

Sicily reduced into a Roman province.

in one day, than she gained by many victories. To the tribes this year were added those named Velina and Quirina, which raised the number of them to thirty-five, and to which no addition was afterwards made. Carthage, during her war with her revolted mercenaries, restored all the Italian merchants taken carrying supplies to the rebels: in return for which the Romans sent back, without ransom, all the Carthaginian prisoners detained at Rome. Yet was Hamilcar projecting means to diminish the power of imperious Rome, and as extending the Carthaginian dominions in Spain, appeared to him requisite towards this, so he took another, by instilling into his son Hannibal, then a boy, an utter detestation of the Romans; and he caused him solemnly to swear on the altar to be an everlasting enemy to them. The Boii having thrown off the Roman yoke, joined the Falisci, and defeated the consul Q. Valerius Fatto; but were in return defeated by him with four times the loss. While the other consul, C. Mamilius Turinus, having gained a victory over the Ligurians, though not a decisive one, was ordered to Sardinia to take possession of it under trifling pretences; when the Carthaginian commander in possession of it, relinquished it on his menaces. But not satisfied with this, the iniquitous consul obliged the Carthaginians to defray the charges of the expedition, extorting from them too the further sum of twelve hundred talents.

The war with the Gauls and Ligurians being concluded, and Sardinia reduced to peace, the temple of Janus is shut; yet for a very short time. First divorce at Rome.

The new consuls, while they acted together, succeeded against the Gauls and Ligurians; but when they separated, he who entered the country of the Gauls was compelled to pass the campaign in his intrenchments, while the other killed in one action twenty-four thousand of the Ligurians, and took five thousand prisoners. The Romans were the next year preserved from a menaced attack of the Gauls, by a jealousy which these conceived of the multitude of their transalpine brethren, which were marching to their assistance, and one of the consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus, took from the Boii part of their territory, and several strong-holds from the Ligurians. While one consul was thus employed, his colleague subdued Corsica, both that island and Sardinia, being secretly incited by the Carthaginians to shake off the Roman yoke. The senate, sensible of this, began to prepare for another war with that people, and for some time answered

the embassadors whom they sent to negociate a continuance of the peace, only with bitter words; until at last a just and spirited reply of a young nobleman, named Hanno, covered them with confusion, and drew from them the strongest assurances of pacifick measures. In the following year, Sardinia being reduced to tribute, and peace reigning every where, the temple of Janus was shut for the first time since the reign of Numa. Yet this tranquillity endured but a few months; for the Sardinians, Corsicans, and Ligurians, had entered into an alliance, yet quickly were they all reduced. An oath which the censors now obliged all the citizens to take, that they would not marry with any other view than that of increasing the subjects of the republick, occasioned the first divorce known at Rome; Carvipius Ruga, a man of distinction, thinking himself obliged by this oath to put away his wife, because she was barren. In this consulship the poet Nævius introduced the first regular comedy, after the Greek manner, on the Latin stage.*

The Ligurians put to flight. Differences with Carthage Successful war in Illyricum.

The Ligurians again taking arms in the ensuing consulship of M. Pomponius Matho, and Q. Fabius Maximus, the last compelled them to flee for shelter to the Alps; while his colleague discovered the frequent revolts in Sardinia, to be owing to the Carthaginian intrigues. On which an embassy was sent to Carthage, the haughty answer given to which, excited distrusts that soon burst into a flame. The civil business of the prætors increasing with the state, a new tribunal of justice subordinate to them was now instituted, the judges of which were denominated *centum viri*, though in reality they consisted of an hundred and five, three being chosen out of every tribe, and all divided into four courts. Two years after this the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia being completed, those islands were reduced to the form of a Roman province. The following

* This author wrote also, an history of the first punic war in verse; he was cotemporary with the poet Ennius, who was born at Rudes, an ancient city of Calabria, near Tarentum. Though Greek was his native language, Ennius introduced hexameter verse among the Latins. The life of Scipio Africanus was considered as his masterpiece; besides this, he wrote the history of Rome in eighteen books, recording in verse the events of which he himself had been witness.

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three years were chiefly marked by a war with Teuta, queen of Illyricum, provoked by her encouraging and supporting her subjects in piracy. In this the Romans penetrated into the heart of Illyricum, and at length reduced the queen to sue for peace, but the senate would grant peace only to the young king her son, on condition of his becoming tributary to Rome, ceding to Rome the islands of Corcyra, Issa, and Pharos, the city of Dyrrachuim, and the country of the Atintanes; and never letting more than three of his ships of war, at a time, sail beyond Lyssus, a town on the confines of Macedon and Illyricum.

Convention with Carthage as to Spain: cruel mode of accomplishing a prediction: attack by the Gauls, and victory over them.

The attention of the Romans was, ere the conclusion of this war, attracted by the progress of the Carthaginians in Spain, and to this increase of their dominion the senate thought it necessary to put a stop; and Carthage, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, on application agreed, not to extend her conquests beyond the river Iberus, and to let Saguntum, a city between the Iberus and the Carthaginian dominions in Spain, continue free. The next year passed in inactivity; but it being reported, that in the Sybilline books was found a prophecy, that the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of Rome; to appease the superstitious populace a male and female, of each of those nations, were, with a barbarous policy, buried alive in the ox-market. By which the multitude were persuaded that the prediction was fulfilled, and the Gauls and Greeks had taken possession of Rome. In expectation of an attack from the former nation, the consuls are said to have raised eight hundred thousand men. Yet the Gauls, with seventy thousand only, forced their way through Hetruria, directing their march towards Rome. In their advance towards which they were joined by a body of transalpine Gauls, to the amount of more than two hundred thousand. These united forces attacked the army of the Roman prætor, slew six thousand, and surrounded the rest, who had entrenched themselves on a neighbouring hill, but who were delivered by the arrival of the consul with his army, on whose unexpected appearance, the Gauls retreated in confusion, but in that retreat were met by the other consul, and being thus surrounded,

were, after a brave resistance, in which the consul, C. Attilius Regulus was slain, totally routed, with the loss of forty thousand killed, and ten thousand prisoners.

Various actions with the Gauls: Marcellus slays their general in single combat.

This defeat did not reduce the Gauls to submission, neither did the next consuls, from whom much was expected, finish the war: but being impeded, partly by the overflowing of the Po, and partly by the plague breaking out in their army, were superseded, ere they could achieve any thing by their successors, who were the first Roman generals that passed the Po, but were so terrified at the very sight of the Insubres, that they entered into a treaty with them, and repassing that river, took refuge among the Cænomani. Having wandered here for some time, they resolved on another attempt on Insubria, in which a complete victory was obtained, more through the skilfull conduct of the subalterns, than the abilities or prudence of the consuls; and nine thousand Gauls were slain, and seventeen thousand taken. The next consuls chosen, were M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio. The former of these, meeting a large army of Gauls with a much smaller body of troops, was challenged to single combat by the enemy's general, whom he easily slew: after which the disheartened Gauls were by the Romans put to flight. Marcellus rejoining his colleague, they took Mediolanum, (the present Milan) the largest and most opulent city of Insubria, and Comune, another of great importance: by which captures all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian Sea, became entirely Roman. Insubria and Liguria were made one province, under the name of Cisalpine Gaul: Marcellus offered to Jupiter Feretrius the third and last Spolia Opima.

Successfull campaign in Istria and Illyricum. Hannibal makes a progress in Spain, and infringes the treaty by attacking Saguntum.

The next consuls, M. Minucius Rufus and P. Cornelius Scipio Asina, being directed to attack the Istrians, because they had taken some Roman ships, all Istria was reduced in a twelvemonth's time. Demetrius, of Pharos, in whose hands was placed the government of Illyricum, infringed the treaty with the Romans, but all operations against him were deferred till the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and Lucius Æmilius Paulus. By a census taken previous to that, the citizens fit to bear arms were found to be two hundred and seventy thousand, two hundred and nineteen. The freed-men, who

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had hitherto lived dispersed among the tribes, having occasioned great disturbances in the city, were now confined to four tribes, the Esquilina, the Palatina, the Suburrana, and the Collina. The campaign in Illyricum was successfull and short: Dimalum, a city of importance, strongly fortified, was taken in seven days, and Pharos, an island in the Adriatick, the birth-place and residence of Demetrius, in one; that governour escaping into Macedonia. Yet Illyricum was not reduced into a province, on account of the young king Pinæus, whose guardians had involved him in all these troubles.* While the Romans were busied with Illyricum, Hannibal, who, on the death of Asdrubal, had succeeded to the command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain, having defeated an army of the natives of an hundred thousand men, advanced, contrary to the late treaty between Rome and Carthage, to the city of Saguntum, and laid siege to it. This produced an embassy from the Romans, the negociations of which ended in a declaration of war; but during them the Saguntines having defended themselves with remarkable bravery for six months, finding their situation desperate, burnt all their richest effects, and then setting fire to their houses, perished, with their wives and children, in the flames.

Hannibal passes the Alps, and begins his operations in Italy with success.

The consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio and Tib. Sempronius Longus, having cast lots for their provinces, Sempronius sailed for Africa, but was recalled on the news of Hannibal having passed the Alps: for this able general determined not to wait to be attacked; but, crossing the Pyrenees without opposition, he assembled, at the rendezvous he had appointed in Narbonne Gaul, an army of fifty thousand infantry, and nine thousand horse. Scipio, who, passing by sea, had landed at the mouth of the Rhone, could scarcely believe that the enemy was already on the banks of that river; yet even here he could not come up with him; for Hannibal, marching to the conflux

* In this consulship the chirurgical art was introduced into Rome, by one Archagathus, of Peloponnesus, for which he was rewarded with the freedom of the city, and an house built at the publick expense. But as he made large incisions for the greater certainty of cure, the Romans gave him the name of butcher; which soon brought his profession into disrepute.

of that river with the Saone, was, by one of the *reguli* of the Gauls, conducted thence to the foot of the Alps. With great difficulty and severe loss, the Carthaginians made their way through the opposing natives to the top of these rocks in the course of nine days, whence their general encouraged them with the sight of the rich plains of Italy, and after two days halt began to descend; which, with considerable loss, and being obliged in one part to cut a passage through the rock, he did in six days. Upon review of his troops on entering Insubria, Hannibal found them reduced to six and twenty thousand. In the mean time Scipio, finding that he had evaded him in Gaul, hastened back with his troops to Italy, and advancing to the Ticinus was there wounded in an engagement of cavalry, and his troops defeated; on which, retreating to Placentia, he there intrenched himself; but being deserted by a body of Gauls, and doubting the fidelity of the whole nation, he retreated to the Trebia, and encamped on an eminence near that river; where he was joined by his colleague, Sempronius. This consul, eager to acquire fame, was quickly drawn into a battle by Hannibal, in which the Romans were defeated with the loss of more than twenty thousand men. C. Flaminius and P. Servilius Geminus being elected for the next year's consuls, the senate provided every thing for the campaign; while Hannibal, having, with great difficulty, and additional heavy losses, passed the Apennines, had another engagement with Sempronius, whose command was not yet expired, in which the Romans had at first the better; but in the end night parted the combatants, ere the victory was decided. The Carthaginian, then, by an astonishing march over a marshy country, entered Hetruria, and there by the lake Thrasymenus he totally defeated the army of the consul Flaminius, that rash commander falling himself in the action. When the news of this defeat reached Rome, the consternation was inexpressible: neither could the senate come to any determination on the state of affairs, ere they heard of a second defeat, that of a body of four thousand horse, which the consul Servilius had detached to the assistance of his colleague; one half of which were taken prisoners, and the other cut to pieces.

The senate determining for the nomination of a dictator, Fabius Fabius Maxi-

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mus named dictator: his mode of opposing Hannibal.

Maximus was named to that dignity, who adopting a course opposite to that of his predecessors, only watched the motions of Hannibal without suffering himself to be drawn into an engagement, though that crafty commander left no means untried to provoke him to it. This wise conduct was disapproved by the many, who could not discern the prudence of it; and at length even the senate consented to a law, to give the master of the horse, M. Minucius Rufus, equal authority with the dictator: who thereupon took half of the army under his own command, with which he still continued to encamp on the hills, while Minucius suffered himself to be drawn into an engagement, in which his troops were surrounded, and would have been all cut off, had not Fabius come down to their relief, by whom Hannibal was obliged to retreat. This taught Minucius the presumption of his own conduct, and induced him to make to the dictator a submission, that was more honourable to himself than to Fabius, and to put himself again under his command. The consuls, too, who succeeded to the command of the army on the expiration of the dictatorship, followed the example of Fabius, and gave the enemy no opportunity of attacking them.

The Romans defeated at Cannæ.

While these things were passing in Italy, wonderfull was the progress made by Cn. Scipio in Spain, and when joined by his brother, P. Scipio, they penetrated into the heart of the Carthaginian provinces in that country. Terentius Varro and Æmilius, the next year's consuls, arriving with a strong reinforcement at the camp in Italy, found things in a good condition; but soon caused a great alteration by the differences between themselves, and at length, on a day when Terentius had the command, near Cannæ, a city in Apulia until then little known, the armies engaged, and the Romans suffered such a defeat, as they never before experienced, leaving dead on the spot forty-five thousand, among whom were one consul and two past consuls, while ten thousand were made prisoners, and three bushels of Roman knight's rings are said to have been sent to Carthage. Immediately after the victory, Maherbal pressed Hannibal to march to Rome; but this measure that commander declined. Great in the mean time as was the consternation at Rome on the news of this defeat, the senate in their measures followed the advice of Fabius,

whose wisdom they now too late discerned. Marcellus, who was preparing to go as prætor to Sicily, was ordered to supersede Terentius Varro in the command of the body of troops he had assembled from the fugitives; and M. Junius Pera was named dictator; who chose for his general of the horse, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Even the purchase of slaves was resorted to for recruiting the army,* and the finances were assisted by publick voluntary contribution.

Hannibal's flow of success begins to ebb.

After Hannibal moved from Cannæ, the first that deserted the Romans was Compsa, a city of the Hirpini; and the next Capua. Here, captivated with the bewitching pleasures of the place, Hannibal lost his time, while the dictator was preparing another army: at length he moved from Capua, and soon experienced a severe check from Marcellus in a sally from Nola. After an ineffectual attempt upon Casilinum, he placed his troops in winter quarters in Campania, and took up his own in the voluptuous city of Capua, where his debauched life gave his soldiers an example, by following which they became greatly changed, and when recalled to their military duties shrunk from them, deserted in numbers, and took refuge in their old haunts of profligacy. The great deficiency caused in the senate by the number of its members that had fallen, was now filled up by a second dictator, nominated for that purpose. After which, for the new consuls were chosen Sempronius Gracchus and Posthumius Albinus. But of this last tidings quickly came, that he and all his army had been cut off by the Boii: on which Sempronius advised the senate to restrain their efforts at present to the expulsion of Hannibal from Italy. In the room of Posthumius, Marcellus was raised to the consulship; but some omens occurring, which the augurs interpreted to import, that his election was not approved by heaven, he would not accept the fasces, and they were bestowed on Fabius Maximus. While these preparations for proceeding in the war were making at Rome, Hannibal gained possession of several places in Magna Græcia. But after this his success ceased to flow, and his activity appeared to be so diminished, that even Fabius

* These, though purchased, were not compelled to serve; but being asked their consent, answered, *Volo, I will:* whence they were called *Volones.*

became less earnest to continue on the defensive. At length, being pressed by the Samnites, who had revolted to him, to come to their defence, the Carthaginian invested Nola, whence Marcellus made most destructive incursions into their territory. But the latter venturing to march out of the place and hazard a battle, the Carthaginians were put to the rout, with the loss of five thousand slain, and two thousand prisoners: after which Hannibal had the mortification of being deserted by twelve hundred of his best Spanish and Numidian horse: on which loss he left Campania for Apulia.

Operations still continue in favour of the Romans.

Winter now approaching, Fabius directed Marcellus to disband his army. But while these things were passing in Italy, the prætor, Manlius Torquatus, compleatly triumphed over the Carthaginians in Sardinia, reducing that whole island under the power of the Romans. Not much less successfull in Spain were the two Scipios. But in Sicily affairs were not so prosperous; since Hiero dying, his successor and grandson, Hieronymus, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. By an irregular interposition of Fabius in the election of consuls, the choice of the tribes at last fell on himself and Claudius Marcellus. After which a fleet and army were quickly equipped for Sicily; while, on the continent, the operations commenced by a sanguinary conflict between a body of eighteen thousand men under the command of Hanno, and the army composed chiefly of Volones, led by Sempronius, when the latter gained a complete victory, killing sixteen thousand of their enemies, and taking their camp: on which Sempronius declared all the Volones free. Various operations and actions now took place, all to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians. Philip of Macedon, in compliance with the treaty which he had made with Hannibal, now drawing towards Italy, Lævinus the prætor, who had been sent with an army into Illyricum, surprised him in his camp, and killed three thousand, and took double that number of his men, the king himself narrowly escaping. In Spain the Scipios gained great advantages, and took Saguntum. The next year the credit of Hannibal in Italy continued to decrease, while the Romans took several places, and in Spain they continued to prosper. Nor did the following campaign open to the advantage of the Carthaginians; since Hanno, then endeavouring to relieve the Capuans,

had his camp forced by the Romans, and all the corn and forage he had collected taken, and lost six thousand men killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners. Soon after this Sempronius Gracchus was betrayed into the hands of the Carthaginians and was slain; but Hannibal gave him an honourable funeral.

The Scipios slain in Spain; the younger Scipio is sent thither, and Marcellus against Hannibal.

The loss of this able officer was followed by the news of the death of both Scipios in Spain, by which, and the defeat of the armies which they commanded, the senate at first conceived that the affairs of Rome in that country were ruined. But a young Roman knight, named C. Marcius, being unanimously chosen general by the troops, quickly surprized the Carthaginians in their camp, and setting it on fire, killed, of those who endeavoured to escape the flames, seven and thirty thousand, and thus repaired the misfortunes which excited despair. The siege of Capua still continuing, Hannibal attempted to raise it; but in this he was foiled with the loss of eight thousand men. On this repulse he marched directly to Rome, but found it so well defended, that after spending a few days in its vicinity, he left it and unexpectedly attacked the camp before Capua; but there discerning the danger of being overpowered by the Roman forces, he left that city to its fate, when it was quickly surrendered, and the inhabitants of it condemned to either slavery or imprisonment, while the lands and houses were reserved to the Roman state, and freed-men sent thither to cultivate the former. Claudius Nero, who had been sent to Spain as successor to the Scipios, having been greatly overreached by Asdrubal, Scipio, the son of the deceased proconsul, though only four and twenty, was chosen, on his own offer, to that office in Spain, and quickly embarked with a strong reinforcement, for his province. Marcellus being raised to the consulship, having signalized himself in Sicily by taking Syracuse, was ordered to march against Hannibal; when, after taking Salapia in Apulia, he recovered many cities in Samnium. Yet in the mean time Hannibal in some measure retrieved his affairs and his credit, by surprising the proconsul, Fulvius Centumalus, whom he cut off with several thousand men. On this news Marcellus marched to meet the conquerour, and after

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fighting an whole day, without victory declaring on either side, Hannibal the next day declined another conflict, and the ensuing night moved his camp. And the rest of the campaign was spent by Marcellus, in fruitlessly endeavouring to bring his wary adversary to an engagement.

New Carthage taken by Scipio, and affairs in Italy proceed prosperously.

While these things were passing in Italy, Scipio, having his friend Lælius commander of the fleet, surprised New Carthage, and in it took an immense quantity of arms, stores, provisions, and rich booty. His conduct on this occasion, and particularly the continence and generosity which he manifested in restoring a beautifull captive without ransom, to a prince to whom she had been betrothed, not only raised his own fame but gained the Romans many friends in Spain. At the same time that the senate received the news of this important acquisition, advice was also brought them of the total reduction of Sicily by the consul Lævinus. Fabius Maximus, being again chosen consul with Fulvius Flaccus, undertook the siege of Tarentum, while his colleague and Marcellus watched the motions of Hannibal, and restrained his ravages. Distressed by this, the latter engaged with Marcellus and defeated him; but the next day the Roman renewed the engagement, and gaining a complete victory, compelled Hannibal to retire into Brutium and intrench himself. The consul Fulvius in the mean time recovered Lucania, Hirpinia and part of Brutium, without bloodshed; while Tarentum was betrayed to Fabius, who found in it very great riches, and sold the citizens who escaped the general massacre, to the number of thirty thousand, for slaves.

The success of Scipio continues in Spain. That of the Romans in Italy varies.

The success with which he commenced his operations continued to attend Scipio in Spain; he defeated Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and brought many petty princes into the Roman interest. When the next election for consuls was over, Marcellus, who was elected for the fifth, and T. Quinctius Crispinus, for the second time, laid a plan for making themselves masters of Locri, which was counteracted by Hannibal, and the consuls themselves drawn into an ambush, in which Marcellus was slain, and Quinctius mortally wounded. The body of the first being left in the hands of the Car-

thaginians, was honourably burnt by order of Hannibal; and his ashes being put into a silver urn, with both a crown of gold, and one of laurel on it, were sent to his son.* The loss of both these consuls was somewhat counterbalanced by the success of Lævinus, who had by a descent on the coast of Africa made a very great booty, and afterwards defeated a Carthaginian fleet.

Claudius Nero overreaches Hannibal, and defeats and kills Asdrubal. Spain entirely reduced.

Claudius Nero, one of the new consuls, beat Hannibal at his own weapons, and by a stratagem defeated him with the loss of eight thousand killed, and seven thousand made prisoners, and in a second battle slew two thousand more. And while he was still harassing him, learning by an intercepted messenger, that Asdrubal had passed the Alps, he, with a rapidity scarcely credible, joined his colleague, who had been sent to oppose this advancing enemy, and bringing the Carthaginian to an engagement, totally defeated his army, and taking the head of Asdrubal, who had fallen in the battle, returned with the same velocity to his former camp, whence by released prisoners he informed Hannibal of the victory he had gained, and exposed to him his brother's head. On the back of these good advices came others from Spain, of further triumphs of Scipio. Although the troops of Hannibal were now in want almost of the common necessaries of life, that able commander gained some advantage over the succeeding consuls, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and L. Veturius Philo, in the plains of Cosentia, where he continued the rest of the summer, without their daring to attack him. But while he remained on the defensive in Italy, Scipio so completely vanquished the Carthaginian army in Spain, that its two commanders, Asdrubal and Mago, escaped by night to Gades, and the Numidian king, Masinissa, embraced the party of the Romans. Spain being now almost reduced, Scipio passed over into Africa, to have an interview with Syphax, king of Masæsylia, who entered secretly into a treaty with him. On his return from Africa, he completed the conquest of Spain, by the reduction of Gades, and was then ordered to return to Rome.

* Of these circumstances, so creditable to the Carthaginian general, Livy, with a mean partiality, of which this is not the sole instance, has taken no notice.

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Scipio as consul goes into Sicily; afterwards passes into Africa.

Scipio arriving at Rome about the time of the elections, was, though not of the legal age, immediately chosen consul, and had for his colleague, P. Licinius Crassus. Scipio wished to be sent into Africa, but could obtain no more than the command in Sicily, with permission, if he deemed it advantageous, to pass over into Africa with the fleet there, of only thirty gallies. In Italy, the plague kept both armies in a state of inactivity, though on the Carthaginian side, Mago had landed in Liguria with a reinforcement. During this inaction in Italy, Lælius landed in Africa, and having, by ravaging the country, obtained a great booty, he, by the advice of Masinissa, returned to hasten the descent of Scipio. Mago, though he received an additional reinforcement, and great sums for raising troops, was by the Roman armies prevented from joining his brother Hannibal. In Spain, a revolt that had broken out was reduced, and in Greece, a treaty was concluded with Philip, king of Macedon. Under the new consuls, M. Cornelius, Cethegus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Scipio transported his army from Sicily into Africa, landing at the fair promontory. Between Hannibal and the Romans, two actions now took place, in the first of which the former, and in the other (which was the more important) the latter prevailed, when the consul Sempronius recovered several places.

Scipio succeeds in Africa, and Hannibal is called from Italy to defend Carthage.

Scipio having landed in Africa, though assisted by the treachery of Masinissa, took but one city before the winter; but early in the spring, he surprised, forced, and burnt, two camps of the enemy at the same time, forty thousand of their men being killed, and five thousand taken prisoners; the two commanders, Asdrubal and Syphax, escaping with only five and twenty hundred men. As soon as the Carthaginians had mustered another army, he again defeated them, but was prevented from at present taking more than the town of Tunis, by being obliged to march and secure his fleet from the attacks of the enemy, who had reduced it to fourteen gallies. But during this, the other part of his force, under Lælius and Masinissa, penetrated into Numidia, defeated and captured Syphax, and gained possession of his capital, Cyrtha. While the winter caused a suspension of military operations, Scipio occupied his old post, near Tunis, and the Carthaginians endeavoured, under

colour of treating for peace, to gain time for the arrival of Hannibal and Hanno from Italy. The latter of these died on his passage, of a wound he had received in a battle in Insubria; and the former commander, though for the last campaign he had been confined in a corner of Brutium, quitted Italy very unwillingly, while his departure was celebrated at Rome with devout rejoicings. And thus ended all the hope which Carthage had entertained of vanquishing her mighty rival, whose progress to the universal dominion predicted, was henceforth regular and accelerated.

Scipio defeats Hannibal; and the Carthaginians submit to the terms of peace prescribed by the former.

The perfidious conduct of the Carthaginians during the truce granted by Scipio, so irritated him, that he renewed the war with great fury, took several places by assault, putting the garrisons to the sword, and making the inhabitants pass under the yoke. While thus employed, Hannibal, at the head of the Carthaginians, advanced towards him, but was so stricken at his magnanimous treatment of two spies, detected in his camp, that he sought an interview with him, in which they might treat of peace. But at Carthage, the people having got the ascendant, sent the general orders to come to a decisive battle without delay. But he still held an interview with Scipio, which proving short and fruitless, they the next day came to a battle, which was disputed with the most eminent courage on both sides, and ended at last in the total defeat of the Africans, their commander, after acts of the most determined personal courage, escaping, with only twenty horsemen, to a small city in the neighbourhood. The Carthaginians now were content, by Hannibal's advice to sue for peace, which they obtained, on the hard terms of delivering up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and that they should tame no more. That they should undertake no war even in Africa without the consent of the Romans. That they should restore to Masinissa all they had usurped from him or his ancestors, and enter into alliance with him. That they should supply the Roman legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, until the return of embassadors to be sent to Rome. That in the space of fifty years, they should pay the Romans ten thousand talents at equal payments. That they should deliver to Scipio an hundred hostages, chosen by himself. That neither peace or truce should take place, till the Carthaginians should restore the

ships and effects taken during the late truce. That they should deliver up also all the fugitive slaves, deserters, prisoners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal had compelled to follow him. And on these conditions the Carthaginians were permitted to live according to their own laws, and retain their African dominions, but the Romans were to hold Spain, and all the islands in the Mediterranean: while their armies should leave Africa within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. These conditions being ratified by the senate and people of Rome, the war ceased, and Scipio returned home to triumph; and there received the surname of Africanus.

The Gauls under Hamilcar twice defeated, and he taken prisoner. The Macedonian war begun and finished. The Porcian law enacted.

To the Carthaginian war succeeded, first, some conflicts with the Boii, and then the war with Philip of Macedon, which has been already treated of in the history of that country: but during the progress of this, the Gauls, headed by Hamilcar, whom Hannibal had left in Italy, made another irruption into the Roman territories, and were defeated, with the loss of above thirty thousand men. And in the consulship of C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minucius Rufus, Philip of Macedon was compelled to accept the conditions of peace dictated by the pro-consul Flaminius, by which an end was put to the first Macedonian war: while that with the Gauls was nearly finished, by the slaughter of thirty thousand of them in one action, with the capture of their commander Hamilcar, and more than five thousand men. The reduction of Spain to the state of a Roman province, produced some disturbances in that country; and the Cisalpine Gauls being not quite subdued, the next consuls destroyed two considerable armies of them. Now was passed a law, to which reference is often made in the subsequent part of the Roman history, prohibiting the scourging of any Roman citizen, under severe penalties, and which was termed the Porcian law from Porcius Læcas, a tribune of the people, the author of it: but this did not extend to the armies.

The revolt in Spain subdued. A fruitless embassy from Antiochus the Great.

The reduction of the revolted provinces of Spain was now allotted to M. Porcius Cato, who had been raised to the consulship; and by his wise and vigourous conduct quickly accomplished it. In Greece, Flaminius rendered Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, as submissive as Philip of Macedon, and thus produced peace in that quarter. In the

consulship of Cornelius Merula and Minucius Thermus, embassadors arrived at Rome from Antiochus, king of Syria, to propose an alliance with the republick, but returned dissatisfied; the Romans having the modesty to require, that he should renounce all pretensions to Thrace, Æolis, and Ionia. In Spain the success of the Roman arms continued. In Cisalpine Gaul a great but bloody victory was obtained by the consul Merula; but his colleague in Liguria acted only on the defensive.

War with Antiochus commenced. The Boii reduced. Antiochus being defeated, a peace is agreed on. Other less important transactions.

The next year was opened by a complete victory over the Ligurians: while the new disturbances raised by the Ætolians in Greece, led to the long-expected rupture between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, many operations flowing from which have been already detailed in the history of Syria. M. Acilius Glabrio was the first consul to whose lot any share in this war fell; and he, on his arrival in Greece, being joined by the allies, quickly subdued Thessaly. While the Roman forces were successfull against Antiochus, the Boii were so totally reduced by the other consul, Scipio Nasica, that their lands were shared among the Roman colonies, sent there for that purpose. Of the campaign of L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, in which as consul he commanded, having Africanus with him as his lieutenant, almost all the prominent particulars have already been detailed. It was on account of the victory near Magnesia, that the younger Scipio gained the title of Asiaticus, though the battle was won principally by the conduct of Eumenes of Pergamus, and his brother. In this the Syrian monarch lost fifty thousand men; and this produced the subsequent peace. On the defeat of Antiochus the Ætolians sincerely sued for peace, and on severe terms obtained it. Cn. Manlius Vulso, one of the next consuls, achieved the conquest of the Galatians, who submitted to his terms. Fulvius, his colleague, during his consulship, added the island of Cephalenia to the demesne of the republick, and thither he transported his troops, and when at the expiration of the year he was continued in the command as proconsul, he made it the place of his residence; where all disputes between the Greek states and cities were brought to his tribunal; and whence he gave laws to all Greece; so that that people, though declared free, had in reality solely the appear-

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ance of liberty. M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius reduced the Ligurians, who had again rebelled, in one campaign.

Malicious prosecution of Scipio and his brother, with the death of the former. The insolence of the Romans to the king of Macedon. Conduct of Cato the censor. Two remarkable laws enacted. Some further victories, and a remarkable act of justice by the senate.

The Romans now disengaged from foreign wars, seemed to want employment for their evil passions that found vent in them; and therefore turned to civil disputes and accusations of their own citizens. Various charges were brought against Scipio Africanus, by two tribunes of the people, whom the malice of Cato is said to have excited, and though the prosecution did not proceed to procure a sentence, yet it seems to have accelerated his death, which took place in the forty-eighth year of his age. After his death, Cato still persecuted his brother, who was, it should seem, most unjustly condemned by the prætor, and reduced to poverty by the confiscation of his effects. The consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, presented Rome in an attitude most admirably corresponding with the predictions which had been pronounced of her. Some disputes having arisen between Philip king of Macedon and the Greek republicks, three commissioners were sent from Rome to terminate them; and the Macedonian monarch was cited to appear before three Roman citizens; who, thinking proper to humble him, pronounced this decree: "Our will and pleasure is, that the Macedonian garrisons evacuate forthwith all the places in dispute, and that the kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its ancient limits." Thus did the beast, that was dreadfull, and terrible, and strong exceedingly, break in pieces, and stamp on the residue with his feet.* While in Greece Rome thus treated a monarch as her vassal, her commanders fought some successfull engagements in Spain and Liguria. At the next elections Cato was chosen censor, and by popular acts of severity attracted the regard of the multitude, while his private life proved his hypocrisy, and manifested envy, ambition, and love of money. The consulate of P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bæblius Tamphilus, was marked by considerable victories in Spain and Liguria; and at home by the Orcian law, by which it was enacted, that no man should spend more than an hundred asses of brass, that is, six shillings and five-pence, on one entertainment.

* See Dan. c. 7, vv. 7, 19.

The following year, besides some victories in Spain and Liguria, was marked by a law fixing the age before which several offices could not be holden: that of quæstor was settled at one and thirty, curule Ædile thirty-seven, prætor forty, and consul forty-three; and this law lasted to the fall of the republick. The wars continued with success through the next consulate in Spain and Liguria: but in the following one, a consular army acting against the Illyrians and Istrians, at first lost their camp by a surprize, but soon recovered it, and slew eight thousand of the enemy. Still the war ended not before the next consulate; when the whole Istrian nation was brought under subjection to Rome; while of the rebels in Sardinia and Corsica a great slaughter was made. In Liguria, too, a complete victory was gained over the insurgents. A similar circumstance took place the next year: but the two following were barren of military exploits. In the last of them, however, that of the consulate of Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola, the streets of Rome were first paved. One of the next consuls, M. Popillius Lænas, having vanquished a people in Liguria, and on their unconditional submission taken away their arms, dismantled their cities, and sold them and their goods; the senate commanded him to restore the money received for them, to release them, return their effects, and even purchase new arms for them.

The war with Perses, and the subjugation of that monarch and his dominions.

The following year the Romans, for the first time, chose for consuls two plebeians, whose consulate was marked by a declaration of war against Perses, king of Macedonia, on the ground of his having usurped several cities from the allies of Rome. But when, in the next year, a consular army was about to embark for Macedon, embassadors from Perses arrived, announcing their master's readiness to comply with all that could be required of him. To these it was answered, that if the king was sincerely disposed to give the Romans satisfaction, he might treat with the consul who was coming into Macedonia. The war was then soon commenced, and though, ere the Roman forces were fully assembled, Perses gained some small advantages, he thought it expedient to make fresh offers of compliance; but to these Licinius the consul replied, "There is no peace for Perses, till he surrenders up himself and his dominions to the

Romans at discretion." For one year this devoted monarch kept his enemies at bay; but in the next the consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, through the inactivity of Perses, was enabled to open a way into Macedon, and to establish magazines, and make roads, for the benefit of his successors as well as his own. In the following winter the senate refused to attend to the mediation of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and the Rhodians, in behalf of Perses: and at the next election, Paulus Æmilius, the son of the Æmilius who fell at Cannæ, being consul, had Macedonia assigned him for his province. He in thirty days reduced all Illyricum, the king of which, Gentius, had declared for Perses; and advancing through Thessaly, at Pydna gave the Macedonian monarch his final defeat, becoming afterwards master of his person, as stated in a former part of the history of Macedon, where, too, has been mentioned, the manner in which the Romans disposed of his dominions.

The Roman senate act in two instances with most undisguised iniquity.

A conquest like this naturally made a great impression on the princes and states of the Levant, and many embassadors were sent to Rome, some with compliments and presents, others with apologies, and Prusias, king of Bithynia, came in person. In the two following years, the only circumstance deemed worth recording, is, that the dramatic poet, Terence, was then in his highest reputation; and in the next consulate died the great Paulus Æmilius: by a census, too, then taken, the sum of Roman citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand, five hundred and fifty-two. In the subsequent year some insurrections in Corsica and Liguria were easily quelled by the consuls. On the decease of Antiochus Epiphanes, during this consulate, the Romans with most shameless iniquity, excluded the right heir, Demetrius, from the crown, and in reality seized the kingdom of Syria, by appointing three Roman senators to govern it as guardians to the late king's son, Antiochus Eupator, yet under the name and direction of the republick. In the consulship of L. Anicius Gallus and M. Cornelius Cethegus, the last by draining the Pomptine marshes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, produced a fruitfull plain, which, however, was afterwards overflowed again. When, two years after this, Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, fled to Rome, on being deprived of his

throne by Demetrius, who placed on it Orofernes, a supposititious son of the preceding monarch, the Romans, pursuant to their common maxims of policy, it has been observed, and certainly according to the prediction already quoted concerning them, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors.

Cato's injustice to the Carthaginians. Dalmatia subdued. Good success in Transalpine Gaul, but very ill in Spain, until Marcellus arrived there.

Masinissa having invaded the territories of Carthage, Cato, the censor, was deputed, with other commissioners, to arbitrate in the dispute. But, when he arrived there, he was greatly offended at the Carthaginians for urging, that since the limits of their territory had been settled by Scipio, any alteration in them would be a reflection on so great a man; and consequently viewing every thing with a malicious eye, did, on his return to Rome, most iniquitously urge the utter excision of Carthage. The Dalmatians having made predatory incursions into Illyricum, and refused all demands of satisfaction, in the consulship of C. Marcius Figulus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, war was declared against them, and in the following year Scipio Nasica completed the subjection of their country. Under the next consuls an almost general revolt in Spain, occasioned by the extortion of the Roman prætors, induced the senate to order one of the former thither, but he was cut off by poison, given him by his own wife, ere he reached his province. While the other being sent to assist the inhabitants of Marseilles, old friends of Rome, against the Ligurians and the Deceatæ, made the first conquest of the Romans beyond the Alps, and reduced the whole country of the latter, comprehending the present territories of Antibes and Grasse. The necessity for sending a consul into Spain, caused the election this year to take place earlier than usual, and the consuls to enter on their office on the calends of January, instead of the ides of March, and from this time, the first of January became the day for those magistrates to take possession of the fasces. One of the present, Q. Fulvius Nobilior, being sent into Spain, met there with very ill success, as the prætor, Mummius, did in Lusitania. The successor of the former, M. Claudius Marcellus, reduced the Spaniards to sue for peace, but the senate refused to ratify the terms on which he granted it.

In the mean time, the senate considering the treaty with Rome as

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infringed, by the wars entered into by the Carthaginians in Africa, Scipio Nasica was appointed embassador, to ascertain the real state of affairs in that country. But, when things were nearly arranged, the Carthaginian populace, inflamed by a seditious leader, obliged Nasica to save himself, from violence by flight. The new consuls found the people of Rome unwilling to enlist for service in Spain, on account of the hardships which the soldiers under Fulvius had suffered. But Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, and, by adoption, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, coming forward, and addressing the people with true patriotick fervour, and offering himself to serve in any capacity, the people became eager to give in their names. And under Lucullus, to whose lot Spain fell, Scipio Æmilianus served, and covered himself with glory; while the cruel rapacity of his commander, who committed the most dreadfull ravages, rendered him an object of just detestation. Yet he was not made a subject of accusation to either senate or people, any more than the prætor Galba; who, not less covetous, and still more cruel than Lucullus, committed in Lusitania enormities similar to those of which Lucullus was guilty in Spain.

Scipio Nasica ill treated at Carthage. Scipio Æmilianus first appears in public, and serves in Spain. The nefarious conduct of Lucullus in that country.

A bloody war having, in the consulship of T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Acilius Balbus, broken out between Carthage and Masinissa, the senate, which had been continually pressed by Cato to renew the war with the former, and as often dissuaded from it by the milder counsel of Scipio Nasica, sent embassadors into Africa, under pretence of mediating between the hostile parties, but with private instructions to do this only in case Masinissa were defeated; but, should he have the advantage, to urge him to push the war to the utmost extremity: and when, by a great victory the Numidian had obtained over them, the Carthaginians had sustained a prodigious loss, the Romans immediately declared war against them, though by an embassy sent to Rome they proffered every submission, even leaving it to the senate to name their own terms. It was in the consulate of L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius Nepos, that this war was declared; and, when all things were ready for commencing it, the defection of Utica, which city sought the alliance of Rome, induced the Carthaginians to offer an absolute surrender of their

War declared against Carthage, and the siege of that city commenced.

country and themselves to the Romans. The embassadors, who brought this, were well received by the senate; and told, that they should enjoy their lands, effects, laws, and liberty, as before, on condition of sending three hundred hostages to the consuls, then in Sicily, and executing whatever they might command them. Joyfully were these terms accepted, and the hostages immediately dispatched to Lilybœum; when they were embarked for Italy, and there, with a degree of base iniquity and barefaced villainy, which no words can adequately express, did the chief magistrates of these virtuous Romans, with the full acquiescence, there is no reason to doubt, of their employers, sail for Utica, and landing seventy-four thousand horse and foot, take possession of the same ground on which Scipio had encamped, when he invested Carthage: hither the astonished Carthaginians sent deputies to learn their intentions: with the most magisterial solemnity were these received, and required to deliver up all the arms and instruments of war that were in Carthage, being assured of the protection of the Romans. This insidious demand was from necessity complied with: but on another being then added, that they should abandon their city, that it might be levelled with the ground, despair seized the inhabitants, and they applied themselves to supply, by extraordinary exertions, those arms, which they had been too easily induced to part with to an insidious and inexorable adversary. The Roman commander, unaware of this, attempted to take the city by assault, but was repulsed; and to obviate a plan of the consul Marcius to transplant his troops to an healthier spot than that which they then occupied, Asdrubal, who commanded in Carthage, made use of fire-ships.

Scipio Æmilianus distinguishes himself in Africa; is chosen consul, takes and razes Carthage.

Both near the city, and in various actions with the forces which the other Asdrubal had assembled in the country, Scipio Æmilianus distinguished himself this campaign. During these transactions in Africa the Romans lost in Lusitania two battles; and from Macedon, by a pretended son of Perses, they were expelled, as well as from Thessaly. The next consuls, instead of pressing the siege of the capital, applied themselves with but indifferent success to the reduction of other places. In the meantime the Carthaginians sent to animate the new king of Macedon to continue

the war with Rome; but he being defeated by Metellus, was at length delivered up to the Romans; nor was the attempt of another impostor on the throne of Macedon attended with even the success of this. Scipio Æmilianus, though not yet of the legal age, was the following year elected consul, and sent to take the command in Africa. From the characters of the men, it has been deemed worthy of remark, that he took with him Polybius the historian, and Lœlius, the son of him to whom Africanus was attached. Æmilianus, on his arrival in Africa, immediately changed the course of operations, and took by assault Megalia, one of the suburbs of Carthage. At this loss, Asdrubal, who had commanded the forces in the country, but was now governour of Carthage, was so transported with rage, that, with cruelty the most detestable, he commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and the eyes and tongues to be torn out of all the Roman captives; and the poor wretches, thus maimed, to be thrown over the ramparts, in the sight of the besieging army. The exertions of the Romans were not diminished by this act of nefarious barbarity; nor did the resolution of the besieged fail, but the whole of the summer was spent in extraordinary achievements of valour and perseverance on both sides; and Æmilianus at length succeeding in blockading the city on the sea side. On the expiration of the consular year, Æmilianus's command in Africa was continued to him, in which he added to his former triumphs the capture of Carthage; of which city and its citadel, after a most determined resistance, and a dreadfull carnage, he made himself master; and, under directions from Rome, completely razed it; and thus put an end to the only rival of Rome: and in the same year did the consul Mummius destroy Corinth.

State of the war in Spain.

The war in Lusitania was still maintained bravely by Viriathus; who, having been victorious for six years together, had drawn off whole nations from Rome, and ravaged the provinces in alliance with her. The senate, therefore, sent Q. Fabius Æmilianus, one of the new consuls, into further Spain, who, spending one year in disciplining his new levies, in the next gained two victories over Viriathus, and recovered two important places. To him succeeded Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the consul, with the prætor Q. Pompeius. This last

arriving at his post before the consul, after some success was driven out of the field; but, on the arrival of Metellus, Viriathus declined an engagement, when the consul compelled one whole nation to submit on his terms. While Metellus was gaining honour in Spain, his colleague, Appius Claudius Pulcher, lost one battle and gained another, against the Salassi, a tribe of Gauls whom he had unjustly attacked. For this balance of victories both senate and people refused him a triumph, yet he celebrated one in defiance of both. In the subsequent year Q. C. Metellus, partly by arms, but still more by his humanity, recovered all Tarragonian Spain, but Termantia and Numantia. But in further Spain the consul Servilianus met not with the same success, but was defeated by Viriathus. The folly of the Roman people now superseded the able Metellus, by raising to the consulate Q. Pompeius, a man of mean birth, and of merit as low. When the former understood that he was to be thus succeeded, he endeavoured to finish the war ere he was recalled; but being unable to bring Viriathus to a battle, could only over-run great part of the country, and recover several considerable cities. Pompey, on arriving in the province, was offered advantageous terms by the cities of Numantia and Termantia; but was too injudicious and presumptuous to accept the offer; and consequently lost in several actions with the inhabitants of them a number of men. In the further Spain the pro-consul Servilianus, after some previous success, was driven into an ambush, where the whole army might have been destroyed, but that Viriathus offered them peace, on the condition, that he should continue master of the country then in his power, and the Romans hold the rest of Spain.

Unprincipled conduct of the Roman senate.

In the next consulate, Pompey having, by his absurdities, reduced his troops to a very small number, at length, made a peace with the Numantians, on worse terms than they had before offered him. While Q. Servilius Cœpio, to whose lot the further Spain had fallen, pressed the senate to order him to break the peace with Viriathus. That virtuous body directed him to use artifice to exasperate the spirited Lusitanian, and drive him to commit the first hostilities. Finding, however, that Viriathus did not fall into this diabolical

snare, he made fresh application to the senate, who ordered him to declare war; and, without the least provocation from Viriathus, proclaimed him an enemy to Rome. The war, thus begun, lasted not long; Cœpio profited by the treachery of three of the confidents of Viriathus; and, by bribery, prevailed on them to murder their general and friend in his sleep: thus the Romans began to trample under foot the law of nations, publick faith, and humanity itself. After the decease of Viriathus, the Lusitanians appointed one Tantalus to command them; but he was surprized by Cœpio, and compelled to surrender himself and his whole army at discretion: and thus was closed a war, which had lasted fourteen years. In the consulate of P. Scipio Nasica and D. Junius Brutus, this last settled in Spain some of the veterans in a colony with Viriathus's soldiers, and called the place Valentia, a name which it still retains. In the meantime the pro-consul brake, by a flagitious order of the senate, the peace with Numantia; but when he appeared before that city, he met with so brave a reception, that it disabled the Romans from making any further attempts that campaign. In the following consulate Brutus entered the country of the Bracarini, whose women fought among their troops without the least fear, and died without a shriek. Yet the pro-consul gained, by his clemency indeed rather than by his sword, the whole country over to the interest of Rome. While Brutus was thus employed in further Spain, Mancinus, the consul, led his army towards Numantia; but, perceiving the terrour of his army, he retreated during the night, when only four thousand Numantines attacking his thirty thousand men, slew of them twenty thousand, and so completely surrounded the rest, that the consul thought prudent to open a negociation for peace, which was concluded in two articles, that the Numantines should suffer the Romans to retire unmolested, and they themselves preserve their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the Roman people. When the news of this peace arrived at Rome, though the senate and people were glad to save their ten thousand soldiers, they determined not to observe the treaty, but basely resolved to extirpate that generous

and innocent people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of all who had served against them; and, with a despicable and detestable hypocrisy, pretended to make the Numantines satisfaction, by delivering the consul Mancinus into their hands.

The siege and capture of Numantia.

Two years after this Scipio Æmilianus, now termed Africanus, was chosen consul, under an especial dispensation with the law, that he *might* command in the iniquitous war against Numantia, and under him served, two, whose characters became afterwards sufficiently notorious, Marius and Jugurtha, who here formed a strict friendship. One year did Scipio spend in rendering his army fit for action; after which he surrounded Numantia, with such works, and so manned, that it was scarcely possible that any of the beseiged should either make any impression on them, or escape through them. Hearing, however, that the youth of one city, that of Lutia, purposed to assist them, he marched thither, and having compelled the inhabitants to deliver up four hundred of these generous young men, he, Scipio himself, one of the greatest heroes of that execrable city, Rome, caused their right hands to be cut off. Thus deprived of all succour, and being denied all terms, but those of surrendering at discretion, the brave Numantines, after a last effort of despair, became B. C. 124 a prey to famine; till, at length, a small remnant threw themselves on the mercy of the conquerour, who manifested his own magnanimity, and testified his admiration at their bravery, by selling them all except fifty, which he reserved to walk at his triumph! after the fall of Numantia, the whole country immediately submitted to the Romans.

The enaction of the Sempronian law and the murder of Gracchus.

The iniquitous treatment of Numantia, by the Romans, became (and in its so becoming, we may admire the never-failing justice of the divine Governour of the Universe), the source of civil dissensions to Rome. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, resolved to vent the indignation he had conceived against the senate, for breaking the treaty which he had made with the Numantines, and decreeing (though that decree was not executed with regard to himself) that the consul, quæstor, and all the officers, who had signed it, should be delivered to them. To accomplish this, he became a candidate for the tribuneship; and, as soon as elected, resolved to revive the

Licinian law, that no citizen should possess more than five hundred acres of land; and, after much opposition, through which he not only suffered great obloquy, but had his temper sowered, and was induced to prevail on the people to depose from the tribuneship one of his colleagues, the law passed in its original form. But ere it could be carried into execution, the senators, with Scipio Nasica at their head, himself no very distant relation of Gracchus, murdered their adversary in the capitol; and, to his death, added that of above three hundred of his friends, on the same day, besides those whom they afterwards assassinated. Of these murders, Nasica and his followers were shamelessly acquitted by the senate; who, by a most iniquitous decree, justified all the cruelties perpetrated against Gracchus and his adherents.

Death of Scipio Nasica, and servile war in Sicily.

The dastardly populace, who wanted courage to defend their tribune when he stood in need of their protection, expressed themselves after his murder so strongly against Scipio Nasica, that the senate thought proper to send him into Asia, under pretence of an embassy; and long did he ramble about the Levant, till, at length, worn out with trouble, this assassin died at Pergamus. A rebellion of the slaves in Sicily, in consequence of the bitter oppression which they suffered, obliged one of the new consuls, P. Rupilius, to repair thither. For five years had this rebellion been now raging, and with circumstances of cruelty the most unrestrained had the revolted slaves, whose number gradually increased to two hundred thousand, revenged themselves on their masters. In the preceding year Calpurnius Piso, the consul, had defeated them, and slain six thousand; and this year Rupilius, opening the campaign with the siege and capture of Taurominium, when that place was betrayed to him, had the governour, and the remains of his garrison (for some had, through famine, been slain and eaten by the others), thrown from the top of a rock. The capture of another place, which likewise was betrayed to the Romans, and that of the slave, whom the rebels had elected for their king, quickly put an end to the insurrection. When Rupilius gave the island a new code of laws, and left it in tranquillity.

In the next year, when, for the first time, both censors were chosen

Further civil disturbances.

from the plebeians, the number of citizens able to bear arms were three hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three. The complaints of opposition to the execution of the Sempronian law were now renewed; yet Scipio Æmilianus being, in an assembly of the people, insulted, did, by a dignified rebuke, reduce them to silence and to fear. Still the disturbances in the city were daily increased by the tribunes, one of whom, named Labeo, perpetrated a most enormous outrage on Q. Cacilius Metellus, the censor, and would have had him put to death, had not another tribune opposed the sentence, and saved the remains of that great man's life. Labeo next obtained the enaction of a law, granting to all future tribunes votes in the senate; thus did these demagogues continue their encroachments. After this law was obtained, the unprincipled tribunes ordered, by sound of trumpet, all the effects of Metellus, the conquerour of Macedon for the republick, to be sold by auction. By such acts of violence were the civil wars of Rome preceded. The allies of the republick, complaining of the injustice of the commissioners under the Sempronian law, Scipio supported the cause of the complainants, which involved him in a contest with the commissioners, that terminated in his murder; supposed to be perpetrated by those commissioners, admitted by night into his chamber, by his own wife Sempronia, who was sister of one of them, C. Gracchus. During these transactions at Rome, the consul Tuditanus in one campaign, quieted all that part of Illyricum which had been in insurrection; and his colleague, M. Aquilius, reduced the kingdom of Pergamus, by the inhuman measure, of poisoning the springs. The republick now not being disturbed by foreign wars, the Roman people are represented as resigning themselves wholly to licenciousness. But, in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Aurelius Orestes, a revolt took place in Sardinia, and the great popularity acquired by C. Gracchus, who was sent thither, as quæstor, alarmed the jealousy and excited the fears of the senate. And the next year, Fulvius Flaccus, who had been one of the triumviri for the partition of lands, being chosen consul, he proposed a law, that the right of Roman citizens should be granted to all the Italian allies, that had no share of the divided lands. While most

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eagerly pressing this measure, he was called beyond the Alps, to lend assistance to the people of Marseilles, whose country was ravaged by the Salyes. Hence, the Italian allies, disappointed in the hopes which Fulvius had excited, began to conspire against Rome; but the plot being discovered, Fregellæ, a city of the Volsci, and the first which revolted, was razed; which severe example stifled the sedition for some time.

C. Gracchus chosen tribune of the people. Metellus quells an insurrection in the Balearic isles. Aix, in Provence, founded.

During the next year, C. Gracchus returned, without leave, from his post in Sardinia, and became a successfull candidate for the tribuneship; and, in the following consulship, Gracchus obtained the confirmation of his brother's law, respecting the division of lands, between the citizens of Rome and the indigent allies. He executed, too, some usefull publick works, among which is specified the first erection of milestones. But what increased his popularity most, was, his obtaining laws for building publick granaries, to be stored, at the publick expence, and for monthly distributions of corn, to every citizen wanting it, at a very low price. These, and some other laws of which he was the mover, gained him an absolute ascendant over the people. To prevent the consequences of the jealousy which this excited in the breast of the patricians, he stood for the tribuneship a second time, and, in spite of all their opposition to him, succeeded. In the mean time, Metellus quelled an insurrection in the Balearic islands, without sparing the inhabitants, of thirty thousand of whom he left alive scarcely one thousand. After which, he, in the larger, built two cities, one of which, Majorca, is still in existence. At the same time, the proconsul, Sextius, having, in Transalpine Gaul, subdued the Salyes, founded among them a colony, on a spot abounding with hot and cold springs, naming it Aqua Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence.

Disturbances raised by C. Gracchus, and his death.

Great was the confusion now raised in the republick by the innovations of Gracchus; to humble the senate, he persuaded the people to pass a law for transferring the cognizance of all private causes, civil and criminal, from the senate to the knights, who were esteemed a part of the plebeian body. He proceeded then to shew the greatness of the influence he had obtained, by treating the senate openly with contempt. But his malevolent and levelling

intentions were now so apparent, that even his friend, whom he had raised to the consulate, C. Fannius Strabo, began to oppose his measures; and when, by a proposal to give the right of citizenship and suffrage to all the Italian allies, the tribune had drawn to Rome an alarming concourse of people, the consul caused them to be driven out, while Gracchus did not venture to protect them; which was the first thing that lessened his credit, and rendered his partizans diffident. But the senate, not content with the diminution of his influence, proceeded by a long course of intrigue, ably conducted, to ruin him entirely; and in this they were assisted by his own imprudence. By offending his colleagues, he lost his re-election; and, consequently, was no longer sacred in his person. At length, his opposition to the senate wore an appearance that menaced force; and then, by the violence of his party, things were pushed to extremity, and a civil war actually took place in the city: which, however, quickly ended in the death of Gracchus, and the most determined of his supporters. And considerable was the cruelty with which the consul, Opimius, endeavoured to eradicate the reliques of the faction; while the senate contrived to obtain the repeal of the laws enacted by the Gracchi; and the people were, through their inconstancy and cowardice in deserting those who had exposed themselves in their defence, justly subjected to the oppression they had formerly suffered.

Success of the Romans in Gaul. Further accusations in the city. Marius obtains the prætorship. Great migration of the Cimbri.

During these civil dissensions, the arms of the republick prospered in Gaul under successive commanders; the Ædui became the allies of Rome, the Allobroges and Arverni were defeated, and compelled to sue for peace: but the king of these last was basely entrapped by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and sent prisoner to Rome. This year ended with the trial of the consul Opimius, who was accused, by one of the tribunes, of putting a number of citizens to death uncondemned by the people. But Papirius Carbo, one of the present consuls, undertaking the defence of his predecessor, he was acquitted, and the city thus restored to tranquillity. While under the next consulate, Papirius Carbo himself was accused before the prætor, by Publius Licinus, of stimulating the elder Gracchus to illegal conduct, and of being an accomplice in the assassination of the second Africanus, with such effect, that he put himself to death;

whence his accuser gained the character of the greatest orator that Rome had ever bred. The consul, Metullus, having defeated a people of Illyricum, and finding the conquest of them not of sufficient importance to secure him a triumph, unjustly made war on the Dalmatians, who submitted to him without resistance; and, for this pretended conquest, was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Dalmaticus. In this consulate, Marius, afterwards so notorious, obtained the tribuneship; which he filled with consummate arrogance. Q. Marcius, one of the next consuls, opened a way for the Roman armies, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, conquered the country through which it ran, and founded the city of Narbonne, calling it Narbo Marcius. In the consulship of C. Licinius Geta, and Q. Fabius Eburnus, C. Marius obtained the prætorship, by the most shameless bribery; but behaved well in his office, as he did in the following year in the government of the further Spain. Æmilius Scaurus, one of the next consuls, endeavoured to set some bounds to the inordinate luxury that prevailed in Rome; and being seconded by the censors, thirty-two worthless senators were erased from the roll, and games of hazard, and concerts of musick, proscribed. The census taken by these censors, proved the number of citizens, of military age, to amount to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty six. The Scordisci, a people of Thrace, the next year invading Macedon, cut off the whole army of the consul, C. Porcius Cato, the grandson of the censor. But T. Didius, the prætor in Illyricum, drove the enemy back to their own country, with great slaughter. Three vestals, being this year, convicted of incontinence, were buried alive, and their seducers whipped to death. Under the succeeding consuls, C. Cæcilius Metellus, and Cn. Papirius Carbo, the approach of the Cimbri, who had migrated from the Chersonesus denominated from them, and advanced as far as Vindelicia, excited great alarm in Rome; when Papirius was sent to stop their nearer approach; but the craft by which he, by no means fairly, endeavoured to ensnare them, turned to the defeat of his own army, which they, however, did not pursue; but, entering Transalpine Gaul, through Helvetia, they filled that country with desolation and slaughter. Of the next consuls, M. Livius Drusus,

was sent against the Scordisci, and prevailed on them, partly by force, partly by treaty, to repass the Danube; and make that the boundary between them and the Roman provinces.

The nefarious conduct of Jugurtha, and as iniquitous behaviour of the senate.

Jugurtha, a grandson of Masinissa, king of Numidia, being incapable, on account of his illegitimacy, to succeed to the crown, at length, by his hypocrisy so far gained the good will of his uncle, Micipsa, that he adopted him, and enabled him to succeed to the kingdom, as joint heir with that monarch's own two sons. Of these, Hiempsal was assassinated by an officer of his guard, corrupted by Jugurtha; and the other, Adherbal, being obliged to recur to the Romans for protection, his persecutor understanding that every thing was venal at Rome, counteracted, by bribery, all his applications for justice. After the kingdom had, by a deputation from the senate, been most iniquitously divided, finding the command he had over that unprincipled body, he made himself, by force, master of all his brother's portion, and murdered him, with exquisite torments, in his own palace. Even this villainy of the Numidian monster would not have brought on him punishment from the senate; but a tribune of the people, named C. Memmius, made known to them the horrid guilt of Jugurtha, and exclaimed against the venality of that assembly. The people, on this, resolving to take cognizance of the affair, the senate signified, that they intended to make war on Jugurtha. And, consequently, one of the next year's consuls passed over into Africa with an army; and, after a brisk attack on Jugurtha's dominions, he had an interview with that crafty prince, when a peace was made on terms very easy indeed for the Numidian, and sufficiently indicative of his having paid something more for it in private. The devastations committed by the Scordisci, united with the Triballi and the Daci, and the expulsion of them from Macedon, by the consul of the next year, M. Minucius Rufus, who settled all those countries in peace, affected the Roman people but little, in comparison with the detestable peace concluded with Jugurtha. To decide whether, as by the friends of the treaty it was reported, Jugurtha had surrendered himself to the republick, one of the tribunes suggested, that the surest way would be to summon him to appear before them; this plan was adopted, and the prætor, Cassius,

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from his character for probity, was then selected to go to Africa for this purpose. Repairing thither, he found the army universally corrupted, and totally abandoned to rapacity. But his business being with Jugurtha, he endeavoured to persuade him to go to Rome, and prevailed. When arrived there, by corrupting Caius Bæbius Salca, one of the tribunes, he, by his interference, escaped the judgment of the people. After this, having procured the assassination of Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa, who had fled to Rome for protection on the death of Adherbal, he was ordered to quit Rome immediately. The senate annulled the shamefull treaty of peace which had been made with him, and the consul, Albinus Posthumius, sailed to Africa with the necessary troops, but was amused and deceived by Jugurtha, till the consular year was so near expiration, that he was obliged to return to Rome without having effected any thing, by action or by treaty. During the consulship of Q. Cæcilius Metellus and M. Junius Silanus, the enquiries instituted against those who had taken bribes from Jugurtha, were brought to an end, and one of the greatest of the criminals, Scaurus, prince of the senate, having had both craft and influence enough to get himself placed at the head of the commission, escaped all censure, while he condemned several consular men, and even one pontifex.

Silanus defeated by the Cimbri. Metellus reduces Jugurtha to treat for peace, but the latter breaks off the treaty.

Narbonne Gaul having fallen to Silanus as his province, he was there defeated by the Cimbri and Teutones, and the province exposed to their ravages. Metellus, who went into Numidia, found the Roman army retired from thence into the Roman province of Africa; having suffered defeat and disgrace under the command of Aulus Posthumius. When the consul had sufficiently disciplined his troops, he entered Numidia with great and continued circumspection. After he had taken one commercial city, he was attacked by Jugurtha from an ambush, but both that, and another attack made on the consul's lieutenant, Rutilius, were repelled; and two victories were gained on the same day. On the retreat of Jugurtha, Metellus did not think fit to follow him, but was content to send out parties to ravage the country, of which Jugurtha shewed himself a very able defender. Ser. Sulpicius Galba and Q. Hortensius being elected consuls, Metellus was continued in his command, with the title of

pro-consul. But Marius, whom Metellus had appointed one of his lieutenants, when he was living unnoticed at Rome, now became the rival and the calumniator of his benefactor: but the pro-consul, perceiving that he wished to supplant him, became still more guarded in his conduct. Jugurtha avoiding a battle, he endeavoured to force him to it, by laying siege to Zama, but, it being timely garrisoned with Roman deserters, without success; on which failure, he put his troops into winter quarters. While they were thus at rest, Jugurtha was brought to a treaty, and submitted to pay down two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, to deliver up all his elephants, a certain number of horses and arms, and all his deserters, which last met with most cruel usage from Metellus: but when, in addition to this, he was required to repair in person to Tisidium, a city of Numidia, there to receive further directions, he hesitated; and, after several days consideration, resolved to try the fortune of war once more; nor, from that time, did he manifest the least inclination to peace.

Marius chosen consul, supplants Metellus in his command. The success of the last against Jugurtha, who procures himself new allies.

In the meantime, Marius, who seems not to have had the least spark of principle, took the most diabolical means to supplant his commander; and, having obtained his permission to go to Rome to canvas for the consulship, he there, by calumniating Metellus, promising to do great things himself, and courting the populace, got himself elected consul by a large majority, with L. Cassius Longinus; and afterwards named by the people, in opposition to a decree of the senate, (so miserably democratick had the government of Rome been made) to the command in Numidia. His colleague had for his province Narbonne Gaul, where he fell into an ambush, laid by the Tigurini, in which both he and his best lieutenant perished; and the other, to save his life, submitted to surrender his arms and baggage, and, with his army, pass under the yoke. While Marius, invested with his new authority, was most grossly insolent to the patricians, and, with great severity, collecting such troops as he liked, Metellus forced Jugurtha to a battle, in which he defeated and dispersed his forces: he then took Thala, a fortress, in which the Numidian had deposited his treasures; but these the garrison burnt, with themselves. Jugurtha

now betook himself to a pastoral people of Africa, to whom the Roman name was yet unknown; the Getuli, and, among them, raised an army, with which advancing to the borders of Mauritania, the sovereign of which, Bocchus, had married one of his daughters, he prevailed on him to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, and, joined by all his army, he approached Cyrtha, the capital of Numidia, which Metellus had made a magazine for his army. The pro-consul, on this, ceased to provoke an engagement; but, hearing that he was superseded in the province, he employed all the time till the arrival of Marius, in efforts to detach Bocchus from Jugurtha.

Marius's severity and success.

Metellus declined meeting his unprincipled successor; who, having spent the summer in preparing his new levies for action, by a secret and extraordinary march, came suddenly to a city, named Capsa, encompassed on every side by a vast desert; and, though the inhabitants offered to surrender, on the sole condition of having their lives spared, Marius, from a sanguinary policy, put all of them, able to bear arms, to death; and sold the rest for slaves. This fearfull example caused the Numidians on all sides to submit to him; and in his whole march to the confines of the country, one castle only, named Mulucha, and of singular strength, refused to open its gates to him: this, therefore, he besieged, and, by an happy and unexpected circumstance, when he almost despaired of taking it, he became master of it.

Sylla's conduct on his arrival in Africa. He awakes the jealousy of Marius, by the capture of Jugurtha.

Soon after the reduction of this fortress, arrived with a reinforcement in Africa, another extraordinary Roman of these times, L. Cornelius Sylla, a man of patrician family, who, having spent his youth in the fashionable debaucheries of Rome, on his coming into possession of wealth, became also ambitious; and, making use of his popular powers, obtained the quæstorship of Marius's army, the same year that the latter was made consul. Soon after his joining the army, he, by his brave conduct, removed the prejudice which Marius had formed against him, having, in two very severe actions, against the confederate troops of Jugurtha and Bocchus, performed most essential service; while, at other times, he laid aside the man of pleasure, and performed the duties of the patient and indefatigable soldier. The two actions, in which Sylla had thus signalized him-

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self, were followed by an embassy from Bocchus, which led to a train of negociations, in which, at length, Jugurtha was by Bocchus betrayed into the hands of Sylla, and conducted in chains to Marius. The applauses which the army on this event bestowed on Sylla, first excited the envy of Marius, and laid the foundation of the civil wars, which afterwards took place between them.

Cæpio's infamous conduct in Gaul. Jugurtha's kingdom divided. Mallius and Cæpio both defeated; and for their ill-behaviour deposed by the people. Exertions of Rutilius Rufus.

While these things were passing in Numidia, in Transalpine Gaul, which had fallen to the lot of the consul Q. Servilius Cæpio, he recovered from the Cimbri, Tolosa, now the city of Toulouse, the capital of the Tectosages. He gave the city to be plundered, though surrendered to him by the inhabitants, and robbed the temples of very great treasures, part of which he pretended to send to Marseilles, under a small guard on its way to the public treasury, but placed on the road a more numerous body, which seized it, and privately conveyed it to him. The following year, under the consuls P. Rutilius Rufus, and Cn. Mallius Maximus, the dominions of Jugurtha were thus divided: that part next Mauritania was given to Bocchus. Numidia Propria was divided into three parts, of which one was assigned to Hiempsal, another to Mondrestal, the undoubted heirs of Masinissa, and the third was added to the adjoining Roman province. The consul, Mallius, on his arrival in Gaul, seems to have been received with little respect by his predecessor, Cæpio; and so high did the dissentions between them rise, that they separated from each other, which gave the enemy an opportunity of attacking them separately. When they were so completely defeated, that, of the two Roman armies, only the two generals and ten men escaped; among these was the famous Sertorius, then in his first campaign. When tidings of this defeat arrived at Rome, the indignation of the people, increased probably by their fears, led them to depose Cæpio, and declare him incapable of a military command in future. The opposition, which the nobility and senate gave to this sentence, as novel, excited in the comitia such disturbances, that a tribune of the people drove the patricians by force out of the assembly, and the prince of the senate was wounded on the head by a stone. On this deposition (which must have included Mallius) the whole government of the republick,

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for the remainder of the year, devolved on the other consul, P. Rutilius Rufus, who by conceding exemption to no citizen able to bear arms, most rapidly raised an army, and now first introduced fencing masters into the Roman camp.

Additional laws passed at the instance of the tribunes, in diminution of the authority of the senate. Marius has Gaul for his province. The cause and termination of the servile war in Sicily.

The next consuls were, C. Fulvius Fimbria and C. Marius; the last of whom left Numidia without delay, bringing with him the captive king, who after walking, with his two sons, at the triumph of Marius, perished, as he deserved, miserably. The honours heaped on Marius, to whom Gaul was now assigned as his province, and Sylla appointed his lieutenant, encouraged the tribunes of the people to propose three new laws, which were enacted in diminution of the power of the senate. By one, the election of the pontifices was transferred from their own college to the people. By a second, it was enacted, that every citizen degraded by a plebiscitum, should be for ever deprived of his seat in the senate. By the third, the allies of Latium, who should accuse a senator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of Roman citizens. Marius, on his arrival in Gaul, finding the enemy gone into Spain, sent most of his young soldiers, under the command of Sylla, to make war on all the enemies of Rome from Narbonne to the Pyrenees; in which commission Sylla maintained the reputation he had already gained. But now, Marius thinking it requisite to increase his forces, sent even into the east for recruits; when the king of Bithynia being applied to, replied, that his dominions were quite exhausted by the number of his subjects which the Roman knights, who farmed the revenues of the republick in the Levant, had carried off and kept in slavery. In consequence of this complaint the senate decreed, that all men of free condition brought from the country of an ally should be set at liberty. On the news of this decree the slaves began to set themselves at liberty, and widely spread, and sanguinary, were the disturbances which then occurred; but the chief scene of them was Sicily. Where the insurgents maintained a regular war with the Roman forces for four years, being finally reduced by the consul Aquilius.

Marius elected consul a third, and

The conduct of Marius in Gaul, in his efforts to repress the licentiousness of those under his command, was so approved at

Rome, that he was elected consul the third time. The Cimbri, that had entered Spain, were so harassed, by Marcus Fulvius, the prætor there, though he had but one legion under his command, that they returned to Gaul. But, ere they arrived there, a swarm of Marsi, from Germany, appeared, intending to proceed to Italy. To oppose this inundation Marius detached Sylla; but, he, preferring persuasion to *force*, obtained a conference with their leaders, and persuaded *them* to come over to the Romans. By an artfull plot Marius got *himself* elected consul, the fourth time, having for his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus. While the rebellion of the slaves in Sicily, at this time, greatly diminished the supply of corn sent to Rome, the Cilician pirates contributed no less to increase the scarcity, against these, therefore, was sent M. Antonius, whose daughter they had carried into captivity, and he soon cleared the seas of them. The barbarians having agreed to enter Italy, by two different routes, the Cimbri over *the eastern*, and the other nations over the western alps; Marius, to oppose the latter, took post near the site of the present city of Arles, and there, by digging a canal from the Rhone, both opened to himself a communication with the sea, and fortified his camp. Scarcely was this accomplished, when the barbarians appeared, in unnumbered multitudes, and attacked his camp without success, and then provoked Marius to battle; but, he prudently declined engaging, until by being more accustomed to the sight of them, his soldiers had overcome the terrour, with which they were at first stricken, by the looks of inexpressible fierceness which these barbarians carried with them. The self-command of Marius, was put to a severe trial, by a challenge to a single combat, given him by one of the Teutones of gigantick stature; but, here too, he behaved with a real fortitude, which may make other duellists blush; answering, only, "if the German be in haste to die, let him go hang himself." At length, the Teutones, having made another unsuccessfull attempt on the Roman camp, marched off to force a passage into Italy some other way; and, it is said, were six days, without intermission, passing by the host of the Romans. Marius followed them, and, near Aquæ Sextiæ, a battle, with a portion of the enemy, the specifick tribe of the Ambones, took place; which ended in a total

then the fourth time. The Marci persuaded by Sylla to enter in the service of the Romans. The sea cleared of Cilician pirates by M. Antonius, Marius defeats the Ambones, afterwards the Teutones, Marius, consul a fifth time, commencement of the open rivalship between Marius and Sylla.

defeat, and vast slaughter, of the barbarians; with the addition of their children, and their wives, which last, offering to capitulate, provided their persons remained secure, when the brutality of the Romans denied them this condition, first slew their children, and then themselves. This victory, however, was over only a part of the barbarians; the great body of the Teutones still remained unvanquished, but were brought to an engagement, the third day after the battle, and defeated, with a loss, on the lowest computation made, of an hundred thousand, killed on the spot. The news of this victory raised Marius the fifth time to the consulate. A crime, hitherto unheard of in the annals of Rome, being now committed, and, for which, as impossible to be perpetrated, her legislators had appointed no punishment, the murder of a mother by her own son, a new penalty was devised, the criminal was sown up in a leathern sack, and cast, with curses, into the Tyber. While Marius had this success against the Teutones, Catulus, who was continued in his command, as pro-consul, was compelled by their multitude to retire before the Cimbri, who entered Italy, and might, had they known how to improve their success, have, at that time, made themselves masters of Rome. But, the senate directed Marius to join, with his troops, the army on the Po, in which Sylla was then serving, as lieutenant to the pro-consul. And, he, having, by his superior conduct, found means to supply the camp of Catulus, with great plenty of provisions, while the troops of Marius wanted necessaries; Sylla made an offer of supplying them out of the superabundance of what he had provided. Necessity obliged the reluctant Marius to accept the offer: and from this time, Sylla became, openly, the rival of him, who had been his commander.

The conjoined armies of Marius and Catulus finally defeat the Cimbri. Marius, consul the sixth time; the conspiracy of Apuleius and Glaucia suppressed.

When the Cimbri found, that the Teutones, whom they had expected to join them, had been already overthrown, they challenged Marius to name a time and place, for fighting.—This he did, in the plain of Vincellæ, and three days from the time of the challenge, that spot not being nearly large enough to admit all the forces of the enemy. Here the armies met, when the barbarians were, with no great difficulty, overcome; and, having absurdly tied themselves to one another, by cords fastened to their belts, were slaughtered

at the pleasure of the Romans. Yet, these, after the combat with the men was over, had another to sustain with the women in the camp, who, after a desperate, but useless, defence, put their children and themselves to death. Two of the Cimbrian generals were made prisoners, with sixty thousand of their men, and an hundred and twenty thousand died on the field; while the Romans had scarcely three hundred missing. Thus was Italy delivered from the terrours with which these swarms of barbarians had filled her. The Sicilian war, as before noticed, being this year finished by the pro-consul, Aquilius, Rome had scarcely any foreign enemies left to contend with; but her civil disturbances soon became sufficient to engross all the attention of her citizens. Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, by obsequiousness and bribery, not only carried the consulship, the sixth time for himself, but in opposition to Metellus, got one L. Valerius Flaccus, a very weak man, appointed for his colleague. Then entering into close confederacy with two daring and factious men, L. Apuleius Saturninus, and Servilius Glaucia, to engross all the power of the city to themselves; the former of these, on being disappointed of the tribuneship, openly murdered his successfull competitor, and had himself tumultuously proclaimed tribune, by his own party; and this was confirmed by Marius, as a legal election. The tribune, who had thus honestly obtained his post, became the obsequious tool of the consul, who had confirmed him in it; and returning to the source of the old dissensions, the division of lands, proposed a law for the distribution of some that had, in Cisalpine Gaul, been recovered of the Cimbri; which had in it a clause, providing, that the senate should, in a full assembly of the people, swear to confirm whatever should be enacted by them; and that every one refusing this oath, should be degraded and fined twenty talents; a clause which at once placed the senate under subjection to the people. This law was carried by force, and the senators were induced, partly by a crafty fraud of Marius, and partly by terrour, to take the oath, excepting Metellus, who honestly refusing it, which Marius had foreseen, went into banishment. The confederates having thus triumphed, Marius, while he endeavoured to keep fair with the senate, brought himself into

And new consuls elected.

suspicion with the other two, who, therefore, canvassed independently on him, Apuleius for his third tribuneship, and Glaucia for the consulate. This last having caused his competitor, Memmius, to be openly murdered in the forum, he and Apuleius, having assembled a multitude of desperate characters, embarqued in undisguised rebellion; when the consuls, Marius and Flaccus, were commissioned to provide for the safety of the republick. But so little zeal did the former manifest in this work, that the senators and knights took the matter into their own hands; and, by the destruction of the conspirators, put an end to the sedition. After which, the new consuls, M. Antonius and A. Posthumius Albinus, took possession of their office.

Rome in tranquillity for some consulships. Insurrection in Spain subdued. The extortions of the Roman publicans stopped for a time. Commencement of the factions of Marius aud Sylla. This last entertains the people with a show of lions. P. Rutilius Rufus unjustly banished.

The first months of this year were passed in tranquillity; during which, P. Claudius Pulcher, the ædile, celebrated games in Rome, the scenes used at which, for the first time, were painted, which, it is reported, was done with art so great, that the birds attempted to light on the tops of the houses, and perch on the trees that were painted on the cloth. An attempt to revive the law for the division of lands, was rendered abortive by the exertions of the consul Antonius; and Marius's faction being thus over-ruled in one instance, encouraged the friends of Metellus to petition for his recall; for which a decree of the people was obtained. And when the elections occurred, the tribes proved the continuance of their regard for him, by electing his relation, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, consul. His colleague was T. Didius; to whose lot fell the province of Spain, in which there then existed an insurrection, which, by the help of Sertorius, who served under him, Didius entirely subdued. At Rome, the presence of Metellus, who acted with great decision, and the absence of the turbulent Marius, contributed equally to the publick tranquillity. In Asia, the pro-consul Q. Mucius Scævola, set an example, followed by many other governours of provinces, of punishing, in an exemplary manner, the iniquity of the Roman knights or publicans; so that a stop was for some time put to their extortions, which had rendered the yoke of the republick insupportable. Marius, on his return to Rome in the succeeding consulate, manifested great rage at the honours done to Sylla; and by attempting to pull down a

monument to his honour, which Bocchus, king of Mauritania, had dedicated in the capitol, divided the city into two factions. They were prevented from raising any disturbance by the vigilance of the consuls, of both this and the following year; a conduct so acceptable to the people, that at the subsequent election, in lieu of military men, they raised to the consulate a renowned orator, Licinius Crassus, and a learned civilian, Q. Mucius Scævola. These consuls, however, procured the enaction of a law, which obliged the allies, who lived at Rome, and falsely pretended to the right of citizenship, to return home; a law which excited such resentment among the people of the Italian provinces, as in time to give birth to the social war. The next consulship was as peaceable, though one of the consuls was a new man,* of no birth, and of a warm temper; yet was debarred of opportunity of raising any commotion, by some of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The consulate of C. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Herennius, was remarkable for nought but a show of an hundred lions, which Bocchus had presented to Sylla, with some Mauritanian huntsmen accustomed to engage them; an entertainment which so ingratiated Sylla with the people, as to contribute to his elevation to the consulship, as much as his achievements; and the unjust condemnation of P. Rutilius Rufus, who, having attended Mucius Scævola into Asia, was supposed to be the adviser of his reform of the publicans; and, from mere revenge, was accused by that powerfull body, and condemned to banishment.

The following year, the senate ordered Sylla to carry back Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, who had been driven from his dominions by Tigranes, king of Armenia. This Sylla effected, defeating

The Parthian king seeks the friendship of the Romans. The commencement of the social war.

* The division of the Roman people into *nobiles, novi,* and *ignobiles,* was taken from the right of publickly exposing the images of their ancestors; an honour allowed to those only, whose ancestor, or themselves, had born some curule office. He who could expose the pictures or statues of his ancestors, was stiled *nobilis;* he, who could produce only his own, was called *homo novus;* he who could expose neither his own, nor those of any of his ancestors, was termed *ignobilis.* For a long time none but the patricians were *nobiles,* they alone being raised to the curule offices.

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Gordius, whom the Armenians had placed on the throne. While thus employed, too, he received an embassy from Arbaces, king of Parthia, desiring the friendship of the Roman people. At Rome, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the censors, accused his colleague, L. Crassus, of excessive fondness for one of his murænæ.* Yet these censors are said to have joined in many usefull regulations, particularly one, that might with advantage be adopted in other states; they drove out of Rome several masters who had opened schools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

B. C. 92, During the following consulate, Sext. Julius Cæsar and L. Marcius Philippus, M. Livius Drusus, a tribune of the people, descended from an illustrious family, a man of spotless character, and a sincere lover of his country, set himself to the hopeless task of reconciling the jarring interests of the several bodies, of which the republick was formed, and of satisfying likewise the desires of the Italian allies; but found his well meant scheme impracticable, and succeeded no further than to inflame wishes, which he could not gratify, and was himself assassinated for the attempt. At this the Italian allies, highly provoked, that their friend should be thus cut off, while endeavouring to secure to them the right of Roman citizenship, took arms; and Pompædius Silo, the best general among the Marsi, marched towards Rome with ten thousand men, meaning to surprise and plunder it. But being met on the road by his old friend, Cn. Domitius, he was prevailed on to lay aside his design. But in the very beginning of the succeeding consulship of L. Julius Cæsar, and P. Rutulius Rufus, all the provinces, from the Liris to the Adriatick, revolted at once. More formidable enemies Rome

* This favourite fish was so tame, that at his call it would come to Crassus, and feed out of his hand. The grave censor was so fond of it, that he adorned it with the richest jewels he had. When it died, he put himself in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When Crassus, who for eloquence was the wonder of his age, came to speak in his own defence, he was very satyrical on his austere accuser, and uttered his ironical jests with such gestures, as drew upon his colleague the laughter of the whole assembly. "I have been guilty, said he, of this most enormous crime, I have, it is true, wept at the loss of a favourite fish; but you, good Domitius, have borne the loss of three wives without shedding a tear."

¶

had never engaged: disciplined as her own legions; led by commanders brought up in her own armies; and of the Marsi in particular, it is asserted, that they had shared in all victories of Rome. The first step of these confederates was to erect themselves into a republick; Corfinium, a large and strong city of the Peligni, was made their capital. War being commenced by the people of Asculum Picenum having cut in pieces the pro-consul, Q. Servilius, his lieutenant, and all the Romans they found in their territory, because he menaced vengeance, if they joined in sending hostages to Confinium; the Romans hastened to levy troops, and allot the consuls their provinces; to Cæsar, Samnium; and to Rutilius, the country of the Marsi. Cn. Pompeius, who served under Rutilius as a lieutenant, attempted, in revenge of Servilius, to take the city of Asculum by assault, but its inhabitants, by an unexpected sally, put the Romans to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. The Latins, Hetrurians, and Umbrians, still continued faithfull to Rome; and the eastern kings sent large supplies to support her in so dangerous a war; and Sertorius, at that time quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul, brought a reinforcement of Gauls to the assistance of his country; in this, his defence of which, he lost an eye. In the country of the Marsi, the Romans, in a very bravely contested battle, suffered a defeat with the loss of four thousand men. In a few days after which, the consul, Rutilius, was, by a counter stratagem of the enemy overthrown, and himself, a number of officers of distinction, and eight thousand men, slain. This news, which filled Rome with terrour, was quickly followed by that of the pro-consul, Cæpio, being slain, and the best part of his army cut to pieces, by Pompædius Silo, the commander in chief of the allies. The courage of these last being raised by success, they in battle, and the capture of cities, gained various other advantages of considerable importance. But in Samnium, the consul, Cæsar, after having received a check from the allies, and being deprived of his Numidian cavalry, by the predeliction which they manifested for the son of their old king, who was politically released by the allies from his confinement in the city of Venusia, and brought to their army, defeated a body of them, and killed six thousand of their men. Great joy was caused

Various operations of the war. Some efforts made, and not without success, to mitigate the resentment of the allies.

at Rome by this first victory over the confederates, the senate confirming the title of Imperator, which the soldiers had given to the consul in the field.* Several other actions now took place to the advantage of the Romans: but Marius, now in the sixty-eighth year of his age, finding his animation fail him, was so mortified at losing a battle, that, pleading his infirmities, he retired from his command. The victory gained over this renowned commander by the Marsi induced the Umbrians and Hetrurians to declare for the confederates. The addition of troops thus rendered necessary, the senate endeavoured to supply, by a measure taken only in the utmost danger, enlisting the freed-men, of which twelve garrison cohorts were formed: and thus the legions were sent against the united forces of the Umbrians and Hetrurians, whom they defeated in a pitched battle. When the year was near expiring, the consul, Cæsar, proposed a law, which was enacted; decreeing, "that all nations in Italy, whose alliance with Rome was undisputable, should enjoy the rights of Roman citizens." By this, which was called the Julian law, the ardour of the enemy was much abated, and several nations were drawn from the confederacy. Still hostilities were continued by the Lucanians, Samnites, Marsi, and some others. The new consuls, therefore, took the field; and by one of them, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, an army of the Marsi was destroyed. In the mean time the prætor Urbanus Aul. Sempronius Asellio, was, for the many judgments he had given against usury, murdered by the usurers, as he was sacrificing in the forum; neither was this nefarious crime punished; the money of the guilty closing the mouths of both accusers and witnesses. However, a law was obtained by M. Plautius Sylvanus, a tribune of the people, making it capital for any citizen to come into the comitia with arms of any kind, or to disturb the judges in their courts. As the Roman knights had most

* In the times of the republick the title of Imperator was an occasional mark of honour sometimes bestowed by the armies on their generals in their acclamations, signifying, that they were really commanders; and confirmed by the senate, in favour of those who had signalized themselves by important victories. But under the Cæsars it was converted into a title of sovereignty.

flagrantly abused the judicial authority with which they had been entrusted, the same tribune, by another law, deprived them of it; and enacted, that each tribe should choose fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil causes should be committed: and this zealous tribune, in conjunction with C. Papirius Carbo, one of his colleagues, put the last hand to the Julian law, got it confirmed by the people, and published in these terms: "All the citizens of the allied cities, who shall be in Italy at the time of the promulgation of this law, shall be deemed citizens of Rome, provided they register their names with one of the three prætors, within sixty days." But that the strangers, which now flocked in multitudes to Rome, might not become masters of the elections, the new censors formed them into new tribes, which were to vote last.

Sylla chosen consul. Commencement of the civil war, between him and Marius. Marius driven from Italy.

In the meantime, the war with the provinces, which continued in revolt, was pursued with great vigour; and (except in one instance, in which in an attempt to force a camp of the Marsi, by the consul, P. Cato, he was slain; but it was suspected not by the enemy, but by young Marius, who had quarrelled with him for speaking contemptuously of his father,) prosperously by the Romans, of whom Sylla was the hero this campaign; and when he returned to Rome, at the end of it, was raised to the consulate. No sooner had Sylla entered on his office, than he employed all his interest to get the command of the army to be employed against Mithridates: in this he was opposed by Marius, who, to strengthen himself against his rival, united with a tribune of the people, of most infamous character, named P. Sulpicius, who constantly had about him a company of young knights, whom he stiled his anti-senatorial band; and with whom, armed with concealed daggers, he entered the senate, and commanded it to annul the holydays, which the consuls had proclaimed, with a view of impeding the enaction of a law which he had proposed, and which, if carried, would have given him the command of the majority of votes in the city. Meeting with opposition in the senate, he let loose his band of assassins on the senators. The son of the consul Pompeius, and son-in-law of Sylla, was murdered: Sylla himself escaped by taking refuge in the house of Marius. But thinking himself no longer safe in Rome, he hastily repaired to his

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camp at Nola, and when he heard that he was superseded by Marius in the command against Mithridates, and found that his troops would stand by him, concluding, it should seem, that the appeal to arms was already made, he led his army to Rome, and entering the city by force, Marius and his more active adherents were obliged to leave it; and, on the proposal of Sylla, the people consented to four laws, which he represented as requisite to reform the many abuses which had crept into the state; first, that no law should be brought before the people until it had been seen and approved by the senate; secondly, that the comitia for the future should be holden not by tribes, but by centuries; thirdly, that no citizen who had been tribune of the people should be capable of any other magistracy; fourthly, that all the laws of the tribune Sulpicius should be annulled. Then Marius, Sulpicius, and a great many of their adherents, were proscribed, and rewards set on their heads. Sulpicius was immediately seized and slain. This return to Marius after having saved his life, so displeased the citizens, that instead of choosing those for consuls, for whom Sylla interested himself, they raised to that office L. Cornelius Cinna, a man of the contrary faction, and most depraved manners; they gave him, however, a colleague of unblemished character, Cn. Octavius. In the meantime Marius, after many very narrow escapes, and much severe suffering, found refuge for the winter in an island off the coast of Africa, named Cercina.

Sylla sails for Asia. Cinna expelled from Rome, sends for Marius, and with him returns to the city, where they perpetrate a five days slaughter.

At Rome Sylla and Q. Pompeius Rufus, the other consul, endeavoured to quiet the minds of the people; and things appearing tranquil, Pompeius went to assume the command of the army, then under the care of the pro-consul Pompeius Strabo, and was, through a plot of his, assassinated by some soldiers. Sylla alarmed at this set sail for Asia some days after his consulship was expired: when Cinna, manifesting his real attachment, and arming the new citizens that were in Rome, a battle took place in the streets between them and the old, headed by Octavius; when the former were beat, and Cinna expelled the city, and deposed from the consulship; L. Cornelius Merula being chosen consul in his room. Cinna still retaining the title and appearance of consul, quickly drew together a very large

army from the allies, whose cause he had at Rome supported; and then sent to Marius to return to Italy; who expeditiously arriving with a body of horse he had raised in Africa, soon found himself, from the numbers of various kinds that joined him, at the head of a considerable army. With this joining Cinna, who had with him Sertorius, attached to that party by the offence Sylla had given him, these three determined to blockade Rome. After some resistance, and the exhibition of much treachery, the distress of the besieged was aggravated by famine and pestilence, and the desertions becoming very numerous, the senate submitted to receive Cinna into the city in the character of consul, who was soon followed by Marius; when a cruel massacre began, though Cinna's cruelty then extended only to his colleague Octavius, whom he had slain in his curule chair. After this Marius, Cinna, and Papirius Carbo, under whose command Cinna had placed part of the multitude of troops that had joined him, came to a resolution to murder without mercy all the senators who had opposed the popular faction. This slaughter lasted five days, and the mangled bodies being dragged into the forum were left there to be devoured by dogs. Neither was the slaughter confined to the city; through the country the friends of Sylla and all disliked by Marius were hunted out and butchered.

Death of Marius; Sylla menaces Rome; and Cinna, preparing to oppose him, is killed.

When the year of Cinna's consulship was nearly expired, he scrupled not to nominate himself consul for the second time, and Marius for the seventh, who celebrated his entrance on his office, with some more murders. But now news arrived of Sylla having put an end to the Mithridatic war; and soon after the senate received a letter from him, threatening to be in a short time at Rome, at the head of his victorious army. The dread of which event, and its consequences, so affected Marius, that he gave himself up to excessive drinking; and quickly relieved the earth from the presence of a monster so nefarious. His death, however, produced no immediate benefit to the harassed city; his son succeeded to his power, and in conjunction with Cinna, ruled Rome, in which the face of the republick was entirely changed. Men of any probity, fled in crouds to Sylla, then in Greece, imploring his protection against the tyrants; and he, when he had concluded his treaty with Mithridates, and

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when Fimbria, (who being sent by Cinna and young Marius into the east, with the consul Valerius Flaccus, had murdered this last,) had fallen, partly by his own hand, then resolved to return into Italy; where Cinna and Papirius Carbo had appointed themselves consuls for the next year. The former, to establish himself more firmly, married his daughter Cornelia to a young patrician, whose extraordinary talents were already admired in Rome, Julius Cæsar. Sylla having given a menacing answer to a deputation sent to meet him ere he arrived in Italy, great preparations were made to oppose him; and Cinna undertook to pass over into Dalmatia with an army, to meet him there; but when he was embarking his troops, a mutiny broke out, in which he was slain.

Carbo, the surviving consul, had now the whole administration in his own hands, when having augmented his troops to two hundred thousand men, under the command of various generals, Sylla landed in Italy with forty thousand, with which having defeated one of the new consuls Norbanus, and slain on the spot six thousand of his men, many of that faction began to come over to him; and, at length, when he appeared surrounded by the multitude of his enemies, the whole of one army of forty cohorts deserted to him at once. This success drew to him young Pompey, the son of Pompeius Strabo; who, though only twenty three years old, having by acts of a decisive and bold genius, raised a considerable force, fought his way to Sylla; who was charmed with his bravery, and saluted him with the title of imperator. After which, both parties endeavoured to seduce the allies of the other, and to secure Spain to the Marian faction, thither Sertorius was sent. Carbo, now reigning uncontrouled at Rome, compelled the tribes to elect himself and young Marius for consuls. The campaign opening with an action favourable to Sylla, the nefarious Marius, who vied with, if he did not surpass his father, in sanguinary atrocity, sent orders to Rome, to Junius Brutus, then prætor, to put to death all Sylla's friends; an order which he executed with pitiless accuracy. This drew Sylla towards the city, and a battle taking place between him and young Marius, the latter was defeated with the loss of twenty thousand slain, and eight thousand taken; and was obliged himself to take refuge in the city of Præneste.

Sylla blockading him here, marched to Rome, drove from thence his opponents, and filled the offices that had been holden by them, with his own friends; and then returning to Præneste, had an obstinately disputed action with Carbo, whom he defeated; while great success attended his commanders, and great desertions consequently took place among the Marian adherents. At length the losses with which Carbo met, induced him to leave Italy, and sail to Africa to continue the war there, while Norbanus had retreated to Rhodes, and there slain himself. The party thus sinking, however, was succoured by Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite, who with forty thousand men, joined three of the commanders for Marius; and finding himself unable to cope with Sylla before Præneste, suddenly marched off to Rome, and no longer concealing his real views, exhorted his troops utterly to destroy the tyrant of Italy, Sylla quickly followed him, and under the walls of Rome an engagement took place, in which the left wing of Sylla's army, commanded by himself, was defeated; but the right, commanded by M. Crassus, defeated that opposed to them, and then attacking the victorious Samnites, and putting them to flight with the loss of their commander Telesinus, saved the city, on the very brink of becoming a prey to those who did, not very unjustly, meditate her destruction. After this victory, Sylla entered Rome, and there shewed how much his disposition, which had formerly appeared compassionate, was changed, by the massacre which he immediately had perpetrated. And on the surrender of Præneste, he wreaked his vengeance in a manner equally cruel on the inhabitants of that. When Norba, too, a city of Campania, being nearly reduced, dreading the same treatment as the Prænestines had experienced, the inhabitants of it set fire to their houses, and with all their effects, perished in the flames.

The enormous cruelties of Sylla, and his infamous agent Catiline. Sicily reduced by Pompey. Sylla nominated dictator; the means he

The fall of the two cities above-named, closed the civil war in Italy, but not the slaughter. Sylla now proceeded to proscribe all who had born arms against him, and declared their children and grand-children infamous, confiscating their estates. The infamous Catiline, who had already killed his own brother, was one of Sylla's chief agents in this murderous work; which these agents did not restrain to those who had fought against their employer, but extended

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takes to secure himself in his new authority. Pompey has bestowed on him the name of great. His dauntless opposition to the dictator, and that of Cæsar.

it to the gratification of their private revenge, and even to that of their covetousness. And when he had pleased, but not satiated, the love of blood which he had imbibed, by the murder of nine thousand senators, knights, and citizens, the execution of some of whom was accompanied with horrid tortures, Sylla told the people, that he had proscribed as many as he could think of at present, and for those he had forgot, they too should suffer, when he could recollect them. A like course of murders and confiscations took place in the neighbouring cities; nor was the least resistance manifested. While Italy was thus subdued, Pompey reduced Sicily under the power of Sylla, putting to death Carbo, to whom he, himself, was under great obligations. And, Sylla having rendered himself master of all the countries, subject to the republick, except Spain, suggested to the senate a measure, which they feared to reject, that of nominating a dictator for an indefinite period, and on himself the nomination consequently fell, and Sylla became the first perpetual dictator of Rome; appointing Valerius Flaccus his master of the horse. Invested with this authority, he had several laws enacted, for the reformation of the government; of which, though he saw some abrogated ere he died, the greatest part, form parts of the Roman law to this day. Among other particulars he reinstated in their former honours, and empowered them to fill up the vacancies, in their respective bodies, the pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs, appointed to keep Sybilline books; and to each of these colleges he added five members, whence they were from that time called quindecemeirs; and the books, themselves, having been burnt, in a fire which destroyed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, two years before, search was made in other cities for copies or fragments of them; and, from these, a new book was compiled, larger, but not so authentick as that which had perished in the flames. Firmly to support himself, in the sovereignty he had now obtained, Sylla gave ten thousand slaves the right of citizenship, and rewarded his veterans, with the lands of the municipia and colonies, that had declared against him. Still the Marian faction began to revive in Africa; but Pompey being sent there, did, with such celerity, courage, and conduct, destroy Cn. Domitius Abenobarbus, and the

army he had raised, that Sylla, though he manifested some jealousy of him, gave him, on his return to Rome, the surname of Great. The dictator now endeavoured to please and amuse the people, with most sumptuous entertainments; but, he opposed Pompey in his application for a triumph; which, by dauntless perseverance, the young commander obtained. While his future rival, Julius Cæsar, having irritated Sylla, very narrowly escaped falling a victim to his resentment. From the same resentment, too, Cicero thought fit to retire.

Sylla abdicates the dictatorship, and dies. New disturbances raised by M. Æmilius Lepidus, who fails, and is defeated. M. J. Brutus defeated and put to death, by Pompey. Death of Lepidus, and commencement of the second Mithridatic war.

Sylla being now in the plenitude of power, and having perpetrated sufficient atrocities to render himself safe only when surrounded by guards,* most unexpectedly, abdicated the office of dictator; telling the people that to recover the republick from the wretched state in which he found it, on his return from Asia, he had been induced to use violent remedies, yet was he prepared to give an account of his administration; and then dismissing his lictors, he walked about the forum a considerable time, as a private person; none, but one simple young man, offering to insult him. Yet of those who had been his creatures, Pompey signalized himself, by his ungratefull opposition to him. After this remarkable abdication of supreme authority, Sylla resigned himself to debauchery; and when gradually perishing by vermin, bred from his own person, his death was accelerated by the bursting of an imposthume. The Romans honoured him with a sumptuous publick funeral and a magnificent monument, in the Campus Martius. No sooner had death removed Sylla, than one of the then consuls, M. Æmilius Lepidus, attempted new disturbances, in hopes of, at length, succeding to the dictator's power; but, though for this purpose he made use of the consular army entrusted to him, he was repulsed, in an assault on the city, by the other consul, Q. Lutatius Catulus, and Pompey. The last of whom, too, compelled M. Junius Brutus, the father of the assassin of Cæsar, who had declared for Lepidus, to surrender with his

* He is said to have destroyed more than an hundred thousand Roman citizens, taken away the lives of ninety senators, proscribed, or caused to be murdered, nearly two thousand six hundred knights, and buried numberless multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities.

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whole army, and then ordered him to be beheaded. Such violent measures had the civil commotions of Rome now rendered common. Lepidus, finding the election had passed, without his being elected consul, went into Sardinia; where he was, by death, prevented from pursuing the further turbulent measures he had in contemplation; and with him fell his party. While these events took place at Rome, Mithridates the great was forced into a second war with the Romans, by an unjust attack from Muræna, whom Sylla had left in command in Asia.

Sertorius appointed by the Lusitanians commander of their armies; maintains himself against both Pompey and Metellus.

While Italy now enjoyed profound tranquillity, Sertorius, who had been sent into Spain, to secure that country for the Marian faction, after being driven thence, into Africa, by Annius, the commander on the part of Sylla, was, by the people of Lusitania, called to take the command of their armies, and invested with uncontrouled authority; and, from his general character, greatly did he merit such pre-eminence. In this station he first defeated Titus Didius, governour of Bœtica; and then had such success against Metellus, that all that wished to retire from under the government of Sylla, took refuge with Sertorius, till such was the number of Romans he had with him, that, out of them, he formed a senate, and chose his quæstors and chief officers of his army: while, with his troops, he harrassed and distressed Metellus; with the Lusitanians he ingratiated himself, by his insinuating attentions to them. He introduced among them a considerable degree of civilization; while, by collecting the children of their nobility into one city, to bestow on them the benefit of education, he secured so many hostages for the fidelity of their parents: and his excellence, as a commander, rendered his troops most devoted to him;* so that, on the whole, from some devices he used to work on their superstition, added to the real greatness of his achievements, the Lusitanians considered him as inspired, and a

* Many thousands of these, it is said, resolved to sacrifice their lives for his safety, and stand by him to the last; according to a custom then prevalent among the Spaniards and Lusitanians, that, when a great commander was slain in battle, all those who attended him, died, either by the hands of the enemy or their own: a similar custom prevailed, also, in Gaul; where a number of men, called Soldurii, devoted

favourite of heaven. The extraordinary progress he made in Lusitania, induced the senate, after the decease of Sylla, to send Pompey into Lusitania to the assistance of Metellus. At this time, Julius Cæsar, though only two and twenty, began to signalize himself in eloquence. Pompey's arrival in Spain, at first made some impression in favour of Rome, but Sertorius being joined by the remains of that army which Lepidus had raised in Sardinia, the campaign passed without honour to Pompey. Under the next consuls, the tribunes of the people made the first step towards the recovery of that power, of which Sylla had deprived them, and the return of which, at length, proved the ruin of the republick.

Sertorius offers to lay down his arms on terms that are refused him; enters into an alliance with Mithridates; and is, at length, assassinated. The war of Spartacus. Crassus and Pompey rivals for the popular favour.

In Spain, Sertorius repulsed the conjoined forces of Pompey and Metellus; yet he was desirous of returning to his native country, and offered to lay down his arms, provided the decree for his proscription was repealed; but this demand was not complied with. He, therefore, on the application of Mithridates, entered into a league with him, sending him some troops, under the command of a proscribed senator, and receiving from him three thousand talents, and forty gallies. The king, by means of the commander of the Roman forces, who assumed the appearance of a consul, got possession of all the cities of Paphlagonia, and Bithynia was preserved to the republick by the unauthorized exertions of Cæsar; the campaign, however, ended, at last, to the disadvantage of Mithridates, by a naval victory gained over him by Licinius Lucullus, the consul. While these things passed in Asia, the great Sertorius fell in Spain by assassination; a conspiracy having been formed against him by some of his countrymen, at the head of which was Perpenna, who had brought to him the troops of Lepidus: but this traitor being immediately attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, by Pompey, who put him to death, this extinguished the war in Spain; from whence Pompey, after reducing the cities that had been in rebellion, returned, with

themselves to a prince, or some great commander, to share with him both his good and bad fortune; and either to fall with him in battle, or kill themselves, in case he was defeated: and this was a point of honour, in which not one of them was ever known to fail. In various other parts of the world has this custom been observed.

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his army, to Italy. The war in Spain was scarcely over, when Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator, of uncommon abilities, collected an army of slaves in Italy, defeated the consuls, and ravaged most of the provinces in Italy; until Licinius Crassus, being sent against him, by the defeat of the main army of the slaves, and the death of their dauntless commander, he, in fact, extinguished the war; though the vanity of Pompey led him to claim that honour, because he afterwards defeated five thousand of the reliques of the army of Spartacus. The quarrel, which would otherwise have arisen from this, was deferred by Pompey's using his influence to get Crassus elected for his colleague in the consulate; but they soon after disagreed, each being unwilling to disband his army. Yet this difference was accommodated, though the reconciliation was far from sincere. Both still continued their efforts to gain the favour of the people: Pompey by basely reinstating the tribunes in their ancient power, and restoring to the knights their former share in the judicial authority; and Crassus by feasts and largesses of corn. The censorship, which had been suppressed during the civil wars, being now revived, by a census taken, the Roman citizens fit to bear arms were found to amount to four hundred and fifty thousand. Two years after this the senate, under a plea that the Cretans had taken the part of Mithridates, and afforded a refuge to the pirates, reduced that island.

The war of the pirates; Pompey subdues them; returns to Italy, and disbands his army.

The trade of piracy had now arrived at such a height, as to demand some very strong measure for its repression; and of this Pompey craftily took advantage, to obtain for himself a most extensive command. The galleys of the pirates amounted to no less than a thousand; they had not spared a single temple noted for its riches, on the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia; they took unnumbered slaves, blocked up the ports of the republick, sunk part of a consular fleet at Ostia, and even surprized and carried off two Roman prætors, in their purple robes, with their lictors and attendants.* But the

* On recollecting the excessive pride of the Romans, some part of the treatment given them by these pirates, becomes not unentertaining. When a captive declared himself to be a Roman, the barbarians derided him by throwing themselves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. After which, they often

greatest mischief done by these tyrants of the sea, was the scarcity of provisions which they occasioned, by the multitude of corn ships which they seized. The sufferings undergone, caused a law, proposed for clearing the sea of these remorseless plunderers, to be received by the people with applause; though the superior part of the community discerned the danger of entrusting any man with a power uncontrouled and unrestricted, and that for three years, over all the countries that lie on the seas, within the pillars of Hercules, for the space of fifty miles from the sea. Yet, spite of all opposition, this command, which the proposer of it termed the pro-consulate of the seas, was conferred on Pompey. And, most highly to his honour, he filled it with integrity; and in four months, accomplished the object for which it was given him; quite clearing the seas of the pests with which they had been infested.

Lucullus superseded by Pompey, who is attended with great success. The Catilinarian conspiracy. Cæsar ingratiates himself with the people, and is chosen pontifex maximus.

On this news reaching Rome, another of Pompey's creatures in the college of the tribunes, proposed, that Lucullus should be recalled from the command of the troops employed against Mithridates and Tigranes, and Pompey succeed to it; retaining still his command of the seas, and having his province still farther enlarged by the addition of Bithynia and Cilicia. For this, too, a law was obtained; even Cicero, to secure the interest of Pompey towards raising him to the consulate, speaking for it. Lucullus was injuriously superseded, and Pompey pursue with great success, as has been already related, the war against the sovereigns of Pontus and Armenia. While Pompey was thus employed in Asia, Catiline, of whom mention has before been made, laid a plot for assassinating the consuls, and the greater part of the senators, and seizing the government. But when this conspiracy (in which were concerned a number of debauched and

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dressed him in a toga, and then casting out the ship's ladder, desired him to return home, and wished him a good journey. All this, perhaps, was no more than Roman arrogance merited. But when men once begin to execute vengeance, or to deride distress, their hearts, if they were not so before, easily grow callous; and thus, in the case before us, if the poor citizen of the great city refused to leap into the sea, the pirates threw him overboard, saying, that they would not, by any means, detain a *free-born Roman* in captivity.

unprincipled persons, several senators, and neither Crassus or Cæsar were clear of suspicion in regard to it,) was almost ripe for execution, it was discovered to Cicero, then consul, and being by him reported to the senate, that body gave him authority to take care of the republick; armed with which, he, by a prudent and vigourous course of conduct, triumphed over the conspiracy; and while Catiline was gone to take the command of some troops raised for him in Hetruria, he had the chiefs of it that were in the city seized, and put to death in prison. The head of it himself, was attacked by one of the consular armies, defeated, and found dead on an heap of slain. During the progress of this conspiracy, Cæsar, in the office of ædile, so ingratiated himself with the people, by the sumptuous shows with which he entertained them, that, at his request, they raised to the consulate one of his family, L. Julius Cæsar. Cæsar himself took up the reliques of Marius's party, and persecuted the partisans of Sylla; while the remains of the Catilinarian conspiracy were sinking under the exertions of the Roman magistrates, Cæsar, on the death of the pontifex maximus, was, by the suffrages of the people, placed in that eminent situation.

Pompey returns from Asia, disbands his army, and retires to private life; but looks forward to the attainment of supreme power, and connects himself with Clodius.

The following year, Pompey, having reduced several kingdoms in the east, returned to Rome; and though desirous of making himself absolute there, he disbanded his army as soon as he landed at Brundusium. The triumph, which was granted him, was most magnificent, both from the princes who walked at it, and the spoils carried before the conquerour, to the value of more than three millions sterling; while the coin he paid into the publick treasury amounted to thrice that sum. No sooner was the ceremony over than Pompey retired to private life, his purpose being to assume supreme authority in the state, without appearing to hold it. But in this he had some rivals and more opponents: he got, however, two who had served under him to be chosen consuls: but could not carry either of two measures which he proposed, that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the east should be approved by one decree. Convinced by this ill success, that by force alone he could reign, his ambition induced him to disgrace himself by cultivating the friendship of the infamous Clodius, a man, who, though

of the most abandoned character, and accused of having profaned the mysteries of the good goddess, was greatly favoured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the senate. But this conduct affected the reputation of Pompey.

Cæsar goes to Spain, succeeds there, wishes to be consul; to secure this he connects himself with both Crassus and Pompey, and thus is established the first triumvirate.

The government of the further Spain, comprehending Lusitania and Bætica, fell by lot to Cæsar after his prætorship; yet, ere he set out for it, he was compelled to prevail on Crassus to become security for some of his debts, to the amount of an hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. His restless ambition led him to attack the Spanish nations yet unsubdued, and extend the dominions of the republick as far as the ocean; and when he had settled his province in peace, he carried to Rome with him money sufficient to discharge all his debts, amounting to the enormous sum of a million six hundred thousand pounds. The difficulty of obtaining the consulate without obtaining the interest of either Crassus or Pompey, whose influence was nearly equal, but who were declared enemies one to another, led Cæsar to attempt to reconcile these rivals for publick favour to each other, and unite himself with both, by proposing the establishment of a triumvirate, in which should be lodged all the authority of the senate and people. To this confederacy these three powerfull individuals solemnly bound themselves by promises and oaths, engaging to assist each other, and to permit nothing to be undertaken or executed without the consent of all the three. This cabal was long a secret: the reconciliation of Crassus and Pompey was alone observed, and Cæsar was congratulated for having accomplished it. Cato alone predicted its pernicious effects, and, like most of those who prophesy truly, without being believed.

Cæsar is chosen consul; his first measure; Cicero driven into banishment; and Cato sent away on an embassy. Cæsar has great success in Gaul; Pompey obtains the recall of Cicero.

The first effect of this association was Cæsar's elevation to the consulate; but though he scrupled not to employ bribery to obtain the election of a colleague agreeable to himself, in this he was counteracted by superior bribery on the part of the senate, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus was chosen consul with him. The first measure of Cæsar was a law for dividing certain lands in Campania among poor citizens, who had more than two children. With the law itself, restricted as it was, no fault could be found, but the object of the proposer, the increase of his own popularity,

caused its rejection by the senate; in the assembly of the people, however, it was carried with tumult and gross insult to the consul Bibulus. This triumph over the senate and his colleague, rendered Cæsar nearly absolute in Rome;* and to secure the favour of the knights, as he had that of the people, he abated a third part of the annual rents which they paid into the publick treasury; and after that procured for himself the government of both Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, for the unprecedented term of five years. Clodius, now made tribune of the people for that purpose, commenced a bitter persecution of Cicero, by which he at length drove him into banishment, confiscated his effects, which however nobody would buy, burnt to the ground his country houses and his fine palace at Rome, and ordered the pontifices to consecrate the ground on which the last stood, to the goddesses Peace and Liberty. As Clodius had by these means got rid of one of the opponents of himself and his employers, the triumvirs, he, under the pretence of sending him to execute a decree already noticed against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, freed himself, too, from the presence of Cato. When the furious tribune and his friends reigned uncontrouled. Cæsar being called into his province, by the state of affairs, gained a great access of reputation by his victories over the Helvetians and the Germans; and Clodius perceiving the superiority which he was gaining over Pompey, began to treat this last with insolence. Pompey, roused by this treatment, thought of recalling his old friend Cicero, but this he deferred proposing untill new consuls had entered on their office; when spite of all opposition the decree for it was passed; and Cicero on his return to the capital, was received in a manner most honourable to himself. He prevailed on the pontifices to put him again into possession of the ground where his house stood, and on the senate to rebuild, at the publick expence, his houses both in town and country. Great in the mean time were the victories which Cæsar gained in Belgium; and prodigious were the sums he brought to Italy, chiefly from the plunder of the temples.

* So little share was Bibulus permitted to take in the administration of affairs, that this consulate was ironically termed the consulate of *Julius* and *Cæsar*.

Cæsar, after adding to his conquests in Gaul, passes the Rhine. Pompey and Crassus, being chosen consuls, are with Cæsar invested with such power as renders them absolute.

The ensuing year Cæsar, and his lieutenants, so pushed their conquests in Gaul, that only two nations, the Morini and Menapii, remained unsubdued; and they were driven to retreats inaccessible to an army. After which Cæsar returned into Cisalpine Gaul, where, in a conference with Crassus and Pompey, it was agreed, as most suitable to the interests of them all, that the two last should stand for the consulship; and when this intention was known, the dread of their power, and the little scruple they manifested in employing it, suppressed all rivalship; and they were unanimously elected. Some people of Germany, being by others driven out of their own country, passed the Rhine, and having treacherously slain some Romans, Cæsar took on them a most bloody revenge, and of four hundred thousand very few escaped his sword; he then passed the Rhine, and having plundered some, and terrified others, he returned within the space of eighteen days, and having given the people of Germany a specimen of Roman prowess, broke down the bridge he had built, lest they should return his visit. Having now reduced Gaul and stricken Germany with terrour, Cæsar next attempted the conquest of Britain; but here, though he compelled the inhabitants with whom he met to give him hostages, he made but little progress before winter, when he returned to Insubria. While Cæsar was thus employed, Crassus and Pompey ruled despotically at Rome, and C. Trebonius, a tribune of the people, proposed a law for appointing the former consul governour of Syria, Egypt, and Macedon; and the latter of the two Spains, for five years; Cato opposed this dangerous proposal, and was, by the tribune's order, seized and carried to prison. To stop the opposition of the friends of Cæsar, it was agreed to continue him in his government of Gaul for five years; and then this Trebonian law, enacting, besides their continuance in their governments for the time mentioned, and not being subject to recall, that they might raise what troops they should deem requisite, and draw what supplies they should think proper, from the allies of Rome, passed. And thus were the triumvirs made the sole masters of the government. Pompey chose to remain at Rome; but Crassus, eager to engage in the Parthian war, sailed for Asia, ere the expiration of his consulate.

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While the former endeavoured to engage the people still more strongly in his interest by erecting a theatre of stone, and entertaining them with magnificent shows, in which were exhibited five hundred lions and eighteen elephants.

Cæsar goes a second time into Britain; quells several insurrections in Gaul. Corrupt and tumultuous state of the city of Rome. Death of Crassus.

Though Crassus and Cæsar were at a distance, Pompey kept in subjection the enemies of the triumvirate, by an army at the very gates of Rome. In the mean time, Cæsar, after quelling some partial insurrections in Gaul, went a second time into Britain, and defeated Cassivelaunus, general of all the British forces, which so terrified them, that they never afterward appeared in the field in any considerable body. On this Cæsar advanced into the country, and being joined by Mandrabatius, prince of the Trinobantes, compelled Cassivelaunus to submit, and give hostages. On which Cæsar re-embarked for the continent, leaving no garrison or troops behind him; and therefore had probably made no great impression on the island. Being on his arrival in Gaul obliged to divide his troops, on account of the scarcity of provisions, several insurrections took place, but were all suppressed; still, such was his loss of men, that Cæsar was forced to borrow two legions of Pompey; who manifested but little wisdom, or great knowledge of the magnanimity of Cæsar, by the loan. In spite of the efforts of Cato to put a stop to bribery, to such an height did it advance, that those who bought the curule offices, openly brought their money to the place of election, where it was distributed among the heads of the factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of those who paid them; so that scarcely any office was disposed of, but what had been disputed sword in hand, and had cost the lives of many citizens. Neither did Pompey neglect to foment discord in Rome, under the hope of being raised to the dictatorship, in order to quell the tumults of which he was the promoter. During these transactions at Rome, the defeat and death of Crassus took place, by which the field of contention was left open to Pompey and Cæsar, of whom the former would bear no rival, and the latter no superior.

The disturbances consequent on the death of Clodius. Pompey

The disturbances in the city, which were such as to convert it into a seat of war, were increased by the death of Clodius, who was slain by Milo, on the close of an affray which took place between the

slaves that accompanied these two bitter enemies. The dead body of the tribune being brought to the city, the people attempted to set fire to Milo's house; but this being prevented by the resistance there made to them, they carried the corpse to the senate-house, made a funeral pile of the seats, and there burnt the body, house and all. After which all kinds of violences were committed, under pretence of seeking for Milo's friends. Nor did the friends of Pompey fail to seize this occasion to renew the proposal of nominating him dictator; and though they gained not this point, through the opposition of Cato, yet, at his suggestion, Pompey was, contrary to all precedent, declared sole consul; was continued for four years longer in the government of Spain, and was permitted to administer it by deputies. When he entered on his new office, Milo was brought to trial, and had Cicero to defend him; but this orator was so alarmed at the presence of Pompey and his soldiers, as to be nearly stricken dumb; and Milo was condemned to banishment. While his rival was reigning arbitrarily at Rome, Cæsar repressed some revolts in Gaul; and, on the approach of winter, had returned to Insubria, to be within reach of the capital. Hence he was again called by an extensive revolt of the Gauls bordering on the ocean; and this, spreading, presented to Cæsar a very arduous task, which he spent the whole summer in accomplishing, but at length reduced the chief body of the revolters; gaining more glory for his conduct as a general, and his bravery as a soldier, than any Roman commander had ever acquired before him: and so great was his success considered at Rome, that twenty days of publick thanksgiving were ordered for it. Pompey, sensible that Cæsar was greatly beloved by the people, made it now his object to gain the nobility; and associated Cæcilius Metellus, whose daughter he had married, with himself in the consulate; which moderation in power obtained him the affection of the senate. Under the next consuls, Cicero was obliged to repair to the province of Cilicia, which had fallen to his lot; where he performed military exploits sufficient to induce his soldiers to salute him Imperator. At Rome, while the people, whom he had gained, by the very great sums which his agents had distributed among them, openly declared for Cæsar, the consul Metellus proposed to the senate to recall him

nominated sole consul. Cæsar gains great glory in Gaul; has the prolongation of his command refused; compleats the subjection of Gaul, and reduces it to a Roman province.

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before his time was expired. And Cæsar, soon after this, applying for a prolongation of his command, his request was, under the influence of Pompey, rejected. This conduct of the senate incited Cæsar to use all possible expedition to complete the conquest of Gaul, which, by vigourous exertion, he did; and reduced all the country, from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, to a Roman province. Having, it is said, in his several expeditions in it, taken eight hundred cities, and defeated, in his several battles, three millions of men, of which one million were slain.

Pompey strives to fortify himself by promoting men devoted to him; two of these Cæsar buys off. His request to be continued in his command by the senate rejected; which obliges him to commence hostilities in his own defence; passes the Rubicon, and has a rapid flow of success, and is at length chosen one of the consuls.

While Cæsar was in Belgium, governing the regions he had conquered with that mildness and prudence which proved him to be as fit to preside over nations, as to command armies, Pompey got two of his most avowed enemies promoted to the consulship; and Scribonius Curio, another of his own creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. These consuls, it was reported to Cæsar, had sworn his destruction; and that, to facilitate it, Curio was preparing a law to deprive him of his government, and the command of his army. When the winter was over, therefore, he repassed the mountains, that he might more narrowly watch the steps taken against him at Rome; and these he counteracted; the consul Æmilius Paulus he bought off, for something better than three hundred thousand pounds; and the tribune Curio he secured to his interest, by enabling him to pay his debts, and continue his debauched life. This corrupt magistrate, however, concealed his change of party, and proposed both to the senate and people, either to make both Pompey and Cæsar resign their commands, or continue both in them, since whichever continued alone would manifestly become the tyrant of the state. Pompey professed himself ready to resign all his employments, provided Cæsar did the same; but he insisted on Cæsar's resigning first, and in this he was supported by the senate; whereon Curio, as tribune, suffered them no longer to deliberate about the dismission of either; Cicero at this time returning from Cilicia, made a fruitless attempt at an accommodation between the rivals; for Pompey, buoyed up with empty hopes of Cæsar's troops deserting him, would neither listen to terms, nor prepare properly for the contest. At length Cæsar wrote to the senate, desiring them to continue him in

his government, as they had done Pompey. This request being rejected, having advanced to Ravenna with only one legion, he wrote to the new consuls, declaring his readiness to lay down his command, provided Pompey did the same. But after warm debates in the senate, it was resolved, that if he did not resign his command within a certain time, he should be treated as an enemy to his country; a decree which evidently compelled him to resist it for his own security. This he consequently did; and after a further offer and a new rejection, and when Pompey, by the authority of the senate, was preparing for hostilities against him, he, by passing the boundary of his province, the river Rubicon (but not without much laudable hesitation, and anxious debate with himself), declared his final determination to contend with his rival, for the command of the Roman world. He then, by a rapid march, surprised Ariminum; and from this capture there was little else but success and pursuit on one side, and retreat on the other, until Pompey quitted Italy. After which, Cæsar having supplied himself with money from the publick treasury, and assigned their provinces and troops to all the commanders he thought fit to appoint, marched himself into Spain, and in a few months reduced the whole of it. On his return to Rome he found most of the senators and magistrates fled to Pompey, at Dyrrachium. Yet prætors still remained; one of whom, M. Æmilius Lepidus, assumed authority to nominate Cæsar dictator, against the inclination of the little senate that remained. Though Cæsar accepted the dictatorship he kept it but eleven days; his conduct during which gained the affections of both people and patricians. But the chief use he made of this authority was, to preside at the election for consuls; when the election fell on himself and Servilius Isauricus.

Cæsar sails to Epirus; and, after some previous operations, in which both he and his army are in great danger, the battle

It was now time for Cæsar to pursue his antagonist, whose followers and forces, both by sea and land, were greatly increased; and who had with him upwards of two hundred senators, and the flower of the nobility, and whose party grew into such reputation, that his was generally called 'the good cause.' But all Cæsar's legions not being arrived at Brundusium, he sailed with only five,

and six hundred horse, to Epirus; where, after finding his antagonist so strong that it was highly requisite that he himself should be joined by the rest of his troops, he sent to hasten their advance, and after much and distressfull delay, occasioned chiefly by the naval superiority of the enemy, they joined him. Here, after some operations of different success, but in the principal of which Cæsar and his whole army very narrowly escaped, he determined to march into Macedon, whither Pompey followed him, and in the plains of Pharsalia the decisive battle was fought, and the troops of Pompey routed, though in number double those of his antagonist; fifteen thousand of them were killed, and twenty-four thousand taken, while of Cæsar's only two hundred fell. The vanquished experienced the greatest clemency from the conquerour; and among the rest Brutus, whom he believed to be his son, and whom he received with parental tenderness; returned afterwards most basely by the other with republican gratitude. As Pompey had escaped, in hopes of extinguishing the war at once by making himself master of his person, Cæsar, at the head of his cavalry, set out in pursuit of him, the third day after the battle. But Pompey had fled to the sea side, and thence, making his escape in a ship he fortuitously met with, after sailing to Mitylene and taking his wife Cornelia aboard, he proceeded to Pamphylia, where he was joined by threescore senators of his party, and a few ships; with these, after much deliberation he sailed for Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered, as has been already stated in the history of that country. In the mean time Cæsar, pursuing Pompey the same way he fled, arrived at Alexandria about the same time as the news of his death; and when acquainted with the circumstances, not only ordered his head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of Alexandria, but prevailed on the king of Egypt to set at liberty all the friends of Pompey whom he had taken. Being detained here by the Etesian winds, that which is called the Alexandrian war, and which has been already related, took place; in which most justly perished all the accomplices in the murder of Pompey, except Theodotus; who, from dread of Cæsar leaving Egypt, wandered

of Pharsalia is fought. Pompey flees to Egypt, and is there murdered. The Alexandrian war and deserved end of the murderers of Pompey.

about, despised and hated by all men, till M. Brutus, after the murder of Cæsar, finding him in Asia, caused him to be put to death with the most exquisite torments.

Behaviour of the Romans on the news of Pompey's death. Cæsar named dictator; his conduct on his return. The African war—Utica surrenders; Cæsar returns to Rome, and receives from the people the grossest flattery. His good measures there; and reformation of the kalendar.

When the news of Pompey's death arrived at Rome, there were no honours which the senate and people were not inclined to bestow on the conquerour; and Cæsar was proclaimed consul for five years, named dictator for a twelvemonth, declared first tribune of the people for his life, so that all the dignity and power of the state was now vested in him alone. Not being able to repair to Rome, to assume all the offices conferred on him, the dictator appointed Mark Antony his master of the horse, and himself went from Egypt to stop the progress of Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, whom he defeated and drove back to his own kingdom, as has been before related. Having settled affairs in Asia, Cæsar returned to Rome; where, by his very remarkable clemency, even to such as had behaved most ungratefully to him, he gained the affections of the people, and drew over to him a great number of senators. His presence restored tranquillity to the city which had been disturbed by the imprudence of P. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the tribunes of the people, in proposing a law for the abolition of all debts, but which was immediately rejected on Cæsar's appearing to disapprove of it. While this able surviving triumvir seemed to leave the senate and people in full possession of all their privileges, no one dared to oppose his will. Thus no change was visible in the government, though all were subject to the sovereign will of the dictator. During his stay in Rome he entertained the people with magnificent shews; and afterwards confiscated the estates of those who continued in arms against him, causing them to be sold by publick auction: which was the fate of even Pompey's, whose sons still refused to submit. But it has been remarked, that no one but Mark Antony would bid for them. Cæsar forgot not any who had followed his fortunes; he filled with them various offices, and the number of the senators being greatly diminished, he raised to that dignity the chief officers of his army, and such knights as had fought for him. As his colleague in the consulship, for the next year, he took M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had presided over Spain

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with great prudence and moderation; Cæsar having arranged affairs in Italy, and taken the properest measures for preventing any disturbance in the capital, prepared to carry his arms against the remainder of Pompey's party, that had assembled in Africa. Here, from the inferiority of his forces, he at first met with many difficulties, and had several narrow escapes; but, at length, when he had received sufficient reinforcements to justify his acting on the offensive, he attacked the enemy, and so completely defeated them, that, either by the swords of his soldiers or their own, all the heads of Pompey's party, who were with that army, fell, except Labienus; and consequently all Africa submitted to the conquerour, except Utica, where Cato was shut up with the shadow of a senate, and which, on Cæsar's advance to it, opened her gates to him; Cato having previously taken the greatest care that those of his friends who were unwilling to submit to Cæsar, should escape by sea, and secured himself from falling into his hands, by putting an end to his own life. Ere Cæsar left Africa, he gave orders for the re-building of Carthage, as he did the same year for that of Corinth, and re-peopled both with Roman colonies. On the dictator's return to Rome the senate and people seem not to have known how sufficiently to pay their court to him. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years. He was made sole censor; his person was declared sacred; and they even proceeded to place his statue in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, inscribing on it "To Cæsar, a demigod." The dictator, without being deceived as to the source from whence this flattery sprung, assured the senate of his intention to employ the power he possessed for the publick benefit; and the forgiveness which he exercised, yielded ground to hope, that had not his assassins again plunged the world into all the horrours of civil war, his conduct would have confirmed this assurance; and, indeed, during the short time he did live, he did much to secure a purer administration of the laws, to restrain the exorbitant luxury that prevailed in Rome, and to repair the ravages which had been made among its inhabitants. Neither was his care confined to these particulars; since, as pontifex maximus, he reformed the kalendar, and, instead of the lunar year, till then used by the Romans, he introduced the solar of three

hundred and sixty-five days, and six hours, intercalating a day every fifth year to cover the six hours annual excess.

Cæsar reduces Spain; is made dictator for life; conspired against, and assassinated.

While Cæsar was thus employed at Rome, the sons of Pompey had in Spain greatly increased their force, and gained such an ascendancy in that country, that, to retrieve his interest in it, the dictator's presence became necessary. To Spain, therefore, he repaired; and, by one battle near the city of Munda, fought with such obstinacy, as to occasion Cæsar to declare, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had fought for life, gave the enemy so decisive a blow, that the remainder of the campaign passed in sieges, and seven months sufficed to reduce all Spain. The honours given to Cæsar, on his return to Rome, consisted chiefly in making his power still more despotick; declaring him dictator for life; and applying to him, among other titles, that of Imperator, as importing the greatest authority in the state. These extravagant honours were suspected to be in part suggested by his enemies, with the view of rendering him odious, while he studied to gain the affections of the most inveterate of them. To gratify them more, he increased the number of prætors to sixteen, and that of quæstors to forty; he created six new ædiles, and augmented the number of other curule magistrates in proportion. He increased the senate, but with such members as rendered it contemptible; while his own treatment of both that body, and the tribunes, became highly unpopular; nor did he refrain from applying reproachfull epithets to the people: the disapprobation that these manifested to his assuming the title of king, probably encouraged those, who thought of destroying him, to carry their purpose into execution; and a conspiracy was accordingly formed to assassinate him; the lead of which was taken by Brutus, whom he had loaded with favours, and who, not improbably, was suspected to be his son; and who, with republican bigotry, trampled under foot a certain obligation for the chance of effecting an uncertain good. The senate-house was the place chosen by the conspirators for murdering the man who was the patron and friend of many of them; and there fell the great Cæsar, under the daggers of those who were indebted to his clemency for their lives.

Of their bloody deed, the conspirators, with Brutus at their head,

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The call to liberty made by the conspirators coldly received by the populace. Antony endeavours to inflame the last against the former. His hypocrisy.

made a parade, calling to the people to resume that liberty, for which they had no longer either relish or capacity. The coldness with which the populace received the invitation, gave Brutus so much alarm as to induce him to retire, with the other conspirators, into the capitol. Neither the next day, when he harangued the people in the forum, did he find them much more favourably disposed to the cause, which he had conceived would be so popular. The senate, however, was more inclined to support the conspirators; but Antony, whose views a restoration of the republick would have thwarted, not only prevented the senate from pronouncing Cæsar a tyrant, but by the exhibition of his mangled corpse, and reading of his will to the people, excited the highest indignation against his murderers. Still, things not being ripe for the execution of his wishes, to appease the senate, who were offended at his address to the populace, he used very severe measures to repress the tumults he himself had excited; and, by a course of hypocritical steps, recovered the favour of the fathers, as he raised the indignation of the people by apparently changing sides. Of this indignation he took advantage to represent himself to the senate as in danger from the multitude, and request a guard; which, being granted, he raised such an army of Cæsar's veterans as alarmed the senate. When, to remove their fear of his aspiring to succeed to the dictatorship, he proposed, and had passed in the assembly of the people, a law to abolish that dignity for ever. Still, he contrived so to strengthen himself, both in and out of the senate, that he, in fact, governed Rome with an absolute sway: while, such was the state of affairs in the city, though some of his associates returned to Rome, Brutus and others continued at Antium; when news arrived, that young Octavius, Cæsar's great nephew and adopted son, was coming to take possession of his inheritance. From his infancy he had given strong proofs of superior abilities, and of his education great care had been taken. His great uncle, Julius Cæsar, had manifested much tenderness for him; and when Octavius heard of his death, he was sensibly affected by it. In opposition to the dissuasions of his friends, he passed at once into Italy, and was affectionately received by the garrison of Brundusium, mostly veterans of his uncle's, who put him into possession of all the military

stores and provisions which were there deposited; secure of the support of these troops, he now declared himself Cæsar's heir and adopted son, terming himself Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus; and intercepting the tributes which arrived from the ultramarine provinces, furnished with money, troops, arms, and provisions, he set out for Rome; ostensibly, to revenge the death of his uncle, and secretly to make himself master of his empire. When he arrived at Rome, Antony treated him with insolence, scarcely surpassed by any thing but his iniquity in withholding the money of his uncle's which he had seized; repeated were their quarrels and their reconciliations, until both openly prepared for war. But Antony, desirous of possessing a province so convenient for his purpose as that of Cisalpine Gaul, had obtained of the people a decree for depriving D. Brutus, who had been set over it by Cæsar, of the government of it. This, Brutus refused to obey; on which the other commenced hostilities against him. These the senate, by the persuasions of Cicero, commanded him to suspend; and, when he paid no regard to their decree, he was declared an enemy to his country; and the consuls, and Octavianus, with equal authority were directed to act against him. C. Trebonius, one of Cæsar's assassins, having been himself cruelly murdered in Asia, by the consul Dolabella, the senate passed a decree, assigning to M. Brutus the government of Macedon and Illyricum; and to Cassius, that of Syria, and the charge of revenging the death of Trebonius; and that all the governours and commanders of the forces of the republick should receive orders from these two generals. This step Antony represented by letter to Octavianus as indicative of the real sentiments of the senate; and great was the impression he thus made on his mind; so that, though he continued for some time longer to act against him under their orders, yet, being warned again by the consul Pansa on his death-bed, that the senate sought his ruin, he determined on a reconciliation with Antony. This last, after having his army greatly reduced, had made his way into Transalpine Gaul, where Lepidus was, by his own soldiers, compelled to join him; and two other commanders doing the same, and Ventidius bringing up a considerable reinforcement, he was now at the head of three and twenty legions, and ten thousand

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horse; and, on receiving a letter from Octavianus, inviting him to a reconciliation, he readily closed with the proposal; and a private treaty was, in consequence, concluded between Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two last continued their march toward Italy. On the union of Antony and Lepidus becoming known at Rome, the senate, alarmed, declared the last an enemy to his country; and, ignorant of the reconciliation of Octavianus, committed to him and D. Brutus the war against Antony and Lepidus. This commission Octavianus accepted with apparent thankfulness, and immediately began to levy troops; to whom, when he had assembled them, he appealed on the designs of the senate concerning his father's friends, requesting them, by raising him to the consulate, to enable him to revenge the death of Cæsar, and secure his gifts to those on whom he had bestowed them. In consequence of this request, a deputation was sent from the army to the senate, to demand the consulship for Octavianus; which demand being rejected, he, by desire of his legions, led them to Rome, where he was chosen consul, in the twentieth year of his age.

B. C. 44.

Brutus and Cassius at the head of considerable armies.

Lepidus, Antony, and Octavianus, form another triumvirate; determine on a proscription; and unite their armies.

While these things were passing in the west, Brutus had proceeded to Greece, and made preparations for war, getting together what remains he could find of Pompey's forces; and, with the enticing name of liberty, bringing so many others to his standard, that he found himself at the head of a powerfull army, having Macedon and all Greece, with several neighbouring petty sovereigns, at his devotion; and, on his acquainting the senate with his success against Caius, the brother of Antony, in Macedon, they appointed him proconsul of Macedon, Greece, and Illyricum; and empowered him and Cassius to use the publick money, and raise what they pleased in the provinces subject to Rome. Such was the despotick power which these friends of liberty exercised over the miserable inhabitants of the earth. While Brutus was thus successfull in Europe, his associate, Cassius, was so also in Asia; and, being at the head of a great force, the Roman world was now about to be the scene of another sanguinary contention, both parties in which had given the other but too much plea for hostility. Octavianus having entered on his consulate, endeavoured to give the appearance of a legal

proceeding to his persecution of the assassins of Cæsar; and, having had them all formally condemned, he solicited Antony and Lepidus to advance with their united forces, for the purpose of putting in execution the sentence against Brutus and Cassius. This they did; and the senate, ignorant of their private confederacy, directed Octavianus to march against them. This opportunity of finally settling the league between them he readily embraced; and, after Antony had received the whole army of D. Brutus by desertion, and the head of that conspirator, who was foully murdered, they met in a small island formed by a stream that discharges itself into the Po. And between Octavianus, Lepidus, and Antony, was concluded one of the most nefarious partition treaties (nefarious, as such generally are), that disgrace the annals of the earth. By this it was agreed, that the supreme authority of the state should be holden by these three, under the name of triumvirs, for five years, and be confirmed by the Roman people; the Gauls, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa were divided as provinces among them, and the rest of the Roman dominions were to continue in common; and that Antony and Octavianus should make war with their united armies on Brutus and Cassius, while Lepidus, with a sufficient force, kept Rome in subjection to its new sovereigns. To secure the attachment of their legions, besides the promise of great rewards in money, it was agreed to divide among them a large extent of Italian territory; and several cities, whose inhabitants were to be deprived of their possessions for this purpose, were even then specified. To these particulars of their confederacy, containing in themselves sufficient iniquity, was added another, which in atrocity could scarcely be surpassed; they agreed on a proscription, not only of the enemies of each, however nearly connected with either of the others, but of those who were either possessed of great property, or from their principles likely to resist or disturb the tyranny in contemplation; the last part of which measure probably owed its birth to the system of assassination pursued against Cæsar, so easily does one crime generate a greater than itself. The confederacy agreed on, and sworn to, the nefarious partners informed in it their armies of their union; who, pleased with the promises made to them, joined each

The horrid cruelties of the proscription. The battle of Philippi; death of Cassius and Brutus. The mixture of oppression and generosity exhibited by Antony in Asia.

other that day, and celebrated their junction in the same cause by feasting. The mode in which these self-created triumvirs proceeded to the execution of their decree of proscription, made the character of it still more execrable; they offered rewards for murder and for treachery, and endeavoured to prevent compliance with any pious affection, with every generous emotion of the soul; and, consequently, the scene exhibited by the proscription itself exceeded in detestable treachery, and disgusting barbarity, almost any thing on historical record; though it was not unalleviated by most gratefull and affecting instances of unconquerable fidelity, and self-devoting attachment. The proscription was accompanied by wringing money, through means the most flagitious, from all who had property. When the triumvirs were glutted with blood, and had obtained the vast sums they wanted, they assembled the few senators who survived (for of them three hundred had been massacred, and of the knights two thousand), and declared, to the inexpressible joy of both them and the people, that the proscription was at an end. After which, having by their own authority appointed M. Æmilius Lepidus, the triumvir, and L. Minucius Plancus, consuls, Octavianus and Antony, with their forces, left Italy to attack Brutus and Cassius; who, having demonstrated their love of liberty by reducing to subjection to Rome, or grossly oppressing various nations (in which, however, it ought in justice to be observed that a very great difference, in favour of Brutus, appeared between the characters and behaviour of the two men) united their forces, and advanced into Macedonia. On the border of this country, next to Thrace, the hostile armies met with reciprocal success and loss; Brutus, with the wing he commanded, defeating the troops of Octavianus, and taking his camp; and Antony, on the other side, defeating the wing led by Cassius, and taking his camp; while the last fell; it remains uncertain whether by his own desire or by treachery. Some days then passed in which Brutus, informed of the great distress of his adversaries for provisions, prudently refrained from engaging; but being at length, by the murmurs and insubornation of his troops, compelled to try another battle, his army was defeated; and he himself fell, by running on the sword of one of his adherents.

No sooner was his death known in his camp, than the troops in it surrendered. Antony treated the body of Brutus, from regard to his general virtues, with honour; but Octavianus sent his head to be laid at the feet of Cæsar's statue; thither, however, it never arrived. By this victory, the triumvirs became masters of the whole Roman empire, except Sicily, still holden by Sextus Pompeius; and merciless was the first use which Octavianus made of his success. The two conquerours then separated, Octavianus marching for Italy, and Antony for Asia. The latter took Athens in his way, striving to render himself popular in that city; and on his arrival in Asia met with a most flattering reception, especially in Ephesus; which was not returned with very lenient treatment in all cases; and particularly the want of money to pay to the troops their promised reward, led to the demand of nine years taxes to be paid in two. When the enormous oppression of Brutus and Cassius was disclosed, the Asiaticks declaring that they had stripped them, not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of all their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. Antony, in the progress he now made through the provinces of Asia, gave every where extraordinary demonstrations of generosity; but he would have plundered the city of Palmyra, had not the inhabitants removed their effects. On their return too they put themselves under the protection of the Parthians, a step which gave occasion to the second Parthian war.

Antony commences his licentious intercourse with Cleopatra. War between Octavianus and L. Antonius. M. Antony advances to attack the former; but a reconciliation is effected.

Antony having, from Cilicia, sent a summons to Cleopatra to appear before him, when that queen, of accomplishments and acquirements more extraordinary than her beauty, met him in the manner that has been already stated, the intercourse began between these two infamous characters, which has been before mentioned, and that line of the transactions of Antony which ended in his destruction, and need not be repeated here. In Italy, where Octavianus had arrived, he found a rival in Fulvia, the wife of Antony, a woman of imperious spirit, who had gained an absolute ascendant over the consuls, and successfully endeavoured to inflame the discontents which arose among the troops and the plundered inhabitants from the distribution of lands, which Octavianus made among the

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soldiers, according to his former promise. To revenge himself on Fulvia, Octavianus divorced her daughter Clodia, whom he had married; and henceforth the mother became his avowed enemy, and excited Lucius Antonius, the consul and brother of the triumvir, to engage in a civil war with him; which, however, soon ended in favour of Octavianus, and in his taking a cruel revenge on many of his adversaries. When Antony had heard that Octavianus had overcome his brother Lucius, and, in addition to that, had made himself master of Transalpine Gaul, which, by their original covenant, belonged to Antony, he set sail for Italy, and in his voyage was joined by the fleet, under the command of Domitius Ahenobarbus; with this force he commenced the siege of Brundusium, while Sextius Pompeius by his advice invaded Italy. Against this last Octavianus dispatched Agrippa, and he himself advanced to the relief of Brundusium; but finding his veterans would not fight against Antony, he listened to the terms of an accommodation, effected by the interposition of Mecænas* and some others. This reconciliation was, by the desire of the soldiers, cemented by the sacrifice of the beautifull and amiable sister of Octavianus to Antony; his wife Fulvia having died of a broken heart. The particulars of their agreement were, that Africa being given to Lepidus, who was already gone thither, and Italy left common to the other triumvirs, for the supply of their armies, the remainder of the Roman world should be divided between them, Antony having all to the

* This individual, whose name is so familiar to all the readers of Horace and Virgil, was a Roman knight, of one of the most illustrious families in Hetruria, being descended from their ancient kings. His politeness and generosity were great to all, but to men of learning without bounds; while he himself was well acquainted with all branches of polite literature; and would have shone as an orator, but for his love of pleasure. After the battle of Philippi he interceded for Horace with Octavianus, and obtained his pardon, though he had served under Brutus as a legionary tribune. He protected Virgil, and got his farm restored to him, which Octavianus's soldiers had seized. He was one of the chief favourites of Augustus, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity; and was a man of great penetration and address in affairs the most difficult: but not undeservedly accused of luxury, indolence, and effeminacy.

eastward of Codropolis, in Illyricum (the present Scutari), and Octavianus all to the westward of it.

A treaty concluded between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius; but soon broken: the war hence arising ends in favour of Octavianus; to whom Lepidus also submits: the former elected tribune for life.

The distress suffered at Rome from the rigorous blockade of the ports of Italy, kept up by Sextius Pompeius, and the consequent disturbances, induced Octavianus to consent to Antony's proposal of inviting Pompey to an accommodation, which, after some negociations, took place, on conditions by which the last retained the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and those adjacent, with the addition of Peloponnesus, and was to be made pontifex maximus. After the conclusion of which treaty, Pompey entertained the two triumvirs on board his vessels, magnanimously rejecting the base suggestion given him during the banquet, of making them both prisoners. Pompey returning to Sicily, and the two others to Rome, these soon separated, and Antony went to Athens, where the Greeks flattered him with calling him Bacchus, a title which he was far from rejecting.* At length hearing of the success of Ventidius against the Parthians, he left Athens for the east, proceeding there as has been formerly stated. While Antony thus employed himself, Octavianus having easily reduced an insurrection in Transalpine Gaul, turned his attention to preparations for war against Pompey. The apparent subject of dispute was Peloponnesus, from which Octavianus required the tributes due before the treaty, affirming that Pompey was answerable for them, while the latter asserted, that the country was ceded to him free of all charges. To be prepared for a breach, Pompey refitted his old, and built some new galleys; and this being contrary to the treaty, afforded Octavianus a plausible pretence for proceeding to hostilities; informed of whose preparations, Pompey again blockaded the ports of Italy. In the midst of these

* The Greeks carrying their flattery so far as to prostrate themselves before him, beseeching him, as Bacchus, to marry Minerva, the tutelar deity of Athens; Antony, displeased with this gross flattery, consented to the match, but asked a thousand talents for the portion of the goddess. "Your father Jupiter," said one of the Athenians, "required no fortune with your mother Semele." "True," replied Antony; "but Jupiter was rich, and I want money." Nor would he abate any thing of the sum, which was levied upon the inhabitants, who could revenge themselves only by satires and lampoons.

cares Octavianus most iniquitously compelled Cl. Tiberius Nero to put away his wife Livia, whom he immediately married, though far advanced in her pregnancy; divorcing his own wife Scribonia. Ere the preparations for a descent on Sicily were complete, Menas, the freed-man of Pompey, who commanded for him a numerous fleet, revolted to Octavianus, delivering up to him Corsica, Sardinia, and the fleet. The ill success of Octavianus at sea, induced him to request assistance from Antony, which afterwards, on a change in affairs, he declined accepting; and gave rise to a difference, which the interposition of the amiable Octavia prevented from coming to a breach. A severe contest with Pompey then ensued, which was at length by agreement determined by a sea fight, with a specified number of ships on each side, and in which the victory remained with the fleet of Augustus, commanded by Agrippa. After this defeat, all the land forces of Pompey either deserted him or capitulated with Lepidus, who was arrived in Sicily, or with Octavianus. The former of these, too, on a difference arising between them, in the course of which he wounded the latter, finding himself abandoned by his troops, humbly begged his life of his colleague; and obtaining both his estate and that, passed the rest of it in obscurity and contempt. Of the numerous forces which Octavianus now had under his command, the legionaries gave him much trouble, by their demands of reward or discharge; the mutiny, however, raised on this occasion, being quelled, by the discharge of some, and a donative to others, he returned to Rome; and there, by a diminution of taxes, and other popular acts, ingratiated himself much with the citizens, who chose him tribune of the people for life.

The death of Pompey. War begins between Antony and Octavianus. Defeat of the former at Actium. The title of emperour conferred on Antony.

During these transactions at Rome, Pompey made an unsuccessfull attempt in Asia to repair his broken fortunes, which ended in his own death. The eyes of all being now turned on the two surviving competitors for the command of the Roman world, Antony's disgracefull slavery to Cleopatra excited in the breasts of the Romans great disgust at him. Of this Octavianus was not backward to take advantage; and Antony, by sending back Octavia, who was advancing to him with a reinforcement, and clothes, and presents for his troops, falling into a snare which he had laid for

him, drew on himself the resentment of all the Romans. Charges and recriminations now increasing between the rivals, Antony openly prepared for war; and having appointed Samos for the general rendezvous of his forces, repaired thither himself with Cleopatra; assembling also a train of stage-players, dancers, singers, and buffoons, scarcely to be numbered. From Samos Antony passing to Athens, there to gratify his resentment against Octavianus, solemnly divorced the virtuous Octavia, sending officers at Rome to drive her from his house. While Antony deferred the war which he should in policy have commenced without delay, the arrogance of Cleopatra made many desert his cause, and bring fresh complaints of him to Rome; where, when Octavianus was properly prepared, he caused war to be decreed against Cleopatra only, though Antony was deprived of both his consulate and his government, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The forces that were to decide this contest for the government of the world, were in number very unequal; those of Antony amounting to an hundred and twenty thousand infantry, and twelve thousand horse, with five hundred ships of war; and Augustus, though as strong as his enemy in cavalry, having only eighty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty ships. The leaders of these two mighty hosts having consumed the season proper for action only in a paper war, on the expiration of the consular year, Octavianus was declared consul for the third time, with M. Valerius Messala for his colleague; and as B. C. 32. soon as the season permitted, both armies took the field, and both fleets put to sea: when, after some less important actions, Antony being imprudent enough to venture all on a naval battle, a general engagement took place off the promontory of Actium, in Acarnania; and while the victory was yet doubtfull, Cleopatra, with sixty Egyptian galiies, took to flight, and was basely followed by Antony, whose vessels yet bravely maintained the contest, until the wind rising dispersed their line, and gave the enemy such advantage that three hundred ships yielded to him. The army manifested equal fidelity to Antony, and were seven days ere they could be brought to listen to the offers of Octavianus. At length, finding themselves deserted by all their chief officers, as well as by Antony, they

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submitted to be incorporated into the legions of the conquerour. The fortunes of Antony and Cleopatra, after the defeat, have already been related, as well as the transactions of Octavianus, in his journey to and return from Egypt. On his arrival at Rome in August, of the year of that city seven hundred and twenty-four, he triumphed for three days, and had conferred on him the title of emperour, as importing sovereign power.

Octavianus makes no apparent alteration in the form of the government, but secures the love of the people. Offers to resign the sovereignty, but accepts it for ten years longer, and the additional title of Augustus; divides the provinces with the senate, and has given him the title of Pater Patriæ.

Thus, arrived at the summit to which he had so long been climbing, Octavianus began to fear the instability of human power, and to doubt whether he should follow the example of Sylla or of Cæsar; until Mecænas advised him to retain, and make a good use of the authority which he had assumed. In compliance with his counsel, he took no regal title; but continuing that of Imperator, he permitted the same form of magistracy to remain, with the same names, pomp, and ornaments; reserving to himself the military command, and the cognizance of some capital causes. He gained the affections of the people by the plenty and cheapness of the provisions with which he took care to have the markets supplied; and, by increasing the number of senators to a thousand, he made the senate little else than the organ of his own will, through the majority of his own creatures which he introduced into it. Ere the close of his sixth consulship he took a census; and the number of men fit to bear arms, appeared to amount to four hundred and sixty-three thousand; a greater than had ever been found. He, by one edict, disannulled the many severe and unjust laws that had been enacted during the triumvirate; and added, by his repairs and buildings, greatly to the beauty of the city; which, if some writers may be credited, was at that time fifty miles in compass, and, including slaves, contained near four millions of souls. Having thus obtained popularity, and having the senate devoted to him, he tendered a formal resignation of his authority; but permitted himself to be prevailed on to hold the sole government of Rome for ten years longer. To this new authority the senate thought fit to add a new name, determining that it should be no other than *Augustus;* by which he has ever since been known. That he might seem to share his power with the senate, he devolved on it the government of all the provinces that were in tranquillity;

politickly reserving to himself those which, bordering on the barbarous nations, had the troops of the empire stationed in them. The latter were termed imperial, and the former senatorial provinces. The revenue of the empire, on a moderate computation, amounted to forty millions sterling; and the army kept on foot, even in peace, to an hundred and seventy thousand men: of which were always quartered in the neighbourhood of Rome about ten thousand; divided into twelve cohorts, nine called prætorian, and three city cohorts. And when the government was fully arranged, the senate testified their satisfaction with his measures, by giving him the title of Pater Patriæ, father of his country.

An insurrection in Spain quickly repressed; the Mæsians subdued; and Pisidia, Galatia, and Lycaonia, reduced to a Roman province. A famine and inundation. Augustus refuses the dictatorship; a conspiracy against him defeated. Caius Cæsar born. Augustus being at Samos, receives another embassy from India.

Augustus, having thus settled the internal affairs of his empire, conceived the idea of adding to it the British Isles; but on leaving Italy, was called into Spain, by an insurrection of the natives. These were, in the course of another year, entirely subdued, with great slaughter:* several other wars against the barbarous borderers on the empire were carried on with the same success. The Mæsians, a fierce people beyond the Danube, were subdued; and, in Asia, on the death of its king Amyntas, Pisidia, with Galatia and Lycaonia, was reduced to a Roman province. While Augustus was detained in Spain by sickness, he received embassies from the most distant nations of the north and east, the Scythians, Sarmatians, Indians, and Seres. The favour which he had already gained from the senate and people, was much increased in the year of his eleventh consulship, by his conduct when he appeared to be at the point of death; for then, instead of naming a successor, he, by putting into the hands of his colleague in the consulate the account which he himself had written of the revenues and forces of the empire, seemed to leave them at liberty to re-establish the ancient form of government, or to choose for themselves a sovereign. Augustus having resigned the fasces to P. Sestius, a constant friend of Brutus, but a man otherwise of good character, the senate, delighted with such

* To keep the Spaniards in awe, Augustus, ere he quitted their country, built several cities, and particularly Cæsar Augusta, now Saragossa; and Augusta Emerita, now Merida.

impartiality, heaped new honours on him, and particularly allowed him to exercise the authority, and enjoy the privileges of the tribuneship, even in the most distant provinces. Two years after this, a dreadfull plague raged through all the cities of Italy, which was followed by a general famine, and an inundation of the Tiber, which laid great part of the city under water. On these calamities the people clamoured to have Augustus created dictator; but this he refused. Yet he accepted the office of general purveyor; and, performing the duties of the censorship without accepting the office, he enacted several excellent laws for the reformation of manners; and, by mixing with the citizens, endeavoured to take off that odium, which possession of supreme power so often excites in the envious breasts of men.* Still some of the republicans and the personal enemies of Augustus formed a conspiracy against him; but this quickly ended in the destruction of its leaders. The disturbances excited in Rome at the time of the elections, suggested the propriety of appointing a governour of the city; which was accordingly done in the person of Agrippa, to whom Augustus, at the same time, gave his daughter Julia, the widow of the promising Marcellus, the son of Octavia, in marriage. In a progress which he now made into the east, it is worthy of remark, as throwing light on the history of the Apostles, that Augustus deprived the Cyzicans of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death some Roman citizens. It was in this progress that he received from the Parthian monarch the ensigns and captives taken from Crassus and Antony. This year Julia, who had

* One instance of sound policy given by Augustus was, the transferring the care of the publick shows from the Ædiles to the prætors, and not permitting those to exhibit them at their own cost, but at that of the public treasury, or of the spectators. For the Ædileship being the first step to publick honours, the young noblemen often spent their whole fortunes in the shows with which they entertained the people, to gain their suffrages for the superior magistracies, and thus weakened that order, which is the best barrier between the crown and the populace. Since, though overgrown nobles may (as has been seen in this and other kingdoms), prove pernicious to the public interest; yet, to encourage profusion in the nobility, that they may render themselves dependent on the royal favour, is a policy no less shallow than mean, because needy men are easily brought to embarque in political intrigue, and promote revolution.

no children by Marcellus, bare to Agrippa Caius Cæsar. Augustus having received at Samos another complimentary embassy from India, returned to Rome, and was there received with every honour.

Agrippa meets with success in Gaul and Spain. Augustus puts an end to the hopes of the republican assassins; reduces the number of the senators, and renders them more select. Success of Drusus and Tiberius against the Rhæti. Augustus takes the office of pontifex maximus. Liguria Comata reduced to a Roman province. Death of Agrippa, Octavia, and Drusus.

On the return of Augustus to Rome, he was solicited by the senate to accept the office of censor for five years, on account of the great prevalence of vice in that city; and Agrippa, being thus released, first marched into Gaul, and repressed the incursions of the Germans; and then, passing into Spain, finally reduced the Cantabrians. L. Cornelius Balbus this year triumphed, for adding the Garamantes to the subjects of Rome. The first ten years of his sovereign power being nearly expired, Augustus had it continued; and armed himself against the republican zealots, not only by a breast-plate under his robe, but by conferring on Agrippa authority almost equal to his own, and the tribuneship for five years; so that those who were inclined to become assassins, seeing that the murder of one would not secure them, gave over all thoughts of further attempts to destroy him. Many of low birth and infamous character having been admitted into the senate during the civil wars, to remedy this, Augustus reduced the number of senators to six hundred, choosing these with the utmost impartiality, and from men only of merit; thus restoring the senatorial order to its former splendour. To put a stop to bribery he decreed, that all convicted of it should be disabled from holding any publick office for five years. He laid heavy taxes on cœlibacy; but took no steps to correct the profligacy of the married women, being himself a scandalous corrupter of them. In the succeeding year were celebrated those secular games, for which Horace wrote his Carmen seculare. The ensuing year some disturbances took place in Gaul, owing to the oppression practised by the collector of the taxes, who made his peace with Augustus, by imparting to him the profits of his iniquity, and was continued in his office. The Rhæti having made an irruption into Italy with circumstances of great cruelty, Drusus, the second son of Livia, being sent against them, gained over them a complete victory; while his elder brother, Tiberius, met the remainder of them, when joined by the Vindelici, and gave those united nations a total overthrow; and, to keep the barbarous nations, thus subdued, in awe, he planted two

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colonies in Vindelicia, and opened a road from thence into Noricum and Rhætia. One of the cities he named Drusomagus, and the other Augusta Vindelicorum, now Mimminghen and Augsburgh. On the death of Lepidus the triumvir, Augustus took on him the office of pontifex maximus, which was ever afterwards filled by the emperours, even by those who called themselves Christians, until the time of Gratian. The country of the Ligures Comati was next year reduced to a Roman province; and in the same, Augustus having corrected a mistake in the kalendar, a decree was made by both senate and people, that, in future, the month Sextilis should be called Augustus. The following year, on his return from Pannonia, where his very name had repressed an insurrection, died Agrippa, to the great grief of his sovereign, who paid him every funereal honour. To his power and authority succeeded Tiberius, the son of Livia, and also, much against his will, to his wife, now become the infamous Julia. This double son-in-law of Augustus was sent against the Pannonians, again in revolt, whom he quickly subdued; while his brother Drusus signalized himself by preventing a revolt in Gaul, and making extensive conquests in Germany. Some fresh disturbances in Pannonia and Thrace being quelled, the satisfaction of Augustus at this success of his armies was counterbalanced by the death of the amiable Octavia, in the fifty-fourth year of her age. The next year Tiberius having reduced the Daci, and Drusus having brought under subjection all the country between the Rhine and the Weser, on his return toward the former river was seized with a violent fever, under which he sunk in a few days, in the thirtieth year of his age; leaving three children, Drusus surnamed Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius, who afterwards succeeded to that empire, which his father would very unwisely have overthrown.

Augustus is prevailed on to hold his authority for the third ten years. Deaths of Mecænas and Horace. Tiberius retires to Rhodes.

The little authority which remained with the senate causing it to assemble but seldom, Augustus appointed certain days in each month, on which they were bound to meet, and all the absentees were fined. The second term of ten years now drawing to an end, he was easily persuaded to vanquish his unwillingness to hold his power ten years longer; after which he sent Tiberius to prosecute his conquests in Germany, who met with considerable success. In the autumn died

Julia banished. Caius Cæsar being sent against the Parthians, concludes a treaty with their king. The submission of Tigranes, king of Armenia, being accepted by Augustus, the temple of Janus is shut.

Mecænas, and, within three months of his patron, Horace breathed his last. Two years after this, to check the ambitions of his grandsons Caius and Lucius Cæsar, Augustus conferred on Tiberius the tribunitial power for five years. But scarcely had he received this new honour, than he exprest his wish to retire to Rhodes: the reason of this sudden resolution is disputed, but so strong was it, that Augustus could not prevail with his son-in-law to change it; but to Rhodes he went, and there continued longer than was agreeable to himself. It was in the thirteenth consulship of Augustus, and when he had for his colleague M. Plautius Sylvanus, or Silanus, that the infamous debauchery of his daughter Julia became known to him; a full discovery of which affected him most deeply. At first he determined to put her to death, but contented himself with banishing her to a desert island, on the coast of Campania, now called Santa Maria; and here he forbad her wine, and all delicacies either of diet or cloaths, and no person was permitted to come near her without an order from him. Her punishment, too, was followed by that of all who had been accessary to her impurities. While Augustus was endeavouring to divert his thoughts from the disgracefull conduct of his daughter, he received information of an alliance between the Armenians and the Parthians. Dreading the consequences of such a confederacy, and at a loss whom to put at the head of the army he saw it necessary to draw together, he at length determined to send his grandson, Caius, then only eighteen; giving him the title of pro-consul, and appointing to attend him, as second in command, M. Lollius, an officer of great experience, who had been his governour, and to whose daughter Augustus married him. On the approach of Caius and his army, the Parthian king sent to him proposals of peace; and an interview taking place, a treaty was soon concluded, on condition of the Parthians renouncing all pretensions to Armenia. Scarcely had this taken place, when Artabazes, against whom the Parthians had set up Tygranes as king of Armenia, died; when the last sent rich presents to Augustus, with a submissive letter, begging the kingdom of him. The emperour gladly putting an end to the disturbances

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of the east, accepted his presents, and ordered him to attend Caius in Syria; where he received from his hands the crown of Armenia. And now the temple of Janus was shut, and we are arrived at the true æra of the birth of Christ, four years prior to the commencement of the Dionysian, or vulgar æra; and here consequently the history of Rome is brought to the close of the fifth period, ending in the seven hundred and forty-ninth year of the city.

CHAPTER V.

The History of the Celtes, the Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, the Spaniards, and the Mediterranean Islands, to the end of the Period.

Origin and territories of the Celtes.

OF the nations to the north of Italy no notice has in this Abridgment hitherto been taken, but as their history became connected with that of some more southern people. The reader's attention must now, therefore, be requested to a brief review of their derivation, character, and general transactions and fortunes, to the close of the present period. Their origin seems to be the same; the first inhabitants of Gaul, Germany, and the British Isles, being descendants of Gomer, the son of Japhet, who gradually spread themselves from their settlements in Asia, through the tract of country between the Caspian and Euxine Seas; and then taking in their migration a western course, peopled all the middle and the western side of Europe. Among the multitude of names, therefore, given to either the whole or portions of this race, that of Gomerians (from the origin of which are evidently derived those of Cymmerians, Cymbrians, and Germans), seems to be the best adapted to the expression of their common descent; though the more usual title of Celtes may, in compliance with custom, be employed too as the generick term; while, under the more modern appellations of Gauls, Germans, and Britons, these three grand divisions of them may, for the sake of perspicuity, be spoken of. But when it is said these three grand divisions, it is by no means intended to suggest, that these comprehend all the lines of that race; since, by the same people were Spain and Portugal to the west, and other regions to the north east of Italy

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colonized. Now, though it be difficult to fix any exact boundaries by which the Celtes and Europæan Scythians were separated from each other, the former extended from the Danube to Cape Finisterre from east to west; and the country which they occupied, was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the north by either the Baltic or Northern Sea; while the same race extended itself into the British Isles, and even Iceland; and in the south they entered Sicily, Corsica, Majorca, and other islands, besides the portion of Italy itself which they occupied. The seas of note in the part of the earth thus overspread by the descendants of Gomer, are the Mediterranean, the western, and the northern ocean, and the Baltic. The principal lake in these territories is that of Geneva, more than twenty miles in length, and about eight in breadth. The chief mountains are the Pyrenees, and the Alps, of which last the Apennines may be considered a branch. The chief rivers are the Ister or Danube, which rising in Switzerland, runs into what was Scythia, and empties itself into the Euxine or Black Sea. The Rhine springing in the same country, after watering Germany, becomes in Holland divided into smaller streams, through which it reaches the northern ocean. The Rhone having its source in the same territory, and passing through France into the Mediterranean. The Po in Italy. In Spain, the Ebro, Guadiana, and the Tagus; in France, the Loire, Garonne, and Seine; and in Germany, the Moselle, Main, Weser, and Elbe.

Government, religion, manners and arts of the Celtes.

Of the ancient government of the Celtes, the same may be said as has been so often repeated of that of other nations, that it being originally patriarchal, they formed first one, and then several monarchies, all uniting themselves under one head in cases of common danger. Their religion, like that of the rest of the post-diluvians, soon degenerated into dæmonolatry; and there being a similarity of character in the gods they worshipped with those of Greece and Rome, the writers of these nations have applied to them the same names. Thus it should seem that Tuisco, who is reported to have been the son of Ashkenaz, and the conductor and lawgiver of the Germans, had the name of Mercury assigned him. The care of their religion was the business of their curetes, since known by the

name of bards and druids; who also expounded the doctrines of it to the people, and instructed the youth in all the science known to the nation, but only by word of mouth. Yet their hymns, and the achievements of their heroes, were written in verse, and were chaunted by them to musick on all proper occasions. Nor were the lessons of these instructors confined to the youth of their own country; those of others came to learn from them; and it has been asserted, that their philosophy passed into Greece. Yet, while much has been written in praise of their virtue and morality, they had, on the other hand, the horrid customs of sacrificing human victims, and of killing men for the sake of divining from the running of their blood. One marked difference between them and their relations the Scythians, was, that in all their migrations they built and fortified, and even adorned cities. So greedy were they of conquest and spoil, that scarcely any thing could withstand the suddenness and fury of their attacks; and quarter they seldom gave. Their prisoners were sold to their great men, and with their plunder they adorned themselves, wearing gold rings and bracelets, and about their necks chains; and in their dress were very neat. As horsemen they were expert, as likewise in the management of their armed chariots: they always avoided engaging until after the full of the moon; an instance of superstition imitated by the Lacedæmonians. Their language was the old Celtic or Gomerian, still preserved in a very considerable measure in the Cambrian or Welsh, and its kindred dialects; the affinity born by all which to the most ancient Oriental languages, manifests that they had all a common origin.

Of their arts, their musick they have been supposed to have brought in the course of their migrations from Crete, but more probably owe to a more distant source, as well as their knowledge of their use of iron, though in that island part of the family might have found a mine of that metal: but of their early arts and manufactures conjecture must rather be formed from their manner of life, than accounts be drawn from any other documents preserved. Grandeur, it seems, they affected in equipages, dress, and household furniture; hence we may reasonably conclude, that the arts necessary to provide these were cultivated among them: to which may be added

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agriculture, and feeding of cattle. Pulse was their common diet, and especially millet; to which may be added milk: of flesh, pork excepted, they are said to have eaten but little.

Derivation of the name of the Gauls: their territories and religion.

Of the history of this people, previous to the conquest of part of their territories by more civilized nations, there is nothing of sufficient certainty to justify detaining the reader with the detail of it, and therefore no more will be related of them, but under the divisions under which they became known to those nations. Commencing the review of those divisions, then, from Italy, the Gauls first present themselves to us. Of the etymology of their name, perhaps none is more probable than its derivation from a corruption of their original denomination, Celtes, of which the Greeks first formed Κελεῖαι, then Γαλεῖαι, and from this last, the Romans Galli. Their territories, speaking now only of what the Romans termed Transalpine Gaul, were bounded on the south by the Alps and the Mediterranean, on the north by the Rhine, and extended westward from the lake of Geneva to the Pyrenees and the western ocean. The inhabitants of this region are said to have originally worshipped one Supreme Being; and even when they degenerated into dæmonolatry, the doctrine of the existence of such a Sovereign of the Universe is said to have been religiously preserved by the druids, and the oak esteemed the symbol of Him; and in groves of this tree were the most sacred rites of their religion performed; and here were large stones placed, it has been supposed, for altars, on which to offer their victims; some of which are still extant in various places of France, Germany, and Britain. It has already been stated, that the order of the Druids had the sole care of all matters of religion, which they so artfully introduced into every other concern, both publick and private, that nothing could be done without their approbation. They were called by several names, besides that of Druid. Their antiquity is considered as equal to that of the oldest sects of philosophers. But the Gauls sent theirs into Britain to be instructed; for here was the grand seminary, and the seat of the arch-druid, to whom they appealed in dernier resort in all doubtfull and controverted cases. The druids and their disciples were exempt from both military duty and tribute, and yet their order was not

confined to any particular family, but every man might be a candidate for it; and the grand druid was chosen by a plurality of voices; yet his election did not always pass in tranquillity, and was sometimes terminated even by the sword. The three great particulars of their religion consisted in their worship of God, in abstaining from evil, and in behaving with intrepidity on all occasions; which last was enforced by the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution. Next in esteem to the druids were the order of bards, which, though often confounded with the former in name, were in reality a separate order, subject to the former; and whose office it was to sing the praises of their heroes to instruments of musick, and accompany their armies into the field, and encourage them in battle.

Government of Gaul, and ferocity of its inhabitants.

When Gaul first became known to the Romans, it was under a number of different governments, of which were reckoned no less than sixty-four, some monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly the last and partly democratical; all of which, however, observed one common law to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to its interest was debated and settled. And on the whole this grand assembly, since most properly denominated a parliament, was the place wherein every question relating to war and peace, to property, boundaries, distribution of plunder, arising between district and district, was finally determined. The division of the country into such small states as have been mentioned, was a source of perpetual feuds, arising from mutual jealousies, and of wars carried on between confederacies formed of some of these and a larger state, against a band of the same kind for the lead of the whole country. Still Gaul, as well as Germany and Spain, contained a number of petty kingdoms, governed by monarchs, who enjoyed their dignity during life, but were not necessarily succeeded in it by their posterity; and even where hereditary succession did take place, the kings were far from arbitrary, but accountable to the nation no less than those who were chosen by it.* In the history of Rome has already been

* An Englishman will not be displeased at finding, that the so much admired

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noticed the maxim advanced by Brennus, that power formed the best title to possession. This most unrighteous and barbarous rule was, by the Gauls, applied to the decision of private rights; since, in any differences that arose, if the sentence of the tribunal before which the cause was carried pleased not both parties (which could seldom happen), the point was generally decided by single combat; from which most nefarious practice is derived the anti-christian custom of duelling, by the allowance of which in this country so much blood has been brought upon our land. Among a people fierce as this compliance with the suggestions of malice proves them, military discipline can hardly be looked for; and the want of it did in fact expose them to that carnage which they, in so many instances, suffered from the Romans.

Their language, commerce, amusements, manners, and emigrations.

The language of the Gauls was primarily the original tongue of all Europe, the Celtic; which, by corruption and mixture, has been split into the several dialects now prevailing among its inhabitants. Long was it ere they would make use of any letters; the first they did employ were the Greek, learned from the people of Marseilles, a Grecian colony. That they carried on a considerable degree of commerce in the time of Cæsar, and were not unenterprizing in the extension of it, is clear from what that writer has stated. Their diversions, like those of other barbarians, consisted in hunting, and other laborious exercises, and in feastings little less laborious. Their vices, too, were of the same cast; intemperate in the use of strong liquor, idle, and ferocious, they resembled in their bad qualities the savage of the present day. This similarity, too, was continued in one of their virtues, that of hospitality, the rights of which they held most sacred, permitting no inconveniences, no dangers, to induce them to infringe them. Their bodily powers, and the rapidity with which they increased, led to those multitudinous emigrations which form almost the whole of what is known of their history previous to

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Plato has given his suffrage to a government, exactly parallel to that which prevails in this country, when of monarchy he says, "For this reason it ought to be restrained, as with a curb, *by the authority of the nobles, and such chosen men as the people have impowered for that purpose.*"

the commencement of the Roman conquests in their country, and of these some have been already noticed in the history of the regions which suffered by them. Their earliest and most considerable sally was that made at the command of Ambigatus, king of Celto-Gallia; who, in the year of Rome one hundred and sixty, finding his kingdom overstocked, sent his two nephews, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, each at the head of a numerous army, to seek new settlements. The last, crossing the Rhine and part of the Hercynian forest, settled in that part of Germany since called Boiemia and Bohemia, from the Boii, who accompanied him; while the former passing the Rhône and the Alps, settled himself in that part of Italy called Piedmont and Lombardy, then inhabited by the Hetrurians. The Cenomanni, dwelling between the Seine and the Loire, made the second grand migration under a leader named Elitonis, and settled in the Bresciano, Cremeneso, Mantuan, Carniola, and Venetian; but at what period is not certain. The third was made by the Læves and Ananes, the former of whom settled in Novara, on one side of the Po; and the other in Piacenza, on the other. Nor is the date of this known. In a fourth, the Boii and Lingones, passing the Pennine Alps, settled on the south side of the Po, between Ravenna and Bologna. The fifth was that of the Senones, under Brennus, of which mention has been made. The next expedition was scarcely less unfortunate: for the Gauls who had settled in the parts of Italy lately spoken of, being perpetually harrassed by the Romans, sent into Gaul for reinforcements; and these came in such numbers, that they became more terrible to them than the Romans; on which they hesitated not to kill their two leaders, and put the whole army of their countrymen to flight. After this the Gæsatæ, a fiercer nation than any of the rest, marched at the request of their countrymen into Italy, but there met with a total defeat; forty thousand of them being killed on the spot, and ten thousand taken, and among them Concolitanus, one of their kings; while the other, Aneroestus, escaping to a neighbouring village, there slew himself, as did most of the officers who followed him. Of the irruption advised by the other, Brennus, into Thrace, Macedon, and Pannonia, notice has been already taken; and that commander having, on his ill-success in

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Greece, put an end to his own life; of the troops which he then led, not one, it is said, survived the expedition. Though another portion of those which then left their country settled, as has been related, in the region from them named Galatia.

Gaul subdued by Cæsar, and reduced to a Roman province. Augustus highly honoured by the Gauls.

Here to repeat the Roman expeditions into Gaul, which have been already described, would be a needless trespass on the reader's time; considering him then as already informed of these, the history of Gaul presents no transactions until the time of Cæsar, who, after being drawn into that country to oppose the Helvetii, omitted not to take advantage of the intestine broils he found prevailing in it; and being applied to by the Ædui for his assistance against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, he drove that haughty and perfidious monarch over the Rhine: a victory so great that it alarmed the Belgæ, a very numerous and warlike nation, which under the command of Galba, king of the Suessones, advanced to meet him with an hundred and fifty thousand men, whom the Roman defeated with great slaughter; immediately after which several of their tribes submitted to him. Of those which did not, the Nervii joining with the Atrebates and Veromandui, were at length defeated, and the greatest part of them slain; and the rest submitting, were allowed to live in their own towns as before. The Aduatici were next subdued; and for their treachery sold, to the number of fifty thousand. Seven other nations were subdued by young Crassus, the son of the triumvir, which completed the conquest of the Belgæ. At this time the Veneti, or ancient inhabitants of Vannes in Britanny, endeavoured in vain to recover their liberty, Cæsar defeating them by land, and Brutus by sea. The Unelli, Lexovii, and Aulerci, were about the same time subdued by Sabinus, and the Aquittani by Crassus; and of all Gaul there remained only the countries of the Morini and Menapii unconquered: these retiring into their inaccessible fortresses, Cæsar was obliged to content himself with ravaging their country. Afterwards some German nations advancing towards Gaul, to the amount of four hundred thousand, Cæsar met, and totally defeated them. On his return into Gaul, for he passed the Rhine after the enemy, he found an almost universal revolt, caused by a great famine, the effect of which has been already stated. Yet the reduction of this was quickly followed by a new revolt. It was the oppression they

suffered from the extortion of Cæsar, to supply himself with money to continue his bribery at Rome, that drove so many tribes into insurrection; some of these he quickly reduced: but the flame spread to the greatest part of the nation, who chose Vercingetorix for their commander. Cæsar, with his accustomed rapidity, and in defiance of all the obstacles presented by the winter, flew into Narbonne, besieged and took Noviodunum, now Noyons, and defeated Vercingetorix. He then took the city of Avaricum, now Bourges, which had a garrison of forty thousand men, of which scarcely eight hundred escaped the swords of the Romans. This success did not prevent the powerfull nation of the Ædui joining in the revolt with such decision, as to put to death all the Italian troops in their capital; and severe was the struggle which Cæsar now had, until defeating an army of an hundred and sixty thousand men, who attacked him three several times in his trenches before Alesia, where Vercingetorix was shut up, he obliged that commander to surrender at discretion. By treating those of the Ædui and Arverni whom he had taken with lenity, while he used the rest of his prisoners with great severity, Cæsar brought these two most potent nations of Celtic Gaul to submit to him: after which, though compelled to fight, either in person or by his lieutenants, with as many armies as there were Gallic provinces yet unsubdued, he by turns vanquished them all; and at last completed the conquest of the whole country from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine; the whole of which tract was reduced to a Roman province, under the government of a prætor. Some cities, however, we are told were permitted to remain free, as the Nervii, Ulbaneses, Suessones, and Leuci; others retained the title of confederates of Rome, as the Ædui, Lingones, Rhemi, and Carnutes; the difference of which three conditions was this: those who were denominated free, had a number of soldiers quartered on them to keep them in awe; the confederates were obliged to endure a number of tax-gathers; and those of the province had governours sent to them from Rome, with full power over their lives and their property. Gaul B. C. 26. was soon after divided into sixteen provinces; and neither under Cæsar, or his successor Augustus, was there any considerable revolt: on the contrary, though considerable discontents appeared, on a

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second census being begun in the country, these were, by the address of Drusus, so completely appeased, that sixty Gallic nations united in building a magnificent altar to Augustus, and paying him divine honours even while yet on earth. And thus is the history of this region brought down to the end of our present period.

Extent of Germany, climate, religion, and character of the inhabitants.

The next division of the Celtic family, to be spoken of, are the Germans; of whom it should be observed that there were intermixed with them many Scythians and Sarmatians, on the side of the country which lay next to their territories. As to the extent of Germany, the Rhine was considered as its western boundary; Scythia and Sarmatia confined it on the east; the Danube formed its southern limit; the Baltic sea on the north; and the German and northern ocean on the north-west. The conciseness of the present compilation admits not of particularizing the various tribes, to whom was given the common name of Germans, when for the elucidation of their history that becomes requisite, they will be distinguished from each other. The ancient writers have left us most unfavourable accounts of the climate and soil of this region, for which however it is not difficult to account, from the then uncleared state of the country; though it be now capable of producing in abundance, all the necessaries, and some of the luxuries of life; indeed, of these last, wine, we are told, was introduced so early as the time of the emperour Probus. The Hercynian forest is a feature in this country too considerable to be passed by without notice; it was computed to extend sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth; from the Rhine to the country of the Sarmatæ, a part of Muscovy. The Black forest and the forest of Bohemia were parts of the Hercynian. What has been already said of the religion of the Celtes, necessarily comprehends that of the ancient Germans; it may, however, be added, that they exceeded the Gauls in the esteem which they entertained for prophetesses, without consulting whom they would not undertake any thing of importance. Such was the credit of some of these, that they are represented as being looked upon as a kind of goddesses, and the names of some of them have been preserved, as those of Velleda, Gamna, Jettha, Sifa, Thrudur; more cruel than the Gauls in their superstitious rites,

they tortured their human victims ere they slew them. Other victims they likewise offered, of which the horse was deemed the most acceptable. The flesh of these was dressed in the heart of their groves, and on it the votaries feasted; the blood was sprinkled on the altars. They had an ancient idol whom they called Hertha, and kept in a grove, on a covered cart; among them were worshipped too, the sun and the moon, Tuisco, Woden or Odin, Thor, Friga, and Sater, all of whose names are preserved in those of our seven days. Their form of government strongly resembled that of the rest of the same family; in the monarchical states it should be remarked, as tending to throw some light on the history of our own constitution, that their kings possessed no other revenues but a part of the fines, and such voluntary offerings as the people thought fit to make them, of cattle and the fruits of the earth, so that their hereditary estates were the chief support of their grandeur. The subjects were distinguished into the several ranks of nobles, free-born, freed-men, and bondsmen. As in civilization so were they necessarily later than the Gauls in acquiring science and learning manufactures; that of linen seems to have been the first introduced among them; their original dress was the skins of beasts. The hardiness of their lives seems to have contributed to the robustness of their bodies; they are said to have differed from other nations in the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow hair, haughty and menacing looks, and strong constitutions. Their valour, which amounted nearly to ferocity, and their fidelity, caused them to be highly valued as soldiers. They were noble, magnanimous and beneficent; desirous rather of preserving their own possessions than of ravaging those of their neighbours. Unaffected and sincere in their hospitality, plainness and simplicity appeared more in their houses and their diet than sumptuousness and luxury. In their conjugal affections they were generally chaste, true, and disinterested, and the women shared with the men even in the hardships of war. But with these amiable traits was intermixed a measure of barbarity, which led them to put out of life not only their sick children and servants, but even their parents, as well as themselves.

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History of ancient Germany.

Having thus briefly described Germany and its inhabitants, the little that is on record of its ancient history is next to be reviewed: the first event with which we meet is an invasion by a body of Gauls under Sigovasus, already spoken of. These new comers having established themselves in some of the best of the country between the Rhine and the Hercynian forest, quickly so conformed themselves to the manners of the country, as to become blended with the natives. The first migration of the Germans themselves after they had filled all the void spaces in their own land, was that of the Belgæ, who passing the Rhine, and driving the Gauls before them, seated themselves so firmly in the country on this side of it, that they were never expelled. This fierce nation afterwards peopled the coasts of Britain, and drove the natives inland, and waged continual wars with the Germans. From this invasion of Gaul by the Belgæ, the Germans and Gauls continued in a state of alternate hostility and friendship. Of the incursions of the former into the Roman territories, of the defeats they received, and of the invasions of their country by the Romans, to the end of the present period, notice has been already taken in the history of the last named people, so that, to avoid repetition, we may here leave Germany and proceed to the little known of the Britons previous to the same epoch.

Britain described. The manners, trade, and religion of the inhabitants, with their divisions.

The name of the island inhabited by these people was once common to the whole cluster, but afterwards became appropriated to that which had been specifically known by the name of *Albion*. The knowledge of the derivation of either of these names, seems not worthy of the discussion that has been bestowed on it; that of the latter, from the white cliffs, seems as probable as any; and, whether the former is derived from the natives themselves, or from a commodity in which they dwelt, is of too little importance to justify the detention of the reader with its investigation. The first discoverers of it to the civilized world were doubtlessly Phœnicians, who traded to it for one of its staple commodities, tin. The island itself lying in the western ocean, and separated from part of France and Germany only by the strait termed the British channel, is of a triangular form, having three promontories, the Land's End pointing to the west, the

North Foreland towards the east, and Caithness towards the north. From Ireland on the west it is divided by the Irish Sea, or St. George's Channel; on the north and east it is washed by the North Sea; on the south by the British Channel: it lies between the fiftieth and fifty-ninth degrees of north latitude: its breadth is various; and its whole compass about eighteen hundred miles. Britain seems to have been peopled from different parts of the neighbouring continent; except indeed the Scots, who appear to have come immediately from Ireland: while the Picts are said to have been of a different branch of Japhet's family from the rest, having arrived in the island from Scandinavia, whither a migration of Sarmatians had penetrated. The country was found by Cæsar well peopled, and stored with cattle: the people of Cantium, or Kent, were the most civilized, differing in their manners but little from the Gauls: the more inland people, for the most part, did not sow corn. All the Britons painted their bodies of a sky colour, wore their hair long, but shaved the rest of their bodies, except their upper lip. One of their most nefarious customs was a community of wives between ten or twelve men. They ate no fish. Their villages consisted of a number of huts, generally in the middle of a wood; the approaches through which were defended with slight ramparts, or trees felled. One author says, that they exceeded the Gauls in stature, but were not so well set; another represents them as simple and upright in their dealings, and satisfied with a very frugal diet. But they were, we are told, a warlike nation, and very greedy of slaughter. They used a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword; but breast-plates and helmets they rejected as an incumbrance. Of war chariots they likewise made use, driving furiously into the ranks of the enemy, and discharging their darts. Their trade was inconsiderable, their vessels very small, with keels and ribs of slight timber, interwoven with wicker work, and covered with hides. Their chief traffick was with the Phœnician merchants, who yearly exported from Britain great quantities of tin, which they sold to distant nations. To preserve to themselves the great profit of it, the Phœnicians concealed for a long time the source of this trade; but the Greeks at length discovering it, gave to the islands the name of Cassitérides, corresponding with the Phœnician

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name Baratanac: but this trade was restrained to the Scilly islands. The religion of the Britons differed but little from that of Gaul; and any further account either of it, or its ministers the druids, would be little else than a repetition of what has been stated in the history of that country. A similar form of government prevailed also among the Britons. The part of the island which contains England and Wales, was divided into seventeen petty states: of these the Danmonii possessed the peninsula of Devonshire and Cornwall; in this region the Land's End is by the geographer Ptolemy termed Bolerium; and the present Lizard was termed Danmonium or Ocrinum. On the south coast were noticed Voliba, now Falmouth; the mouth of the Tamara, now Tamar, on which stands Plymouth; and that of the Isca, now the Ex. The inland places mentioned by Ptolemy, are Isca Danmoniorum, Exeter; Tamare, Tavistock; Uxella, Lestwithiel. Dorsetshire, with its principal town Durnium, the present Dorchester, was inhabited by the Durotriges. Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, were possessed by the Belgæ. Of the places belonging to this people are specified, Magnus Portus, Portsmouth; Trisantonis Portus, South Hampton; Venta Bulgarum, Winchester; Aquæ Calidæ, now Bath; Iscalis, Ilchester. In Berkshire dwelt the Atrebatii, emigrants from Gaul, as well as the Belgæ; their capital was Calcua or Caleva, now Wallingford. The Regni held Sussex, Surrey, and part of the sea-coast of Hampshire. The Cantii, Kent; the Dobuni, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire; the Cattieuclani, or Cattuellani, and Cassii, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire; the Trinobantes, Essex and *Middlesex*, in which was included Londinium; built, it should appear, between the time of Cæsar and that of Nero. The present counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntington, were inhabited by the Iceni: North Hamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, were inhabited by the Ceritani; to the west of whom, that is to say, in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, lay the Cornavii. The present counties of Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Hereford and Monmouth, were inhabited by the Silenes and Demetæ, which last tribe also possessed Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and

Cardiganshire. The north Welsh counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint, were in possession of the Ordovices. In the north of England the Brigantes dwelt in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. In Northumberland dwelt the Ottadini or Ottatini.

First and second invasions of Britain by the Romans.

So little was known of Britain ere the invasion of Julius Cæsar, that when he sought for information concerning it from the merchants of Gaul, who traded hither, they appeared to be acquainted with the coast, but could state nothing of the customs, manners, and power of the people. He sent, therefore, an officer of his own to obtain what intelligence he could. And in the mean time the Britons, hearing of the preparations made to attack them, sent to Cæsar offers of submission and of hostages. The embassadors who brought these, the Roman received with kindness, sending back with them a Gallic prince, with instruction to persuade as many states as he could, to accept of an alliance with Rome, and to acquaint them with his intention of soon landing in their country; and in a few days after he actually made a descent, and after a well supported engagement, landed in Kent. The Britons, finding themselves worsted, sued for peace, and delivered a part of the hostages then required, disbanded their troops, and the princes came to make their submission to Cæsar. But the boisterous weather having driven back to Gaul the Roman cavalry, and greatly damaged the vessels he had with him, the British princes did not hesitate to seize the advantage, left the Roman camp by stealth, assembled their troops, and fell upon the foragers; but Cæsar coming to their assistance, they desisted from the attack. Yet a few days after, having drawn together a great body of troops, the Britons advanced to attack the Romans; but were so firmly opposed, that they took to flight, were pursued with great slaughter, and had several of their towns and villages burnt. On which, ere the day was over, they sued again for peace, which Cæsar as readily granted them, on condition of their sending him into Gaul double the number of hostages he had before demanded; and the same night he re-embarqued his army, weighed anchor, and returned to the continent. Of all the states of Britain, however, two only sent him

hostages; indignant at which, he, the next spring, repeated his descent, with five legions and two thousand horse, and without any opposition to his landing, the Britons being terrified at the greatness of the force they saw approaching the island. Cæsar having obtained intelligence, immediately marched against them, and dislodged them first from the post they held, and then from a wood, into which they next threw themselves. On the next day, Cæsar dividing his whole army into three bodies, sent them in pursuit of the enemy, but was himself recalled from it, by the report of his fleet having suffered by a storm. Having made arrangements for the reparation of this damage, and secured his ships from any hostile attack, he again returned towards the enemy, whom he found greatly increased in number, under the command of Cassivelaunus, or Cassibelan, king of the Trinobantes, who had been unanimously elected for their leader. But after a previous attack or two, being closely pursued after an assault on the Roman foragers, and great numbers cut to pieces, all his allies abandoned the British king, nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæsar with their forces united. After this, Cæsar is said to have passed the Thames, though of his crossing the Medway, which he must have done before he got so far up on the right bank of the other river, no notice is taken. The Trinobantes now offered him their submission, and requested his protection for the son of their late king, whom Cassibelan had slain, and that he would send him to them for their sovereign. With this request Cæsar complied, on condition of their sending him forty hostages, and corn for his army, which they did. The example of the Trinobantes was quickly followed by several other states; and the Romans were informed, that they were in the neighbourhood of the town of Cassibelan; to this, therefore, which was no other than a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch and rampart, they marched, attacked, and took it. Cassibelan having made a fruitless endeavour to repair this loss, by an attack, through his allies, on the camp in which Cæsar's ships were laid up, resolved to send embassadors to him to treat of a surrender; to whose proposals the conquerour, not unwillingly, hearkened; and a treaty was concluded, on condition that the Britons should pay the Romans an annual tribute, that Cassibelan

should leave Mandubratius in quiet possession of his dominions, and deliver a certain number of hostages. On the receipt of which, Cæsar returned to his fleet, and with that to the continent, as quickly as he could: but whether triumphant in his expedition, or having met with a repulse in it, may well be doubted.

Augustus is prevented from coming into Britain.

Their own civil distractions which succeeded, prevented the Romans, through twenty years, from enforcing the tribute imposed on the Britons. Augustus having secured the empire, was twice prevented, by disturbances nearer home, from embarking for Britain, and readily received the submission made by the Britons; but how far that went we are left to conjecture. That it was no more than feigned, however, appears from Augustus's purpose to pass over to the island the ensuing year, in which he was prevented by a revolt in Spain. However, some of the British princes sent him tribute, with which, whatever it was, that prince was so content, that he forbore any farther attempts on the country; of which the history is thus completed to the end of the period.

Description of the Spanish peninsula. Whence peopled: partly subjected by the Carthaginians, and then by the Romans.

On the continent of Europe, there remain the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal yet unspoken to, of those countries which yet call for the notice of the historian. Now these form a peninsula on the south-west corner of the above-mentioned quarter of the earth, running out from the land of Gaul, from which it is separated by the Pyrenees; having to the west the Atlantick ocean; to the south, and most part of the east, the Mediterranean sea; and to the north, the bay now denominated that of Biscay. To the Greeks, this country was generally known by the name of Iberia. From the Phœnicians, it seems to have obtained the name of Spanija, from, it is said, the abundance of rabbits found in that country; and from thence, the Romans deduced their Spania, or Hispania. This country extends, from east to west, nearly thirteen degrees; and from north to south, in extreme latitude, nine. The most celebrated rivers of it, beginning from the east, and proceeding along its southern side, are, the Iberus, now the Ebro; the Bœtis, now the Guadalquivir; the Anas, now the Guadiana; the Tagus; and the Durius, now the Douro. Many are the mountains of this country, and running in continued chains, and abounding with metals and

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minerals of several kinds, especially gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead. The goodness of its soil and air manifested themselves in the health and longevity of its inhabitants. The mountains, as well as the vallies of Spain, yielded plenty of corn for both men and cattle. Horses, the inhabitants bred in great numbers; and the milk of their kine was remarkably rich. All kinds of fruits the soil produces, in high perfection; and from the mountains flow mineral waters, both hot and cold, in great quantities. The earlier inhabitants of Spain seem to have arrived both by sea and land; colonies of various nations perhaps, but particularly of Phœnicians by the former, and companies of Celtes by the latter. The dominion of the Spanish seas is said to have been holden by the Phœnicians, who settled in the country for one-and-forty years; and by the Egyptians, who built the city of Tarracona, for thirty-five. The Milesians are stated to have had some government there for twenty-nine years; and the Carians afterwards for forty-eight. To these the Lesbians are said to have succeeded, and building several cities, to have continued sixty-eight years. Then, it is said, the Phocians held the government forty-eight years. And Nebuchadnezzar is stated to have extended his conquest hither after his reduction of Judæa. Yet the various people, who thus arrived by sea, penetrated, it should seem, but little inland; commerce being the object principally sought by them. But for the Celtiberi, who migrated thither from Gaul, they, in a climate and on a soil so favourable, increased so fast, as to spread into different parts of the peninsula, and found several cities. The various small states thus formed, with the additions made to them by the strangers that arrived by sea, occupied the peninsula, when the Carthaginians began to attempt the reduction of it. These, it is said, having been applied to by the Tyrians, for assistance against the Spaniards, who infested their colony of Gades, sent a fleet under the command of Meseus, who enlarged their territories by the capture of several considerable places on the coast. The riches of the country encouraged the Carthaginians to further conquests for themselves; and very successfull were they in these, under their general Hamilcar Barcas, and his two sons Asdrubal and Hannibal. But when the last entered

on his expedition to Italy, the Carthaginian affairs in this country quickly declined, and their forces received from the Romans several successive defeats, until Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, being reduced to despair by the victories of Scipio and the treachery of Masinissa, committed, in revenge, cruelties so great as rendered him odious both to Romans and Spaniards; and consequently great was the progress of the former, who, through the course of operations, already detailed in the Roman history, at length expelled their rivals from the country, and brought it under the Roman yoke; and of the wealth which they drew from it, some conceptions may be formed, by the gold and silver which were conveyed from thence to Rome, by different commanders, in the space of only nine years, which amounted to four thousand and ninety-five pounds weight of the former, and one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds of the last.

The Balearic and other Spanish islands.

As the Balearic islands lie off the coast of Spain, this is the proper place to notice the little that is handed down to us of their ancient history; they were distinguished by the names of Majorca and Minorca, in the former of which were two cities, Palma and Pallentia, and in the latter the same number, named Jamno and Mago, the last of which became a considerable port, now called Mahon. These two islands were, on account of their situation and harbours, termed Fortunate; and were at first in possession of the Phœnicians, from whom Q. Metellus took them, and was for the conquest, or the robbery, honoured with the surname of Balearicus. The natives of these isles were eminent for their skill in the use of the sling; and from this circumstance, it is supposed, that the islands obtained the epithet of Balearic. To the westward of these lie two other islands, by the ancients termed Pityusæ, from the pine trees growing on them, of which the larger was called Ebusus, now Ivica, and the smaller Ophiusa, now Fermentera; there is too a third, still further off from Ebusus, called Colubraria; but these two last are so inconsiderable as not to merit further notice; Ebusus itself was very fertile, abounding with pasture ground, and great variety of fruits; particularly a species of figs, for which it was renowned: on this island was a city called Ebusium. The last

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island worth mention was Capraria, now Cabrera, lying on the south of Majorca. All these islands, and a number of others, particularized by ancient writers, not now to be found, and supposed to have since sunk into the sea, belonged to the province of Tarracon, and underwent the same fate, of passing from the Carthaginian to the Roman yoke.

Sicily and the neighbouring islands; by whom colonized: foundation of Syracuse.

Of the remaining islands in the Mediterranean, the description and history have been hitherto deferred, with the view of being enabled to give a more connected detail of the last, by not commencing it until a period at which more transactions had taken place in them. Here, then, the reader's attention may be called to the most important of them, Sicily: an island situate off the toe of Italy, and extending from thirty-five degrees, forty minutes north latitude, to thirty-eight degrees, thirty minutes; and in longitude from thirty-five to thirty-nine; anciently known by the names of Sicania, Sicilia, and Trinacria: the two former borrowed from the Sicani and Siculi, who peopled a great part of it, and the last from its triangular figure with three promontories. On its fertility little need be said, as it is so generally known, that it was anciently termed the granary of Rome; and that to this day are found in it the products of various countries, as in their original seminary. The most prominent natural feature of this island is Mount Ætna; the circumference of it is said to be seventeen miles, and its ascent eight. The lower parts are very fertile, the middle shaded with wood, and the top covered with snow great part of the year. The principal rivers are the Terius, now the Tavetta; the Himera, now the Salso; and the Halycus, now the Platani. Off the north coast of Sicily, in the Tuscan Sea, lie the Æolian isles, in number seven; except Lipara, now Lipari, and the present Strombolo, anciently Strongylæ, mostly uninhabited, and mere rocks. The first of those mentioned is the largest and best peopled; it is eighteen miles in compass, its soil very fruitfull, and containing great plenty of allum, sulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, formerly much frequented. The other is about ten miles in compass, and the soil equally fruitfull; but the whole country has been frequently laid waste by eruptions from a mountain in the island. The islands called Ægates, or Ægades, to

the north of Cape Lilybœum, are three in number; Phorbantia, now Levenzo, Ægusa, now Favignana, and Hiera, now Maretano. From the fable of the Cyclopes, and the gigantick bones that have been found in Sicily, it appears not improbable, that some of its earliest inhabitants were from the coast of Palæstine, ere the sons of the giants were yet extinct. The Sicani, from whom the island took one of its names, are said to have been from Spain; and the Siculi, who bestowed on it the most lasting denomination, were indisputably from Italy. The Phœnicians likewise made early settlements on the coasts. The first Greeks that arrived there were some Chalcidians from Eubœa; these, in the course of another year, were followed by Archias the Corinthian, who laid the foundations of Syracuse: and in process of time a number of Greek colonies settled in the islands. By these and their progeny, with some emigrants from Italy, and some from Africa, was the island at length peopled. Of the nations which inhabited it, previous to the coming of the Greeks, very little history has been preserved. Both the Sicani and Siculi had at first as many *reguli* as towns, which all became at length subject to one common prince. The former people sunk under the power of the Carthaginians; but the latter, after appearing to be entirely reduced by the Syracusans, recovered their independence, and maintained it until they became subject to the Carthaginians; and being by Timoleon, the Corinthian, delivered from their power, they again enjoyed it for a time. But the fame of these ancient inhabitants of Sicily was totally obscured by that of the Grecian colonies, which settled in the island; of which the most eminent was Syracuse, and the history of this will contain the most material transactions of the rest.

History of Syracuse: reigns of Gelon, Dionysius the elder, Dionysius the younger; dethronement of the latter by Timoleon. B. C. 485.

Syracuse, then, has by some been supposed to have been first governed by kings, though they soon gave way to a democracy; but nothing remaining of what passed there for two hundred years, this account of the transactions in it must commence with the reign of Gelon; who being a citizen of Gela, and signalized for his success in a war between that city and Syracuse, seized the government of the former; and then, by the help of some Syracusans, exiles, made himself master also of the latter; and this, by conquests on the

neighbouring states, he raised to such power, that his alliance was sought by both Athens and Sparta; and, on a most formidable attack made by the Carthaginians on Himera, then in possession of the tyrant of Agrigentum, Gelon's son-in-law, he was enabled to attack, and by a stratagem, rout, and either kill, or take the whole of an army of three hundred thousand. In the peace, for which this defeat induced the Carthaginians most humbly to sue, Gelon inserted a condition most highly to his own honour; viz. that the Carthaginians should in future abstain from human sacrifices. After the conclusion of this peace, Gelon submitted the whole of his conduct to the judgment of the Syracusans, by whom he was pronounced their benefactor, and hailed their king; having till then assumed no more than the title of prætor; and a publick decree was passed, settling the crown, after his decease, on his two brothers, Hiero and Thrasybulus. In return for this confidence, Gelon's study during his short reign was to make his subjects happy by his regulations, and virtuous by his example; and he was, at the end of seven years, succeeded by his brother Hiero; who commencing his reign badly, afterwards proved a good and successfull prince; and having set on the throne ten or twelve years, during the latter part of which, especially, his court was the resort of men of wit and learning, whom he invited by his affability and liberality, died. This prince had an unworthy successor, in his brother Thrasybulus, whose injustice and cruelty excited a rebellion so general, that, after reigning ten months only, he was compelled to resign the crown, and retire into Italy: when popular governments were established in all the cities that had been subject to his jurisdiction; and under these they continued for threescore years. During this time ambition in some citizens, and jealousy in the rest, disturbed the publick tranquillity: yet the people were prosperous in their wars. They reduced the Siculi, and concluded a war with the Leontines, by an union with that people; and though both in this, and in the war which, beginning between the cities of Egesta and Selinus, was the cause of bringing the Athenians against Syracuse, they suffered much; yet at length, as has been already related, success attended them; of which they proved themselves undeserving, by whipping and putting to death

the captive generals of the enemy, and the relentless cruelty they manifested towards the rest of their prisoners. The Egestines, thus deprived of all assistance from their Athenian allies, next engaged the Carthaginians in their cause. These sent into Sicily an armament commanded by Hannibal, the son of Gisco, by whom the city of Selinus was taken and destroyed; and that of Himera met with the like fate. About this time Hermocrates, who had signalized himself against the Athenians, returning from exile, into which he had been by an opposite faction unjustly driven, came to Syracuse; and, having surprised one of the gates of the city, was by the adverse party slain, with the little army he had brought with him, and all who had favoured him were condemned to perpetual exile; and among the rest his son-in-law Dionysius, who afterwards amply revenged himself. Their success in Sicily encouraged the Carthaginians to pursue the purpose they had long entertained of subduing the whole island, and they accordingly sent a very large force under Hannibal and Hamilcar, who entered on this task by the reduction of Agrigentum. Many fugitives from thence to Syracuse raised great disturbances in this last, by accusing the commanders of its forces with betraying their cause. For so great was now become the licentiousness of the populace, and to such maturity had arrived the natural fruits of democracy, that the worthiest citizens had either abandoned their country, or kept themselves in private, through fear of persecution. In this state of things the accusations of the Agrigentines were supported by the Dionysius above mentioned; who having signalized himself in a battle against the Carthaginians, had returned from banishment, and so gratefull to the populace were the reflections which he threw out against the most opulent and powerfull citizens, that having deprived their generals of their commands, among those they substituted was Dionysius himself. This first step made, the crafty demagogue, by inveighing against all who could obstruct his designs, gradually brought them into disgrace with the people; and then, under a most plausible pretext, obtained the recall of the exiles, who had been banished from the city. His next measure was that of gaining the soldiery, by rewards to those under his own immediate command, and a

promise to all that their pay should be doubled. His complaints against the other generals being on a proper opportunity renewed, the foolish populace instantly elected him commander in chief with unlimited power. Invested with this authority, he caused a decree to be passed, for doubling the pay of the troops; and having by hypocritical devices obtained a guard for himself of a thousand men, and further secured the army to himself, by dismissing those officers who were not well affected to him, and replacing them by such as he could trust; after these preparatory measures he seized the citadel of Syracuse, and publickly assumed the title of its king. In the mean time the Carthaginians having totally destroyed Agrigentum, made themselves masters of Gala and Camarina, which occasioned a revolt in Syracuse, quickly however repressed by Dionysius, with whom the Carthaginians were induced, by the great ravages the plague had made in their troops, to conclude a peace; by one of the articles of which the Syracusans were to continue subject to the tyrant. This last having repressed another revolt, and taken the additional steps he deemed necessary to secure his power, made several foreign conquests, adding to his dominions Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Ætna, Enna, and other cities. Then thinking himself firmly seated on the throne, he exerted himself in making most extensive preparations for a war on the Carthaginians, a measure to which he easily gained the assent of the people of Syracuse. And when his armaments were ready, without awaiting the return of the herald he had sent to Carthage to offer the alternative of war, or the evacuation of Sicily by their troops, he took the field; and, by a vigorous siege, took Motya, where the Carthaginians had deposited all their stores and provisions; but when the Carthaginian army arrived in Sicily, the place was soon recovered; and Messana taken, and utterly destroyed. But in their attempt to take Syracuse itself, the Africans were foiled; and Imilcar, their commander, carried back with him to Carthage only his Carthaginians; a disgrace which led him to deprive himself of life. Dionysius, freed from the presence of the enemy, re-built and re-peopled Messana, gained one victory over the Rhegians led to attack it, and another over Mago, the Carthaginian, who had advanced to it; with whom he also concluded a treaty, by which

the Carthaginian ceded to him Taurominium. Elated with these victories he determined to take vengeance on the Rhegians, and laying siege to their city, reduced it, after a most valiant resistance, by famine; indulging his detestable cruelty on the brave commander of it, Phyto. After his military exertions, Dionysius, highly conceited of his own powers as a poet, endeavoured to obtain the palm for versification, sending his composition to be read at the Olympick games; but here, the expression of contempt at them was so unequivocal, that it threw the tyrant into so deep a melancholy as to affect his understanding. To divert this melancholy, he had recourse to his favourite purpose of expelling the Carthaginians from Sicily, which led to one battle in his favour, and a second against him, when he accepted peace on the conditions proffered him. But drinking to excess at a feast he gave, for having gained the prize of poetry at Athens, his surfeit brought on restless nights; for which desiring his physicians to give him an opiate, they gave him a dose so strong that he never woke again; and thus, whether designedly or not, rid the world of a tyrant of eminent abilities, and nefarious character. To him succeeded his son of the same name, who, having received no education, began his reign with making his palace a scene of debauchery; when Dion, the brother of one of his father's wives, persuaded him to invite Plato to his court, who made a very favourable impression for a short time on his mind. But the tyrant being by the flatterers of his vices persuaded to banish Dion, he became jealous of Plato's friendship for him; and, after placing the latter in an honourable kind of restraint for some time, sent him home. Afterwards, however, he solicited, and, by a promise of recalling Dion, prevailed on the philosopher to return. But again quarrelling with him, he after some time gave him leave to return to Athens, and then abandoned himself to the most shamefull enormities; and to his other iniquity added that of giving the wife of Dion to another man. This roused that great man to attempt his dethronement; having succeeded in which, he met from the citizens of Syracuse that base ingratitude with which the mob are so easily persuaded to repay their benefactors; yet he perfected their deliverance. But was soon after assassinated with the most detestable

treachery by Calippus an Athenian, who aimed at, and succeeded in making himself master of Syracuse; where he perpetrated greater cruelties than any before him. Yet divine vengeance soon overtook him; for the Syracusans seizing an early opportunity of revolting, he found refuge in no part of Sicily; but passing over to Rhegium, he was there slain, with the same dagger with which he had murdered Dion. In the command of Syracuse he was succeeded by Hipparinus the brother of Dyonysius, who held it two years; after which that tyrant himself regained possession of his dominions, ten years from the time in which he had been expelled. But his sufferings had only inflamed his passions; and such was his conduct that the Syracusans, being again menaced by the Carthaginians, applied to the Corinthians for assistance, who sent Timoleon to deliver them. In which expedition he succeeded; first receiving Dionysius to surrender, he sent him to Corinth, where he passed the remainder of his life in disgracefull poverty; and then driving the rest of the contenders for the tyranny from the city, he levelled the citadel, and all the forts which the several tyrants had erected to keep the citizens in awe, and restored them to their liberty. But as he found Syracuse almost desolate, he sent to Corinth for a supply of inhabitants; and collecting himself a multitude both from Italy, and from other parts of the island itself, he raised Syracuse as it were from the grave. This point obtained, Timoleon proceeded to clear Sicily of the many tyrants who held the people in subjection; and having set the whole island at liberty, he established at Syracuse a democratick form of government. This knight-errant of democracy then sent a strong detachment of troops into the parts of Sicily subject to the Carthaginians, with orders to plunder all the cities which refused to renounce their alliance with that people, and join them. By these righteous means he raised a sufficient sum to discharge the arrears of his soldiers, and prepare for the war he had in contemplation. When a Carthaginian army arriving in Sicily, he defeated it with an astonishing disparity, and used his success with the greatest moderation. This overthrow produced from the Africans immediate application for peace; the terms of which were quickly settled by concession on the parts of the applicants.

The disturbances at Syracuse lead to another tyranny: reign and death of Agathocles.

Thus released from the fear of the Carthaginians, Timoleon turned his arms against the tyrants, who had again raised their heads, making short work of their destruction: after which he withdrew into retirement, in which he passed the last eight years of his life; highly honoured by the people of Syracuse during them, and deified after his death. For twenty years the Syracusans enjoyed the fruits of Timoleon's victories; but his favourite form of government produced its usual fruits, and daily disturbances called forth a new tyrant by name Agathocles, the son of a potter of Syracuse, remarkable for the beauty as well as the strength of his person, and for his dauntless courage; who, after various adventures, was appointed commander in chief of their forces by the Syracusans against Sosistratus, whom they had driven from the city for seizing the government of it; but the Carthaginians, who espoused his cause, manifested such signs of his sinister intentions, that an order was issued for his death: when he, escaping from this, and having assembled a considerable army, the Syracusans, dreading a civil war, recalled him: after which, by the usual arts of demagogues, and pretending to protect the people against the oppression of the senate, he obtained from the former the appointment of commander in chief a second time; when he led his army into the city, and for two whole days and nights gave it up to the ravage of his troops; and the third, assembling the few citizens left, he hypocritically uttered an intention of retiring into private life, now he had delivered them from their oppressors, but suffered himself to be over-ruled by their wishes, and was with one voice proclaimed their absolute monarch. Having gained the affection of the common people by two most iniquitous measures, the abolition of debts and an agrarian law, Agathocles turned his arms against the neighbouring states, and, in the space of two years, brought the greater part of the island under his power. To stop his progress, the Carthaginians sent into Sicily an army, by which Agathocles was defeated, and besieged in Syracuse; but thence with an admirable boldness of enterprise, he transported an army into Africa; while in his absence Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general in Sicily, after having raised the siege of Syracuse, brought all their allies under subjection; but returning to make another

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attack on the city itself, was defeated, taken prisoner, and having been first barbarously treated, put to death. Great at first was the success of Agathocles in Africa; from whence, on hearing of the revolt of most of the cities in Sicily, he returned with two thousand men, and in a short time was acknowledged for sovereign by the whole island, except some few cities subject to the Carthaginians. On his return to Africa, however, he found his son had lost a battle, and his troops ready to revolt for want of provisions. This distress induced him to attack the enemy's camp; and, being repulsed, he was deserted by all his Africans: on which he determined to leave that country; but having on his first arrival burnt all his ships, he resolved to depart privately with a few friends and his younger son, leaving there his eldest, Archagathus, of whom he had long been jealous: but this last getting notice of his design, divulged it; when the soldiers running to arms seized Agathocles; but being thrown into confusion the following night, by a report of the advance of the enemy, Agathocles had an opportunity of getting on board a small vessel, and putting to sea, when the disappointed soldiers immediately put his two sons to death; and, choosing leaders for themselves, concluded a treaty with the Carthaginians; by which, for the sum of three hundred talents, they were to surrender all the places they held in Africa; such men as were willing were to be taken into Carthaginian service; and the rest to be sent to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. Enormous were the cruelties committed by Agathocles on his arrival in Sicily; and in two years time he again reduced under subjection to him all the cities, but those which the Carthaginians had formerly holden in the island, and by the restoration of which he had been obliged to purchase peace of that people. He afterward added the Brutii, in Italy, and the Lipari islands, to his conquests; and, at length, died by a poisoned tooth-picker, in the ninety-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign.

State of Sicily after the death of Agathocles. Pyrrhus invited into Sicily, soon

After the death of this execrable tyrant, the Mamertini, whom he had brought into Sicily to assist him, seized the city of Messana, and putting all the men to the sword, married their wives and daughters; and then, reducing most of the neighbouring states, extended their

dominions to the middle of the island. In Syracuse, in the meantime, tyrant succeeded tyrant; and the Carthaginians, favoured by these distractions, reduced most of the cities subject to that state, and at length invested the capital itself; which led to the inviting of Pyrrhus of Epirus into Sicily: who, by the affability of his behaviour, at first made himself popular with all the Sicilians, and was attended with great success against the Carthaginians. But on this success changing, his behaviour, his arrogant and unjust proceedings, estranged from him the minds of the Sicilians; until, by the leagues formed against him, the desertion of his troops, and the great force sent into the island by the Carthaginians, he was induced to accept with joy an invitation to return to Italy. On his departure, Hiero, a descendant of Gelon, who had distinguished himself under Pyrrhus, was invested by the people of Syracuse with all civil and military power; and so conducted himself in this charge, that seven years afterwards he was declared king, by the unanimous consent of the citizens. When thus enthroned, he was engaged in a war, which he had hitherto carried on with success against the Mamertines; but uniting himself with the Carthaginians, and the Romans embracing the opposite party, he was by the last defeated; when, unjustly suspecting his new allies of having betrayed him, he retired to Syracuse. The rapid success of the Roman arms in Sicily the next year induced the king to make proposals of peace; on which a treaty was concluded, by which Hiero was received as the friend and ally of the Romans, who engaged to protect his dominions, on his restoring his prisoners, and paying an hundred talents of silver. Henceforth Hiero, secure under the Roman protection, saw no war in his dominions. During the interval between the first and second Punic wars, he assisted the Carthaginians in the contests they had with their mercenaries; and, at the same time, attended to such internal regulations in his dominions, as promoted the tranquillity and happiness of his subjects. In the second Punic war he proved a most faithfull and serviceable ally to the Romans: nor did he in this act impoliticly; for had Carthage subdued her rival, Syracuse must have fallen under the African dominion. As the generosity of Hiero was great, he spared no expense either in fortifying or ornamenting

disgusts the Sicilians, and leaves the island. Hiero placed on the throne of Syracuse; his reign; and the short one of his grandson, Hieronymus. Syracuse besieged and taken by Marcellus: all Sicily subjected by the Romans, and reduced to a province.

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his capital; the care of both which he committed to the great Archimedes. Very numerous were the vessels he built for the exportation of corn. The singularly large galley which he presented to the king of Egypt, has been already mentioned. This munificent monarch survived until the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign.

Hiero devised his crown, by will to his grandson Hieronymus; who, taking a directly contrary course to that of his grandfather, was in himself vicious and cruel, and broke off the alliance with Rome, and concluded a treaty with Carthage. But scarcely was this concluded, when the vicious prince was assassinated by a band of conspirators; and after a variety of turns in affairs, some just, and some very iniquitous executions, two of Hannibal's emissaries, Syracusans by descent, contrived to be chosen prætors. These did all in their power to embroil the Syracusans with the Romans; and, at length, by a long course of craft and deceit, they made themselves masters of Syracuse, put to death all the other prætors but one, who saved himself in the Roman camp, and ruled the city as arbitrarily as any tyrants before them. By their influence all treaty with the Romans was refused; on which Marcellus, who had been sent to command the Roman forces in Sicily, finding that, from the manner in which the walls had been furnished with engines of defence by Archimedes, he could not, without great loss, take the city by assault, turned the siege into a blockade, during which the war was carried on with various success by the Romans and Carthaginians in other parts of the island. At length Syracuse was taken by assault, and the chief defender of it, Archimedes, murdered by a Roman soldier, for the booty, he supposed, he had about him.

After the fall of Syracuse, in the course of two years, the whole island of Sicily was brought into subjection by the Romans, and made one province; but suffered to enjoy its ancient privileges, and retain all its former rights.

Ancient history of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

So very little of the ancient history of the remaining islands in the Mediterranean is handed down to us, that they can be here not much more than mentioned. The European islands of Sardinia and Corsica underwent nearly the same fate in their change of masters.

The former had been some time in the hands of the Carthaginians, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the Romans; and in the consulship of himself and C. Duilius, Cn. Cornelius Scipio invaded it, and made himself master of the whole, or of far the greatest part of the island. It afterwards returned, but how it does not appear, under the dominion of its former masters; but was seized by the Romans in a most arbitrary manner, between the first and second Punic wars. But, two years after, the inhabitants attempted to throw off the Roman yoke; yet, after a like period, the consul, Sp. Carvilius, by one battle reduced the island; and, in three years more, it was, with Corsica, reduced into a Roman province. As to the latter island, being colonized as before related, it appears to have fallen very early into the hands of the Carthaginians. It was called by the Greeks Cyrnus; and had a fine harbour, named Syracusium, with two considerable cities, Aleria, built by the Phocæans, and Nicæa, by the Etruscans; the former of whom, though they gained a naval victory over the Carthaginians and their allies in the reign of Cyrus, were obliged to abandon Corsica to them. The Roman consul, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, took it, previous to his attack on Sardinia; but afterwards revolting, it was subdued by the consul, C. Licinius Varus. The following year, however, it was again in revolt, and again subdued; and three years after, with Sardinia, reduced to a Roman province. The last-named of these islands lies between eight and ten degrees of east longitude; and between thirty-nine and forty-one of north latitude; bounded on the north by the strait which divides it from Corsica; by the Tuscan Sea on the east; by other parts of the Mediterranean on the south and west; and is about an hundred and forty miles long, and sixty broad; a warm country, but not deemed healthy. The soil is fruitfull in corn of all sorts; and no less fertile in fruits. It breeds vast herds of large and small cattle; while its mountains yield great quantities of metals and minerals. Of its neighbour, Corsica, report is not so favourable; for it is said to be in general so woody and mountainous, and the soil so dry and stony, that few things grow in it but by dint of labour. Though some parts of it produce good corn, wines, figs, almonds, &c. and some pastures, too, support

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numbers of cattle; and the forests plenty of deer, and other game. The air is unwholesome. This island lies between Sardinia and the coast of Italy; and is computed to extend in length about an hundred and ten Italian miles, and eighty in breadth.

Malta.

Of the islands on the African side of the Mediterranean, history has found little to preserve: neither of the most important of those which may be called intermediate, that is, Malta, is more recorded, than that it was, for a considerable time, subject to the Carthaginians, and in the second Punic war was taken by the Romans; nor does it appear to have been restored, as part of the African dominions of the former, at the peace which closed it.

CHAPTER VI.

The History of Carthage, Numidia, Mauritania, the Interior Africa, and Arabia; to the end of the Period.

Africa Proper described.

THE establishment of the Macedonian empire, over so great a portion of Asia, during the present period, having given occasion to an alteration of the course in which the history of the countries of that quarter of the globe have been reviewed; there yet remains to be considered the transactions which occurred in all the civilized parts of Africa, to the west of Egypt and Cyrene; and in the peninsula of Arabia, ere this compilation will be complete, to the beginning of the Christian æra. Proceeding due south from the island, with the mention of which the last chapter was concluded, we land in the Proper Africa: a region bounded on the west by the river Tusca; by the Mediterranean sea on the north; by the frontiers of the Garamantes, and the desarts of Lybia on the south; and the Mediterranean on the east. It extended in latitude nearly four degrees, from thirty-three degrees, thirty minutes, to thirty-seven, twelve: and in longitude above three; from eight to eleven degrees, twenty minutes, east longitude from London. In a country like this pieces of water form interesting objects; and, therefore, neither the lake known to the ancients by the several names of the Palus Tritonis, the Palus Pallas, and the Palus Lybia, which extends near twenty leagues from east to west, or the lake Hipponitis, which was navigable, should pass unnoticed. The most eminent river of the Proper Africa was the Bagrada, now the Mejerdah; on the western bank of this river stood Utica; and, at

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some distance from it, on the eastern, Carthage. Besides this there are the Catala, now the Miliana; and the Triton, now the Gabbs. In this region are several hot springs, a salt lake near Tobulba; and near the eastern end of the lake of Marks, a mountain of salt as hard as stone, and of a reddish colour. There are too, found in it some very rich lead ores.

History of Carthage continued.

The history of Carthage has been already brought down to the reduction of a great part of Sicily by their celebrated general Machæus, or Malchus. On the conclusion of this war they made an unsuccessfull attempt on the island of Sardinia. Enraged at this the Carthaginians passed a sentence of exile against both Machæus and his army; this the general and the troops returned, by besieging and taking Carthage; when the former put to death ten of the senators, who had been most strenuous against him. But afterwards, endeavouring to subvert the constitution of his country, he was himself put to death. The first treaty with the Romans has been already mentioned, nor will it be necessary to repeat any particulars of the Carthaginian history, which have already been given (and they are many) in the history of Rome. Mago succeeded Machæus in his employments, introduced military discipline among his countrymen; and through the extension of its dominions, the increase of its commerce and riches, and military glory, and the countenancing of virtue only, he left the state in a most flourishing condition. In his offices, as well as in the exercise of the same virtues, he was succeeded by his sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar; the former of which was slain, in another endeavour to reduce Sardinia: and, about the same period, the Carthaginians were foiled in an attempt to deliver themselves from the tribute, which they were bound to pay the native princes of Africa for the ground on which their city stood. Of their transactions in Sicily much has been already stated, in the history of that island; nor has their treaty of alliance with Xerxes been passed unnoticed. Probably ere the time now spoken of, the Carthaginians had gained some footing in Spain; this, it has been already observed, originated in their being requested to assist the Tyrian colonists of Gades; when they subdued nearly the whole province in which that city stood. This success encouraged them to attempt the

subjugation of the whole of so rich a region; but the brave resistance of the natives rendered their progress slow, and the greatest part of it remained unsubdued until the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal. But the Balearic islands appear to have been taken possession of by them, at the period of their expedition to Gades. In compliance with their treaty with Xerxes, the Carthaginians attacked the Greek colonies, in both Sicily and Magna Græcia; in the former of which, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, their general, laid siege to Himera, with the ill success that has been already stated in the Sicilian history; where, too, is mentioned the treaty of peace to which their defeat by Gelon led. During the interval between this and the next transactions recorded of the Carthaginians in Sicily, they greatly extended their frontiers in Africa, by victories over the Moors, Numidians, and others; and, by shaking off the tribute which they had so long paid, rendered themselves quite independent. With the people of Cyrene they had, about the boundaries of their states, contests so protracted and sanguinary as nearly exhausted both parties; but were at length settled by an agreement, that each city should appoint two commissaries, to set out from their respective towns on the same day, and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary; the Carthaginian deputies were two brothers, called Philæni, who advanced much more rapidly than the Cyrenians; by whom they were accused of commencing their journey ere the stipulated time. When the Philæni desiring the others to propose some expedient for settling their difference, these proposed, that the Carthaginians should either recede, or suffer themselves to be interred alive on the spot to which they had advanced. To this the Philæni most unexpectedly agreed, and for their self-devotement for their country's interest the Carthaginians raised to their memory two altars on the spot, and paid them divine honours.

Transactions of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

After the war which the Athenians so rashly waged with Syracuse, the Carthaginians were invited into Sicily to the assistance of the Egestines. Hence arose a dreadfull war between the Egestines and Carthaginians on the one hand, and the Selenuntines and Syracusans on the other; the event of which has been already stated;

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though the cruelties perpetrated by the Carthaginians were not, for brevity's sake, detailed. On the return of their commander in Sicily, who was Hannibal, the son of Gisco, the Carthaginians received him as a general who had performed greater things, in a time so short, than any one before him; and proceeded to furnish another expedition for Sicily; of which, too, mention has already been made. While this was preparing, they planted a colony in Sicily; which, from the hot-baths near which the city was built, the Greeks named Therma. The treaty with Dionysius, by which this war in Sicily was closed, the subsequent infraction of that treaty by the tyrant, and the events by which it was attended in Sicily, need not here be repeated.

Insurrection of the Africans. Singular pestilence at Carthage. Attempt of Hanno, and destruction of him and his family.

The plague which broke out in their army before Syracuse, was the great impediment to their completing the conquest of Sicily, by the reduction of that city; while the news of the defeat, which followed, filled the Carthaginians with despair; and at the same time encouraged their African confederates, whose troops had been sacrificed before Syracuse, to take arms against them. But, though in the first battle they defeated the Carthaginians, and obliged them to retire behind the walls of their city, yet having no general to command or provide for them, they soon began to want provisions, and to disagree among themselves; and many of their leaders being bribed by the Carthaginians to desert, the privates withdrew to their respective homes; and thus relieved Carthage from one of the most menacing dangers to which it had ever been exposed. Mago, who had been left in Sicily to take care of the Carthaginian interest there, treated all who were subject to his country with mildness, received all who were persecuted by Dionysius, and entered into alliance with several cities; but was defeated by that tyrant. Yet his countrymen thought him worthy to be entrusted with another army; when, meeting with but ill success, he concluded a peace with Dionysius, as has been mentioned in the Sicilian history. The subsequent war, and its conclusion, to the advantage of the Carthaginians, has been there also related. A few years after this, a fearfull pestilence thinned Carthage and its neighbourhood; the disorder was marked with violent fits of phrensy; and, it is suggested, continued for several

years. From a treaty, concluded about this time with the Romans, it appears, that both that people and the Carthaginians applied themselves with great diligence to commerce. The contest supported in Sicily against Timoleon, need not here be repeated. It was after the close of this, that a design was formed by Hanno, the most powerfull and opulent citizen at that time in Carthage, to poison all the senate at an entertainment, and seize the government. But being foiled in this, and in an attempt to carry his final object by force, he retired, with twenty thousand armed slaves, to a strong castle; and hence, applying without success to the Africans and Mauritanians for assistance, he was, at length, taken prisoner; and, after much cruel usage, publickly executed; his children, and all his family, being likewise sentenced to death.

The cautious conduct of the Carthaginians towards Alexander of Macedon. Bomilcar defeated in his purpose of seizing the government. Treaty of peace with Agathocles. Pyrrhus in Sicily. First Punic war, followed by that of the mercenaries.

The Carthaginians having found themselves unable to assist their parent city, Tyre, against the Macedonian conquerour, and alarmed at his progress in conquest westward, chose an individual of singular eloquence and address to sound the intentions of that prince. He represented himself to Alexander as banished by political cabal, and begged leave to attend him in his expeditions; having obtained which, he is said to have done signal service to his country by his communications. In the time of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of all Sicily, except that city, to which they laid siege. The bold step which Agathocles then took, and the cruel meanness with which he deserted his army in the desperate situation into which he had brought it, in which last part of his conduct he has been so closely imitated by the Corsican usurper of our own days, the reader has already seen in the history of Syria. While this unprincipled adventurer was in Africa, a Carthaginian, named Bomilcar, then holding the highest employment in the state, endeavoured to seize the government of the city; but, though he hesitated not to employ the most sanguinary measures, he failed; and, having laid down his arms, on a promise of indemnity, confirmed by oath, was put to a publick and most cruel death. During a temporary absence of Agathocles from Africa, great was the progress made by the army which he left there, under his son Archagathus. Yet his success was short-lived; for a body

of his forces which had penetrated into the parts of Africa beyond Numidia, having met with a serious check, the Carthaginians recovered from the state of despondence into which the defeats received from his father had thrown them; and, changing their measures, drew back their allies that had deserted them, relieved Carthage from want, and obliged the enemy to divide his forces: when, two bodies of these being cut off, Agathocles, who had been informed of this reverse of fortune by his son, returning from Sicily, and being not only defeated in an attack on the camp of the Carthaginians, but losing four thousand men by an unfounded alarm, arising in part from a fire which broke out in the camp of his enemies, who lost, in the disturbance occasioned by it, five thousand; he took the determination of deserting his army, as above related; which was followed by the death of his sons, and the dissolution of his army, already likewise stated. The treaty then made with his troops the situation of the affairs of Agathocles at home compelled him to ratify; with an additional article, by which all the cities they formerly possessed in Sicily were restored to the Carthaginians. Of the distractions in that island, and the contests between the various adventurers that combated for the sovereignty of Syracuse, the Carthaginians failed not to take advantage, for the extension of their dominion in Sicily; and their apprehensions of Pyrrhus induced them readily to renew their treaties with the Romans: while, to that monarch, they, under the pretext of offering their mediation, sent an embassadour to sound his intentions with regard to Sicily. What they suffered from him in that island, and their recovery of their losses, have been already set before the reader, as well as the circumstances which led to, and the most material particulars which took place in the first Punic war. By the treaty which put an end to this, the Carthaginians were entirely excluded from Sicily, and all the small islands between that and the Italian coast. But no sooner were they released from this sanguinary and unsuccessfull war, than they were involved in another with their own mercenary troops, who insisted on the pay due, and the rewards promised to them; neither of which the state was, at that time, able to advance. To arms, consequently, recourse was had, on the part of the mercenaries; and

all the cities of Africa, but Utica and another, joined the revolt. The extent of it, the fury with which it was carried on, and the obstinacy with which it was continued, reduced the Carthaginians to a state of distress little short of despair. While their past oppression of the Africans under their dominion, inflamed the hatred which had now begun to manifest itself; and their very impolitick conduct, at the commencement of the mutiny, increased the violence, and ensured the continuance of it. Still they did not quite despond, but apppointed Hanno, who had already distinguished himself in their service, commander of all their forces: but in this employment, though he defeated one body of the mercenaries, he betrayed so great a want of judgment, that he was superseded by Hamilcar Barcas. Who by two victories over the enemy, and the clemency which he exercised after them, so alarmed their leaders that they endeavoured to deprive their troops of all hopes of mercy on surrendering, by exciting them to the nefarious measure of murdering all their prisoners. This produced on the part of Hamilcar the shocking retaliation of throwing all his prisoners to wild beasts. In the mean time Sardinia became totally lost to the state, on which great was the distress of their armies for provision; and the only two cities which had preserved their allegiance, Utica and Hippacra, entered into alliance with Mathos and Spendius, the leaders of the mercenaries, who thereon laid siege to Carthage. Disagreements having taken place between Hamilcar and Hanno, who was continued in command under him, the latter was recalled, and Hannibal sent to succeed him, when affairs quickly mended; and the want of provisions was relieved by application to Hiero king of Syracuse, as has been noticed in the history of his reign. The Romans, too, sent back all the prisoners yet remaining in their hands, ordered their merchants to supply Carthage with what it wanted, and prohibited all commerce with the Africans; while these last were so harrassed by Hamilcar, that they found it requisite to raise the siege of the capital. At length, their main army was surrounded by Hamilcar, and reduced to the alternative of perishing by famine, or eating one another. In this extremity of misery, after having devoured their prisoners and their slaves, and begun on their

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comrades, they offered to surrender; but, from a suspicion of having been betrayed, again taking arms, they were either cut to pieces or trodden to death by elephants, to the number of more than forty thousand. Many of the revolted towns now returned to their allegiance; but the Carthaginian generals having invested Tunes, into which Mathos had retired, he, in a sally, took Hannibal, and crucified him, on the very same cross on which Spendius had from Hamilcar suffered the same punishment; and with him thirty Carthaginian prisoners of distinction. This disaster roused the Carthaginians to still more vigourous exertions, by which Hamilcar was enabled to defeat Mathos, with the loss of almost his whole army; and quickly after taking him prisoner, all the revolted towns, but Utica and Hippacra, returned to their duty; and by the reduction of these, an end was put to a war, which, from the enormous cruelties committed in it, acquired the name of the inexpiable war. The wretched Mathos, by a painfull and ignominious death, ended a life, polluted with the blackest treachery and the most nefarious barbarity.

Hamilcar extends the empire of his country in Africa; projects and begins the conquest of Spain. On his decease is succeeded by Asdrubal; and he by Hannibal; whose attack on Saguntum leads to the second Punic war. Hannibal made prætor of Carthage; and afterward obliged to leave his country.

It was during this war that the Romans, who seemed to be so much the friends of the Carthaginians, by taking possession of it finally deprived them of the island of Sardinia. On the other hand, Hamilcar, by his conclusion of the African war, extended the conquests of Carthage in that country: while, to put his native city on a level with her imperious rival, he projected the entire conquest of Spain; whither, being sent as commander-in-chief, he, in the course of nine years, subdued several warlike nations; and at last fell at the head of his troops. To him succeeded, both by the choice of the army and the authority of the senate, his son-in-law Asdrubal; who, to secure his predecessor's acquisitions, built a city, which, from its advantageous situation, and great commerce, afterwards became very considerable. It was then called the new city, or Carthage; and has now the name of Carthagena. The alarm which the Romans conceived at the progress of the Carthaginians in Spain, and the treaty to which they, in consequence of it, required them to consent, have been noticed in the Roman history. Although Asdrubal took care not to pass the limits specified in this treaty, he made himself master of Spain, from the western ocean to the Iberus; and

after he had been eight years in this command, was publickly assassinated. Three years before his death, at the request of Asdrubal, Hannibal, though not without great opposition from Hanno, the inveterate enemy of the Barchine family, was sent to him. He was then twenty-two years of age; and discovered extraordinary courage and magnanimity. From his first appearance in the army, all perceived that he meditated a war against the Romans. His patience in labour was invincible; his temperance surprising; his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and his disposition equally suited to command or obey. These qualities gained him so fully the confidence of the army, that, on the death of Asdrubal, they saluted him general; and both the senate and people of Carthage ratified their choice. His first step was the reduction of Althæa, the capital of the Olcades, a nation near the Iberus; by distributing the plunder of which among his troops, and paying them all their arrears, he so firmly attached his soldiers to him, that they were absolutely at his devotion. The next year he prosecuted his conquests; and, by a very great victory over a much more numerous army of the Carpetani, one of the most powerfull nations in Spain, he prepared the way for the attack of Saguntum; which was the commencement of war with the Romans. For, while Hannibal was before Saguntum, where a wound he received impeded the progress of his operations, deputies from Rome made a fruitless application to him in favour of that city; while other embassadors, requiring to know, whether the senate and people sanctioned the proceedings of Hannibal, were sent to Carthage; and, on the answer they received, declared that war, which, under the name of the second Punic, has been already detailed; and which, after continuing eighteen years, was concluded, by the peace which Scipio dictated in Africa. This peace, however, did not mitigate the jealousy which the Romans entertained of Hannibal. That able general having made some campaigns against the enemies of his country in Africa, the Romans refused to release the remainder of their prisoners, as long as he continued at the head of an army; on which he was called to Carthage, and appointed prætor; in which post he so corrected the abuses that had crept into the management of the finances, and the

administration of justice, that he acquired the esteem of the people; and drew on himself the hatred of those who had enriched themselves by those abuses. By these the Romans were incited to send embassadors to Carthage; though under other pretences, in reality to procure his ruin. To avoid the consequences of this persecution, he privately left Carthage, and retired into Asia to Antiochus the Great; his deeds in whose service, as well as his death, have been before mentioned.

Third Punic war. Destruction of Carthage; which was at length rebuilt, and became a flourishing city. B. C. about 146.

After the departure of Hannibal, the few years that preceded the war which ended in the destruction of Carthage, were passed in aggressions on the Carthaginians, by Massinissa king of Numidia; and unavailing complaints of the former to the Roman senate; and in domestick disputes between the factions by which their city was rent. The malice of the Romans, taking every advantage of these things, at length displayed itself openly in the commencement of the third Punic war; which left nothing to be afterwards recorded of Carthage by the pen of the historian. The treasure carried off by the conquerour from this city, even after the plunder which was given to the soldiers, amounted, it is said, to no less than four millions, four hundred and seventy thousand pounds weight of silver. About twenty-four years after the destruction of this wealthy metropolis, C. Gracchus led thither a Roman colony of six thousand citizens; but the town then erected, appears, from the short time in which it was built, to have consisted of little more than huts. That Julius Cæsar rebuilt Carthage has been already stated; and in the time of Tiberius it had become equal, if not superior, to any city in Africa; and of this last it was considered the capital, for several centuries after the Christian æra.

The region of the Syrtes described.

The region, bounded by one Syrtis on the east, and by the other on the west of its northern limits, forming, at first, part of the dominions of Cyrene, and afterwards of those of Carthage, yields no separate materials for history. It was inhabited by various tribes, of which the most considerable were the Cinethii, Gindanes, Macœ, and Lotophagi. It was bounded by the Mediterranean on the north; and on the south by the country of the Nasamones and Sahara, or Desert. A great part of this tract was a perfect desert; but the rest

produced corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree, and the smaller plant of the letus. From their use of which for food, the most considerable tribe of the tract was denominated. The principal river of it was the Cinyps, which arising in the country of the Macœ, emptied itself into the Mediterranean.

Numidia described.

On the western side of Africa Propria (for the history of Cyrene has been already brought down to the end of the present period) beyond the river Tusca, presents itself Numidia, extending westward to the Mulucha. On the north it was bounded by the Mediterranean, and on the south by part of the interior Lybia; and thus extended about five hundred miles in length; while the medium of its breadth must have been about seventy. This tract, while Carthage existed, contained two considerable nations, the Massyli and the Massæsyli. The capital city of the Massyli was Cirta, a place of very considerable note with the ancients, and a fortress of great strength; which, too, appears to have been a city of great antiquity, founded by the Phœnicians, previous to Dido's arrival in Africa. The sea-coast of this province was mountainous and rocky; and inland it was diversified with a beautifull intermixture of hills and plains, which grew less capable of culture as it approached the great desert. The most remarkable rivers in the country of the Massyli were the Ampsaga, which separated it from that of Massæsyli; the Armua; the Rubricatus; and the Tusca. In the district possessed by the Massæsyli, the rivers most noted were the Audus, no longer to be found; the Sisaris; the Nissava; the Serbetis; the Sarus; the Chinalaph. In this tract were several Roman colonies at length planted; and in it stood a very considerable city, named Carjenna; probably of Phœnician origin. It was, too, amply furnished with salt-pits, and hot springs; and is said to have one entire mountain of salt. The inhabitants of this country, not subdued by the Carthaginians, formed little independent principalities; and were principally worshippers of the sun and moon. Some of their tribes lived in fixed habitations, consisting of huts composed of hurdles, plastered with clay, or of similar slight materials. Others dwelt in tents formed of hair-cloth, oblong, and resembling the inverted bottom of a ship; encamping and removing as they wanted pasturage like the modern Bedoweens.

The Numidian cavalry, in which their military strength principally consisted, rode without saddles, and many of them without bridles; managing their horses with a rod or whip. In their mode of living they were temperate and abstemious; excepting in the number of their wives and concubines. The succession to the crown, in Numidia, was continued to the king's brother, not to his own son. The Numidians, who inhabited the open country, were a rude and illiterate people; but as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians seemed to have formed no small portion of the inhabitants of the most considerable cities and towns, the same arts and sciences as were known by those people, must have prevailed in them. The original inhabitants of this region preserved, it has been remarked, one primitive custom, that of computing their time by nights instead of by days.

History of Numidia.

As to the transactions in Numidia during the present period, very little remains to be added to what has already been occasionally mentioned, in either the Roman or the Carthaginian history. After the victory obtained by Hamilcar over the mercenaries, the vengeance taken on the Numidians for assisting them, excited in that people an implacable hatred against the Carthaginians. But in the year before the commencement of the Christian æra two-hundred and thirteen, Syphax, king of the Massæsyli, having contracted an alliance with the Romans; Gala, king of the Massyli, concluded a treaty with the Carthaginians. Hence began a war between the Numidian monarchs, which was waged with various success and great change of connection; until, by the assistance of the Romans, Massinissa, the son of Gala, reduced the kingdom of Syphax; and this last prince being taken prisoner by the Romans, died in Italy. Yet his son Vermina was assisted by the same people to take possession of his father's throne; part of the Massæsylian kingdom being given to Massinissa as a reward for his fidelity to them. Massinissa was between eighty and ninety years of age, when by bringing Asdrubal and his army into an hopeless situation, he obliged the Carthaginians to accept a disgracefull peace from him, just before the third punic war broke out: the reserve on their intentions concerning which, observed towards him by the Romans,

offended him so much, that when applied to for a body of troops to act with theirs, he answered, they should have a reinforcement from him when they needed it. Yet on his death he left his kingdom and estate to be disposed of for the benefit of his children, under the absolute direction of Scipio Æmilianus. His dominions at that time extended from Mauritania to the western borders of the Cyrenáica; and among many of the inhabitants of them, he had introduced civilization. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Micipsa, in whose reign is recorded to have occurred a pestilence, occasioned by the stench of the dead bodies of a multitude of locusts; which having first devoured all the produce of the ground in great part of Africa, were carried by the wind into the African sea; out of which they were cast in vast heaps on the shore. By this plague perished, in Numidia, eight hundred thousand men. Of the sons of Micipsa, and the treatment which they received from both Jugurtha and the Romans, an account has already been given, as well as of the conquest of that most nefarious prince and his dominions, by the Romans; and of his capture, and his death. The next Numidian monarch in actual possession of any part of the country, of whom we read, was Hiarbas, taken prisoner by Pompey; whose dominions the conquerour gave to Hiempsal, a descendant of Massinissa's. To him succeeded his son Juba, who adhered so closely to the party of Pompey, having received previously a personal affront from Cæsar. In consequence of this, and his success against the forces of Cæsar, he received from the Pompeian faction the title of king of all Numidia.* After which, uniting all his forces with those of Scipio, he reduced Cæsar to very great difficulties; but being called to rescue Numidia from the ravages of P. Sittius, he could not be prevailed on to return to the assistance of Scipio, until the latter had promised him all the Roman dominions in Africa, if they could but expel Cæsar from them. This immediately drew the generous

* This generous hero of Mr. Addison's, having placed a great number of Roman prisoners upon the walls of Utica, caused them to be pierced with darts; though Varus, the Roman commander with him, did his utmost to prevent this inhuman massacre by the amiable young prince, whose character differed so widely from that of Cæsar's.

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youth to Scipio, on whose defeat he fled back to Numidia, without waiting the approach of Cæsar; but none of his subjects being willing to receive him, he in despair caused himself to be slain by one of his slaves. Cæsar now reduced all proper Numidia to a Roman province. And though Bocchus and Bogud still preserved a kind of sovereignty among the Massæsyli and in Mauritania, and during the civil wars arranged themselves on opposite sides; after the death of the former of these, Mauritania and the Massæsylian Numidia, were in all respects considered as Roman provinces; Bogud, who had sided with Antony against Octavianus, having been driven out of his dominions. And thus is the history of Numidia brought down to the close of the period.

Mauritania described.

On the west of the Mulucha, which river was the western boundary of Numidia, lay the country of Mauritania or Maurusia, extending westward to the Atlantick ocean; bounded on the south by the inner Lybia; and on the north by the Mediterranean. From east to west it ran about two hundred and forty miles; and from north to south about four hundred. The name of this region is derived from its ancient inhabitants, the Mauri, descended propably from Mizraim, by his son Lud, among whom were afterwards intermingled other tribes; and, it is particularly asserted, that some of the Canaanites, expelled by Joshua, took refuge there. Tingis or Tingi, the metropolis of the country, and from which it was after denominated Tingitania, was a city of great antiquity, built, it is intimated, before the time of Joshua; and the modern Tangier is supposed to stand on the site of it. The rivers of this country are the Mulucha or Malva; the Thaluda, a navigable stream; the Zelis; the Lixus; the Subur, large and navigable; and the Sala. Among the principal mountains of Mauritania, are to be ranked Abyle, called also by various other names; and by the ancients esteemed one of the pillars of Hercules, and thought to be that on the African shore of the straits, now termed by the English Apes' Hill. A mountain called the Seven Brothers, Mount Cotta; the remarkable chain of hills called Mount Atlas, which has been said to separate the fertile country from the desart, and consists of a number of hills, four, five, or six hundred yards in their perpendicular

height, of easy assent, and with several groves of fruit and forest trees rising one behind another, with here and there a rocky precipice of superior eminence, and difficult access; and upon the side or summit of it a mud-walled village of the Kabyles. The islands lying off the coast of this country, in the Atlantick ocean, worthy of notice, are the Purple islands, the natives of which were celebrated for dying that colour. They have been supposed to be the present islands of Madeira and Porto Santo; and the Fortunate islands, now the Canaries, from the ancient name of one of them, Canaria, so called from its being overrun with dogs of an enormous size. The vines, grapes, reeds, &c. of Mauritania, towards its southern border, were of a prodigious size; and the canes growing in Ombrios, one of the Fortunate islands, have by some been conceived to be sugar canes. Despotick monarchy prevailed in Mauritania; the objects of the idolatry of the natives of it were the Sun, the Moon, and Neptune; an idol supposed to have obtained its name from a word signifying, the king of the sea-coasts, as Napthuhim did the people of them. They offered human srcrifices; and, it is said, numbered Bacchus among their deities. The language of Mauritania differed from that of Numidia, but as a dialect of the same original tongue. The Mauritanians, until they learned the use of the sword from some of their invaders, fought only with clubs. All persons of distinction among them were sumptuously clad; they took great pains in cleaning their teeth, and curling their hair. The shields used by their infantry were made of elephants skins, and they themselves clad in those of other wild beasts. The poorer Mauritanians were strangers to husbandry, but roved about like the wandering Arabs.

History of Mauritania.

As to the history of Mauritania, passing over the farrago of tales about Neptune, Antæus, and Atlas; the Mauri were, by the most ancient Greek writers, viewed only as a branch of the Lybians. Bocchar, king of Mauritania, is represented as having assisted Massinissa, the son of Gala, king of Numidia, with a body of troops to recover his father's crown. Bocchus, father-in-law to Jugurtha, appears, by what has already been said of him, to have been a perfidious prince. History is silent as to any other particulars of the

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Mauritanian affairs until the time of Bogud, who was cotemporary with Julius Cæsar. He contributed not a little to the success of the latter in Africa: he enabled him, also, to gain the victory of Munda in Spain. After the dictator's death, he took part with Antony against Octavianus. But while he was employed in favour of the former in Spain, the Mauritanians revolted from him; and, by the assistance of a body of Spaniards in the interest of Octavianus, and some of Bocchus's troops, defeated him on his return; which put Bocchus in possession of his kingdom; and this was afterwards confirmed to him by Augustus. Bogud was at last killed by Agrippa at Methona; and, after the decease of Bocchus, Mauritania was reduced to a Roman province; and, consequently, its history would be henceforward identified with that of the Roman empire; but that Augustus gave it, with part of Gætulia, to the younger Juba, soon after his marriage with Cleopatra, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra; and Ptolemy, surnamed Selene, his son by her, succeeded him. After the death of this prince, by order of the emperour Caius, Edemon, one of his freed-men, assembled a body of forces in Mauritania to revenge it; but a Roman army being sent into that country, it was, at length, delivered entirely into the hands of the Romans, and divided into two provinces. Here, therefore, ends its separate history; which, running so little beyond the end of the period, it was not worth while to divide.

The Gætulians.

There being so little upon record of the nations of the interior Africa, which were known to the civilized world at this period, they may be spoken of all at once; nor is there occasion to notice more than the leading tribes, which were the Gætulians, the black Gætulians, the Negroes, and the Garamantes. The first of these were situate immediately to the south of Numidia and Mauritania. Until the time of Jugurtha, they lived principally in tents; but they had some cities, at least afterwards. Their country was, for the most part, sandy and desert, interspersed with the several fruitfull spots: for there were in it four rivers of some note; the Subus, the Salathus, the Gir, and the Niger. The part of the Atlantick Ocean washing the Gætulian shore, produced a vast quantity of the purple fish. The Gætulians were some of the most ancient inhabitants of

Africa; supposed by some to have originally migrated from Arabia; though they must have degenerated even from the degree of civilization on that peninsula, since they were extremely rude and barbarous; without any form of government, laws, or manners. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle; and roved about the country, taking up their lodging wherever night surprised them. Of their religion no account at all is preserved; but their language bore a near resemblance to the Oriental tongues. As to their transactions, the first mention made of them is, that a corps of them served under Hannibal in the second Punic war: Jugurtha taught them some military discipline. Some few circumstances in which they were concerned, have been already mentioned: nor are there any other to be added.

The black Gætulians lay in a district south-east of the proper Gætulia; and their complexion evinces, that they are a distinct people from the inhabitants of this last. So dry is their country, that for water they are obliged to sink wells to the depth of a hundred fathom; and, it is said, sometimes to twice that depth; where a kind of slate is found, immediately over the water, which last the natives not insignificantly term, *the sea below ground*. This stone is no sooner perforated than the water rises with extreme rapidity. This people had many towns, not far from the banks of the Niger; and, it has been asserted, that they were derived from a branch of the family of Cush. The various dialects in use among them bear an affinity to the Chaldee, Arabick, and Egyptian, tongues. Of this people the Carthaginians had some knowledge, as there were in their armies Nigritian troops; they used scythed chariots in their wars, and were armed as the western Æthiopians, with bows and arrows. The black Gætulians.

To the south side of Gætulia, and to the east of Nigritia, were the Garamantes situated, whose country seems to have extended to the borders of the Proper Æthiopia; but was not of any very considerable breadth. The region abounded with wild beasts, and so savage were the men of it, that they fled at the sight of one of another nation. They were, too, entirely destitute of arms; neither had they courage to defend themselves if attacked; yet in course of The Garamantes.

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time they built towns, the principal of which was Garama, near Mount Girgiris, whence arose the Cinyphus, Debris, and Matelgæ, by which rivers their country was watered. They carried on some trade with the Carthaginians, Æthiopians and Arabs, and Persians; through which channel, it has been concluded, that the first of these obtained the vast number of gems which they are said to have possessed. Some of the Garamantes roved about the desert as the modern Bedoweens, others lived in towns; the former supported their frugal life by hunting. This region, as well as Nigritia, seems to have been originally peopled from Egypt and Æthiopia; and from some of the most perfect mummies it is evident, that the features of the ancient Egyptians much resembled those of the negroes. In common with other Lybian nations, the idol Ammon was the great object of their idolatry. Among them matrimony existed not, the commerce of the sexes being casual and promiscuous. They were at first governed by heads of tribes; but afterwards monarchy appears to have taken place among them: and in process of time, too, they seem to have overcome their great timidity; yet, though they increased to a large and powerfull nation, scarcely any transactions among them are transmitted to us. Massinissa, when expelled from his dominions by Syphax, took refuge among them. Under the reign of Augustus, L. Corn. Balba had a triumph for subduing them; but they afterwards threw off the Roman yoke, and their king joined Tacfarinas; but after his death they made their submission, and probably their country was from that time a part of the Roman empire.

Nigritia, &c.

A number of obscure nations were spread over the country between the Niger and the line, of which the names alone have been transmitted by the ancient geographers. But the vast tract occupied by them comprehended both Negroland and Guinea, and all the country to the equinoctial line; and of that of the first of these, Nigritia formed a part: the negroes in the earlier ages going under the general appellation of Æthiopians. The history of the Proper Æthiopia, that above Egypt, now Abyssinia, has been already brought down to the close of the present period: not stopping, therefore, in this country, let us pass over the Straits of

Babelmandel, and cursorily review what passed in Arabia, from the first of Cyrus to the same epoch.

History of Yaman resumed.

The history of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, was suspended at the succession of Amran, the son of Amer; to this monarch succeeded his brother Amru, surnamed Mazikia, or the Tearer, because he every night tore in pieces two garments which he had worn the preceding day. After Amru, Al Alkran, the son of Abimalec, governed Yaman; on whose decease Dhu Habshan, the son of Akran, took possession of the government. Tobba, or Tobbaa, the son of his predecessor, succeeded Dhu Habshan. After the death of Tobba, Calaicarb, or, by other accounts, Molaic Yacrab, ascended the throne. The succeeding monarch, Abu Carb Asaad, is mentioned in the Koran; he lived seven hundred years before Mahomet, adorned the Caab with hangings of tapestry, and first introduced Judaism among the Hamyarites. It is said, that he was put to death by his subjects. Hassan Tobbai, his son and successor, cut off all his father's murderers, and was at last himself slain by his brother. His son Amru Tobai, was surnamed, Lord of Wood; because he was so infirm, during the whole course of his reign, as to be carried about in a wooden chair. Abd Celal, the son of Dul'awad, succeeded to the government after Amru Tobbai; Tobba, known by the name of Tobba the less, was the successor of Abd Celal: and here we seem, at least, to have reached the Christian æra; here, therefore, the history of Yaman must be suspended. As the time of one singular event is however contested, the greater number of writers placing it as early as the days of Alexander the Great, though some assert it occurred not until after the commencement of our æra, it may be best noticed here.

Inundation of Al Arem.

Saba, whose reign has already been mentioned, raised a vast mound to stop the water which flowed from the mountains in the neighbourhood of the city, which he built and named from himself; and thus formed a very extensive reservoir to supply the inhabitants of his city, and to keep the country, which his ancestors had subdued, in subjection, by rendering himself master of their water. This mound, which was so solid that many houses were built on it, was, by an extraordinary flow of water, broken down in the night,

and the flood swept away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people, and occasioned destruction so extensive, as to become proverbial.

History of the rest of Arabia, to the end of the period.

The kingdom of Hejaz, in Arabia, is said to have had princes of the line of Jorham, the son of Kahtân, for some generations before Ismael, who married Modâd, the daughter of one of those princes, and whose descendants, either by grant or force, got possession of the crown. After which the monarchy did not endure many centuries; the government being vested in the heads of the tribes, nearly as that of the desert is at this day. The tribe of Khozâah, after the inundation of Al Arem, fled into the kingdom of Hejaz; and, in a valley near Mecca, founded an aristocracy; assuming both the government of the city of Mecca, and the custody of the Caaba, or temple there; of which they continued masters until after the close of the present period. The ancient history of this region, however, should not be left without noticing how very independent of all other nations the inhabitants have ever been: short was the impression that any of the great monarchies made on them. Cambyses, the Persian king, was obliged to request a passage through their territories. Of Alexander, when at the summit of his power, they had so little dread, that they did not even send embassadors to him. Antigonus sent a detachment to ravage the country of the Nabathæans, which, after having succeeded through the suddenness of their irruption, were at length all cut off except fifty horse. This attack induced the Arabs to furnish their frontiers with watch-towers; the alarm given by which enabled them effectually to oppose his son Demetrius, sent by Antigonus to revenge the disgrace his arms had received; and they afterwards, by cutting to pieces the people he employed for collecting bitumen on the Dead Sea, put an end to that project of the monarch. Of the Roman expeditions into Arabia notice has been before taken; and, therefore, here may be finally closed the story of the world previous to the incarnation of its divine Saviour.

SIXTH PERIOD,

OR

THAT OF REVELATION;

CONTAINING SIX HUNDRED AND TEN YEARS.

Preliminary Observations.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS SIXTH PERIOD.

WHATEVER questions may have been agitated as to the exact year in which the blessed Saviour was born into the world, the Dionysian, or vulgar notation, having once been established, forms a standard, by which the æra of all subsequent events may be correctly computed. Yet it is worthy of remark, that the important events presignified by the inspired penmen, as to occur within this last age of the world, have their chronology fixed, not by reference to any human computation, but to occurrences so notorious as to afford certain determinate points, whence the periods mentioned may be reckoned without peril of mistake. Thus the space of time during which the first followers of Mahomet, or the Saracens, should prevail, is fixed at one hundred and fifty years. Now computing these from that in which Mahomet began to propagate his imposture (for the whole course of their conquests was, in reality, nought but a continuance of the propagation of his doctrine), the year six hundred and twelve, to the building of Bagdad, when the Saracens ceased from their excursive ravages, in seven hundred and sixty-two, the number of years amounts to that specified. In the same manner the rise of

Arrangement of the prophetick chronology of the period.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS SIXTH PERIOD.

the tyrant of the western church, whose usurpation has extended to the government of the universal church, is used as an epoch from which to compute the duration of the kingdoms of this world. And as those who believe the divine inspiration of the prophets, cannot doubt, that the twelve hundred and sixty years, during which the church is to continue in his hands, as the acknowledged head of it, will conclude at the expiration of that period, computed from the æra when he had conferred on him the title, and assumed the prerogatives of universal bishop; as correctly as the hundred and fifty years assigned to the prevalence of the Saracens did, from that of Mahomet's beginning publickly to propagate his doctrine; so to those who are without, the remarkable accuracy with which all the events, that have been previously chronologically specified by the sacred writers, have hitherto taken place at the seasons predicted, form an admonition of no small cogency to expect the same with regard to those which are yet future. And among those past events, that of the appearance of The Christ, the fact with which our present period commences, merits the most attentive consideration.

The fulness of time for the Messiah's appearance considered.

An apostle has observed, that when the fulness of time was come God sent forth His Son; and reflection will evince, that this observation applies not only to the revelation of the Saviour having taken place at the period at which the prophecies which went before concerning Him had pre-announced it should; but to various other circumstances which then united in rendering requisite the appearance of an authorized teacher of the truth. Sufficient of the predictions of the prophets of Israel had now been accomplished, to permit founding on the incontrovertible truth of them an irrefragable argument, that the Being who had revealed Himself as the Lord of all to that people, was the only true God, whose supreme power enabled Him to effect whatever He had declared by the words of His messengers. According to the predictions of these, the mighty empire of the Chaldæans had been overthrown, and its apparently inexpugnable metropolis reduced. The people of Judah had been by Cyrus, their deliverer predicted even by name, released from captivity, and their city and temple rebuilt. The Medo-Persian empire had been subjugated by the Macedonian conquerour; and

the Greek empire established and divided; and its divisions at length subdued by the Romans. These were notorious facts, plainly foretold by a prophet of Judah, who had been brought forward to the notice of the world by exaltation to a very high post under the Babylonian, and by continuance in it under the Medo-Persian empire; and of the occurrence of which the history of those times spoke in terms the most express. Fortified with the argument arising from these things, the disciples of the Christ could appeal before the Gentiles to those predictions which plainly announced the coming of One, through Whom should be made known to the ends of the world, that salvation which the one God and Heavenly Father of Jews and Gentiles had prepared for all the sons of Adam, who would embrace it. While such an interposition of the universal Father was required, by the depth of the corruption which so generally prevailed among them, a subject to which some consideration has already been given, in the preliminary observations to the period of Preparation; and in relation to which, therefore, no more shall here be added, than that the very debased state into which men must have sunk from the prevalence of idolatry and superstition, may be judged of by Pisistratus even in his day being able to pass on people, so acute as the Athenians, the very gross imposition of the goddess Minerva in person re-conducting that tyrant into the city; as has been mentioned in the history of Athens:* and by a man of Sylla's determined and undaunted spirit being such a slave to superstition, that he carried about him a little golden image of Apollo, which at an instant of great danger he took out, and thus addrest: "Great Apollo the Pythian, thou who hast granted Cornelius Sylla victory in so many engagements, and raised him to the highest pitch of glory; hast thou at last brought him to the very gates of his native city, to fall there ignominiously with his fellow citizens?" How shameless was the practice of the most detestable vices, the undisguised celebration of them by the most modest of the poets, the familiar mention of them without condemnation by moral writers sufficiently evince: while what the herd of those

* See Vol. 2, p. 74, in note.

denominated philosophers were, may be amply learned from the dialogues of Lucian. And how little their discoveries or their reasonings were adapted to the instruction of mankind in that doctrine of the utmost importance, which would have rendered unnecessary all the arguments which the Stoics so industriously put together to support men under the fear of death and the afflictions of life; that we are at present in a state of probation, in which must be acquired either by our own voluntary exertions aided by the Divine assistance, or by the discipline of our Heavenly Father, those dispositions which are requisite to fit us for existence in a better and permanent state, may be inferred from the uncertainty which prevailed as to the existence of either a moral Governour of the world, or of another state, in which the good habits here acquired could be exercised. And to perfect the fulness of time, there now converged, as it were in a focus, all the predicted particulars of the promised Saviour's appearance. The end of the Jewish polity, before which Israel himself had prophesied that the expected messenger of God should come, now approached. The threescore and two weeks, at the expiration of which Daniel had foretold, that the Messiah should be cut off, were now drawing to a close; and the appearance of the herald of the gospel, John the Baptist, announced the near approach of that Lord before whose face such a messenger was to be sent.

If the reader will endeavour to figure to himself the expectations raised by the concurrence of these circumstances in the breasts of those pious children of Judah, who had preserved their hopes of deliverance by perpetual reference to the writings of Moses and the prophets, he will discern, that their hopes must have risen to their greatest height, when John declared, that He, whose forerunner he was, already stood among them. And if he meditate awhile on the subject of those hopes, that it was not only Messiah, the King who was to reign in righteousness, and give deliverance to Judah and Israel, but that Seed of Abraham in Whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, nay, the promised Seed of the first woman, through Whom a victory was promised over him who had brought death into the world, he will not wonder at the readiness with which

the faithfull believers in the truth of Moses and the prophets received Jesus, or at the honours which they rendered Him. While further reflection will demonstrate, that even the prejudices of that part of the nation, who were obstinately bent on looking for a triumphant Messiah, contributed to place the justice of the claim of Jesus to the character in a still brighter light; since that claim was thence exposed to much stricter examination; and it became necessary, that the absence of all external signs of dignity should be compensated by the manifestation of inherent power. Neither did this prejudice against Jesus of Nazareth operate only during His ministry on earth, or solely in the country of Judæa: it raised opponents to the preachers of His gospel in almost every city of the Roman empire, where a synagogue of Jews was to be found. Hence among the Gentiles calumnies were raised against them, and adversaries excited, which otherwise would never have opposed them. But this, too, assisted in promoting the same most desirable end of establishing the faith of the converts on a foundation not to be shaken; they having digged deep for it, in thoroughly investigating the pretensions of the preachers to a divine commission. An historian of celebrity in our own time, justly viewing the promulgation of Christianity in the world, and the victory which it obtained over the established religion of the Roman empire, as particulars of very prominent importance in the story of the period on which we are entering, has dedicated a portion of his work to the exclusive consideration of "the progress of the Christian religion, and the sentiments, manners, numbers, and condition of the primitive Christians." In the course of this investigation he has enumerated five causes, as having conspired in promoting the rapid and extensive success of the doctrine. These, indeed, he states to have been secondary causes only; acknowledging the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and the over-ruling providence of its great Author for the primary. Still the manner in which he has dwelt on the former, and the apparent complacency with which, between his text and his notes, he has contrived to bring forward all the objections and cavils of Jews and Heathens, of ancient Apostates and modern Infidels, has induced a suspicion, and even brought on him the charge of being an adversary to

Christianity not much less bitter than Julian himself; while, like him, he betrays no small mistrust of the firmness of the ground on which he is treading. Now while charity will prompt us to entertain such a charge with caution, when the writer himself professes a contrary disposition, the tendency itself of what he has denominated secondary causes, is so evidently to impede instead of promoting the progress of the gospel under the acknowledged pretensions of its preachers, that it is scarcely consistent with candour to presume, that so able a writer could really think that the operation of them could render unnecessary that of those which he has mentioned as primary causes. For could the zeal with which the primitive Christians insisted on the doctrine, that there was no other name under heaven, by which men could be saved but that of Jesus only, could the unqualified manner in which they condemned the idolatry, the lascivious festivities, the inhuman sacrifices of the heathens, fail to raise against them an host of opponents? Many, as the reader has seen in the preceding pages, were those who were interested in the support of the established superstitions of the ancient Gentile world; many who derived from them both opulence and influence, priests and priestesses, augurs, artists, all their connections and dependants; besides the bigotted worshippers of departed spirits, feigned deities, and decorated images; these formed a multitude, zealous as the worshippers of the Ephesian Diana, or even as the makers of her shrines, to withstand those who proclaimed it to be the will of the One real Sovereign of the universe, that all men should leave these vanities, and no longer giving to others the honour due unto Him alone, thenceforth worship only the true and living God. The more vehement the preachers of the new doctrine were in pressing the reception of their tenets, the greater must have been the offence which they gave to those whose prejudices would be hurt, or interests affected by the success of it; and consequently could they not have produced satisfactory credentials of their heavenly mission, all their zeal, all the peculiarity of their doctrines, all the ardour with which they proclaimed them, would have rendered the imposition which they would then have been attempting, more difficult of success, instead of tending to secure it. Neither under less manifestation of

authority would the doctrine of a state of retribution, under which form they never failed to teach that of the immortality of the soul, (though the ingenious writer above-mentioned has not thought proper to state the very material particular, that this was by them never separated from that of the resurrection of the body) have contributed materially to aught but raising many gainsayers to them. All ideas of a future judgment were ridiculed by the then very prevalent sect of the Epicureans, nor were the Stoics less adverse to the doctrine of the body's returning from the grave. And though these last could not object to the assertion of the soul's immortality, and there were undoubtedly numbers who would listen to the notion of some kind of future retribution, yet from the popular doctrine of Elysium, and the motley crew by which it was filled, that of a separation from the company of those who were to be blessed with everlasting happiness, of all whore-mongers, murderers, and idolaters, and of every one that loveth and maketh a lie, was so widely different, as render it very far from probable, that it would bespeak for itself a favourable reception among those who were accustomed to the other. On the contrary, the pride of philosophy being alarmed at barbarians, as they were called, presuming to set at nought all its wisdom, all the acumen of the philosophers was likely to be employed in endeavouring to detect any vulnerable part in the new system, in investigating its doctrines, in examining its evidence: so that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, as it was really taught by the preachers of Christianity, could not much have facilitated their victory over the opinions which at that time had possession of the world. Nay, the ability of the disputants which it raised against them, formed a powerfull test of the value of another of the secondary causes enumerated by the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; which is, the miraculous powers claimed by the primitive church. For as the actual exercise of these formed a short and decisive argument of the Apostles and their fellow-preachers being authorized to declare the will of Heaven, and reveal the truths which they propounded; so, had their claim to them been false, from the very nature of it, its falsity could most easily have been detected; since by it they in truth made an appeal to the eyes and ears of all around them. And

as no man in his senses will believe, that if in the present age there was to arise a sect arrogating to themselves the same miraculous powers which the Apostles claimed, the imposture would not quickly be detected and exposed; so no one, retaining an unbiassed or unclouded understanding, will be persuaded, that in an age enlightened by literature and science, the disciples of Christ could have pretended to speak in a variety of languages, to restore at a word the sick to health, to open the ears of the deaf, give sight to the blind, and even to raise the dead, and not have had those pretences, if groundless, effectually refuted: especially, too, when their claims and their doctrines were of a nature to raise them so many adversaries. Much less would such a man be inclined to think, that they could have continued for a length of time undetected in their imposture, had they been guilty of one, under all the scrutiny of enemies the most inveterate, under all the investigation of magistrates the most severe, and at length have triumphed over all by the establishment of their faith as the publick religion of the empire; not by force, but through the multitude of converts which they had made to a doctrine, which insisted on men's purifying themselves from all iniquity, and living soberly, righteously, and godly in the world: looking for a recompense for the evils to which they exposed themselves by professing Christianity, only after an examination of the sincerity of their conduct by the all-penetrating eye of a divine Judge. That the virtues which this expectation of judgment led them to cultivate, might make an impression in favour of their doctrine on those who saw these genuine fruits of the faith of the Gospel, can scarcely be doubted. Still the renunciation of all the voluptuous indulgences of heathenism, and the rigourous self-denial to which the followers of Christ were called, were more likely to be admired than adopted; and if in a very corrupted world the pre-eminence of the virtue and the austerity of the morals of the Christians gained them some converts, they were calculated also to bring on them in the same the jealousy, the scoffs, the opposition of all who were proud of the much inferior degree of righteousness which themselves had either taught or attained; and of all who were unwilling to renounce those sensual gratifications, in which the slaves of idolatry are accustomed to

indulge without censure or restraint; and to make a generation, whose conduct they unsparingly reprehended, hate instead of love them. Neither was the last cause which this eloquent advocate of polytheism enumerates, the constitution of the church, free from a tendency to increase the number of its most active, determined, and dangerous enemies; by driving a portion of its members into apostacy, through the rigour of its discipline, and the severity of its censures. And apostates, experience sufficiently proves to be often some of the bitterest enemies of the tenets which they have forsaken. Had the Christian society then been founded on imposture, would none of these have betrayed the secret? or, when the Apostle Paul, in his second letter to the church of Corinth, appealed to the members of it in general for the truth of his having wrought miracles among them, in these plain terms; "Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds;" had this appeal been groundless, would none of those who envied his pre-eminence or despised his person (and that such there were appears from his own words) none of those whom by his apostolical authority he had censured, or who hesitated not to say, that his bodily presence was weak, have seized the opportunity of exposing his false pretences, his presumptuous claims; and thus have broken in at once upon the imposture, and prevented its further progress? That this was not done the permanent success of the doctrine evinces; that the strictness of the government of the church tended to effect it, could it have been done, is self-evident; and therefore this, like the other secondary causes, had not the Apostle's claim to miraculous powers been well founded, might have operated to the overthrow, instead of the establishment of Christianity.

State of religion.

The observations thus made on those five secondary causes; which it has been intimated tended so materially to the promotion of Christianity, will prove to the reader, that great were the difficulties opposed to that doctrine, of which the rise and establishment are particulars so prominent in the period of history on which we are now entering; and that, although in itself it most evidently tended to exalt the human species, by turning their minds from low pursuits and ephemeral gratifications, to the knowledge of their Creatour,

to a perception of the dignity of their own nature, and a sense of their high destination, to (in the words of the Lord of that gospel) open the eyes of the nations, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Justly contemplated, interesting, indeed, is the scene of a company of men setting out from a particular region of the earth, charged with a divine commission to notify to all nations the approaching establishment of a universal kingdom of righteousness and peace; teaching them that the God, of whose glory they had all fallen short, from whose worship they had all departed, had accepted a sacrifice for past transgressions against Himself; and now called on them all to participate in the benefit of it, by believing in the Mediatour whom He had appointed, and entering into covenant with Himself, and informing them of the laws by which, as His people, they must thenceforth walk; making known to them additional motives for accepting the proffered salvation, and crowning all by furnishing them with a permanent testimony of these things in writings, of a texture so peculiar and so admirable, that they of themselves execute the maxim of retributive justice, "to whomsoever hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; and from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he hath;" by continuing as a sealed book to all who will not unfeignedly exert themselves in the investigation of their contents; but proving to those who will earnestly and humbly study them, an inexhaustible mine of knowledge in the things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven; and contain a prophetick history of the church which they were founding, until the consummation of all things; thus supplying to all generations of its members an indisputable proof of their own divine inspiration in their possession of the gift of prophecy. In full correspondence with these writings, the reception of the Christian doctrine has been partial in the world, not only in respect to the numbers that have received it, but with regard to the manner in which they have embraced it. Many are the tares which have been sown among the righteous seed; and, as for the space of three hundred years the gospel met with the most strenuous opposition, and its disciples with the bitterest persecution; so, when through the head

of the empire becoming a convert to it, these were released from the last, the corruption of its doctrines quickly gave rise to others. For as in less than forty years after Solomon had built a most magnificent temple to the Lord, he reared altars to Chemosh, and other idols; so within a few years after Christianity was established, the false doctrine of Arius began to prevail, and absorbed in its vortex the heir of the empire. From that time the reader will have to remark on little else, among the professed followers of the truth, than continual increase of perversion of it; and in what has been denominated the external history of the church, the accumulation of the divine chastisements, and the execution of the predicted judgments on the Roman empire. He will observe how loudly the gross idolatry of the eastern churches called for the inflictions which the Mahometans executed on them; he will remark how in the Roman the endeavours to attract converts by accommodation, turned the Christian churches into idol temples, in some cases changing only the name of the image. For the gods of the ancient heathens were substituted the apostles and other eminent Christians; for the goddesses the virgin Mary and female saints; and to the household and tutelary deities of antiquity succeeded the patron saints of the superstitious believer in the gospel. Until, at length, the corrupted hierarchy found too a pontifex maximus in the bishop of Rome; and in the same potentate the states of the western empire a dictator, in the tyranny exercised by whom, and in the judgments brought on through whom, the divine indignation has been poured on apostate Christendom.

State of Geography.

The geographical knowledge of this period appears to have been enlarged with regard to the nations of the north, more than in respect to the other parts of the earth; though the labours of the eminent writers on the subject added also to the accuracy of the accounts of those regions which were already known: but for the great increase of science in this respect we must wait till the next period.

Prevalent empires.

Of empires, this period presents an history of decay rather than of growth; that of Rome having swallowed up all the states of the western world, the story of the former will naturally com-

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prehend those of the latter; and since the region from whence our review has in the preceding periods taken its commencement, will during the present form part of the Roman empire, with the relation of what passed in that empire, it may perhaps henceforth most properly begin. Arts, sciences, and literature in general, seem in the ancient world to have passed the period of their greatest vigour after the reign of Augustus; and, though their declension from that time was not uniform, yet few and brief were the seasons in which they seemed to recover strength; until, at length, by the continual and victorious invasions of the barbarous hordes that overran all parts of the empire, not only they themselves were swept away, but no small portion of their monuments buried.

Commerce.

As to the commerce of this period, while such a metropolis as Rome naturally afforded a mart for not only every necessary of life, but every article of luxury which human ingenuity could devise, or the labour of man produce; the trading city of Carthage again arose to eminence. The British isles exported tin, corn, lead, and horses; and in the latter part of it were laid the foundations of that commerce which flourished in the middle ages, and raised into powerfull states single cities, which largely participated in the profits of it; while in the reign of Justinian, by the introduction of some silk worms eggs, a raw material, which was before purchased from Asia at enormous price, began to be produced in Europe, and furnish means for the establishment of a manufacture which has since spread into every country of it.

As to the morals of the world, during the six centuries on the history of which we are entering, except the reformation wrought by the gospel in the small portion of mankind, who with integrity of heart embraced its faith, and complied with its precepts, (and which the reader will see was even in some of that portion but temporary), lamentable was the depravity manifested, until the corruption at length became so general, in the western world, as to require the general infliction poured on it; by a deluge not of waters, but of barbarians.

CHAPTER I.

The History of the Roman Empire resumed, and continued to the end of the Period.

CHAPTER I. SIXTH PERIOD.

Death of Herod, king of Judæa, and Lucius and Caius Cæsar. Augustus adopts Tiberius, who has great success in Germany. Insurrection in Pannonia and Dalmatia quelled; Varus and his legions cut off in Germany.

IT was in the seven hundred and fiftieth year of Rome, and four years prior to the commencement of the vulgar æra, that Herod, king of Judæa, dying, Augustus divided his dominions between his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. In the following year Tiberius being permitted to return to Rome, his hopes of succeeding to the empire were increased, by the death of one of the grandsons of Augustus, Lucius Cæsar. Two years after this a rebellion broke out in Numidia, which was soon quelled. But troubles of longer duration arose in Armenia; which kingdom the Parthians, in breach of their treaty, invaded; in his expulsion of whom, Caius, another grandson of Augustus, was treacherously stabbed, and, by the wound so debilitated both in body and spirits, that after he had placed Ariobarzanes, a Mede, on the throne of Armenia, he resigned himself to indolence, devolving the management of all his affairs on others. But after having at first declined complying with his grandfather's request, that he would return to Rome, in obedience to a more peremptory order, he began his journey, and having proceeded by sea to Lycia, he there died, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. The great grief of Augustus at this loss, Livia and Tiberius endeavoured to assuage; and so absolute a sway over him did the former then gain, that she prevailed on him to adopt her son, Tiberius. However, he conferred the same favour on Agrippa

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Posthumus, the third son of Agrippa and Julia, of whom, on account of the weakness of his abilities, and the badness of his temper, he had hitherto taken little notice. He likewise obliged Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, the son of his deceased brother Drusus, though he had one of his own. A conspiracy sufficiently alarming, at the head of which was Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, being now discovered, Augustus, by the persuasion of Livia, pardoned all concerned in it, as well as their leader, whom his clemency on this occasion attached to him most faithfully for the future. Tiberius was in the following year sent into Germany to complete the conquest of the country, when he reduced all the region from the present province of Utrecht to the Weser and the Lyppe. A dreadfull famine raging for two years in Rome, gave Augustus an opportunity of encreasing his popularity by the exertions which he made to relieve it: while he gained, too, much honour by receiving a request from the Parthians, wearied out with the disturbances they suffered from pretenders to the sovereignty of their country, to nominate a king for them, which he did in Venones, a son of Phraates, who had been sent to Rome. Tiberius in the following year pursued his German conquests with great rapidity, and carrying them to the Elbe, overran the nations of the Chauci, and the Langobardi: while Tiberius was thus employed, Augustus banished Agrippa Posthumus, his grandson. The subsequent year was marked by wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia: the armies that proceeded from the two last, after having raised considerable alarm at Rome, and committed sad ravages in other parts, were in their retreat defeated. And, in the next consulate, Augustus, on heavy complaints being made to him against Archelaus, deprived him of his government, and reduced Judæa to be a part of the province of Syria, making P. S. Quirinius president of the last, and Coponius procurator of Judæa. The power of life and death was restrained to the Roman magistrates. And all taxes were appointed to be paid to the Roman emperour immediately. The success of Germanicus in Dalmatia, and Tiberius's mild behaviour to one of the leaders of it, who had submitted, led to the extinction of nearly the whole insurrection in that province. The profligacy of the

Roman knights inducing them to neglect marriage, Augustus took measures to encourage wedlock; while his armies under Germanicus and Tiberius were again successfull in reducing Dalmatia and Pannonia, again in commotion. But in Germany a different scene was exhibited; since there Quintilius Varus, with nearly three legions, was cut off by a conspiracy of the natives, planned and prosecuted to effect by a young German nobleman of extraordinary abilities, named Arminius.

A share in the imperial power given to Tiberius. Death of Augustus.

When Augustus found himself, through the infirmities of age, no longer able to support alone the burden of the government, the senate passed, at his request, a decree granting to Tiberius the same authority over the provinces and the armies as Augustus himself held. The year after this the emperour, by a very severe edict, rendered the authors of libels subject to the penalties of high treason, a law which, under later emperours, was used as an instrument of the greatest injustice and oppression. Augustus being no longer able to attend the senate without inconvenience, a council of twenty senators was appointed to wait upon him; and to the resolutions passed by them with the consuls for the year, and the consuls elect, and his adopted son and grandson, was given the same force as to a decree of the senate itself. Having arranged matters as he wished at home, Augustus prepared to revenge on the Germans the loss of his legions under Varus; for which purpose Germanicus was ordered, with a numerous army, to invade those countries which Arminius had persuaded to revolt. By a census made, after Augustus had taken Tiberius into the censorship with him, the number of the Roman people, men, women, and children, amounted to four millions an hundred and thirty-seven thousand. Though Augustus declined in health and strength visibly and rapidly, he accompanied Tiberius, when he set out to assume the command of the army in Illyricum, as far as Beneventum, and thence went himself to Naples, where being taken dangerously ill, he began to return to Rome; but by the increase of his illness was obliged to stop at Nola, where he expired with great calmness, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and forty-third of his reign, from A. D. 12.

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the battle of Actium. By his will he nominated Tiberius his heir: his obsequies were performed with every honour, and he himself was deified.

Tiberius succeeds to the authority of Augustus: his good conduct at the commencement of his reign. Germanicus revenges the slaughter of Varus; excites the jealousy of Tiberius, to which at length he falls a victim.

After the performance of the farce of the senate's supplicating him to accept the empire, and his declining it, Tiberius was by the senate and people invested with the same authority which Augustus had enjoyed. Having shewn considerable ingratitude to his mother in suffering no publick honours to be shown to her, and still greater cruelty to his wife, Julia, in permitting her to perish for want, he endeavoured to engage in his interest his nephew Germanicus, whom he knew to be equally a favourite with the soldiers and the people. But these last he deprived of all share in the election of magistrates, transferring that privilege to the senate; who were well pleased at being relieved from the charge of buying votes, or the shame of begging them. The change of emperours gave occasion to the discontents at the length of service exacted from the veterans, to break out in the armies both of Pannonia and Germany; but the mutinies were quelled in both places; and the troops, after their ring-leaders had suffered for their misconduct, were brought again to obey their commanders Drusus and Germanicus; the last of whom, after having generously refused the offer of the empire from his army, indulged them with most cruelly ravaging the country of the Marsi, a tribe which dwelt between the Ems and the Lyppe. The conduct of Tiberius at the commencement of his reign, was that of a temperate, just, impartial prince, and of an indefatigable ruler, and preserver of good manners in the state. When Germanicus returned from an expedition which he conducted into Germany against Arminius, and to revenge the defeat of Varus, penetrating into the wood of Teuteberg in Westphalia, where that defeat took place, and burying the bones of the slaughtered legions; but though in one engagement he defeated the German commander, yet gaining on the whole no great advantage, though he lost a vast number of men, Tiberius confirmed to him the title of Imperator, which the legions had bestowed on him. But amidst all his efforts to gain popularity, and the acts of real generosity which he performed, he revived the law of treason

against libels, being exasperated at some bitter satires dispersed against himself. It was found requisite also to curb, by a decree of the senate, the insolence of the players, arising from the too great countenance given them by persons of rank. The jealous temper of Tiberius manifested in his severity against libels, betrayed itself, too, in his conduct towards Germanicus; whom, after he reduced that part of Germany which lies between the Rhine and the Elb, and was planning the conquest of the whole, he, under specious pretexts, recalled to Rome. Here he received him with great honour, and let him triumph over all the German nations he had subdued, though at the same time he resolved on his destruction. Various disturbances in the East soon afforded the emperour a favourable opportunity of removing the object of his jealousy from Rome. After the reduction of Cappadocia into a Roman province, which took place on the death of its king Archelaus, whom Tiberius having enticed to Rome, caused, on account of an old grudge, to be accused as a criminal before the senate; a disgrace which either broke his heart, or induced the unhappy monarch to lay hands on himself, died Antiochus king of Commagene, and Philopator king of Cilicia. The death of these sovereigns occasioned great disturbances in their countries; some of the inhabitants wishing to be taken under the Roman government, while others desired a king of their own. The provinces of Syria and Judæa made complaints to Tiberius and the senate, of the weight of their taxes. The Parthians also had driven out Vonones, whom Augustus had placed on their throne, and taken in his room one of the family of the Arsacidæ. These commotions the emperour considered as demanding the presence of Germanicus on that side of the empire; and a decree of the senate, investing him with great authority, was accordingly passed. But ere he went to his province, Asia Minor in particular, besides other regions, was visited by an earthquake, which overthrew or damaged a great number of cities, and gave Tiberius an opportunity of exercising his munificence; a virtue which he really possessed. Germanicus on his arrival in Armenia, with the approbation of the nobility, gave the crown of that country to Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus; an ally of the Romans. He then proceeded to Cappadocia and

Commagene, both which kingdoms he reduced to Roman provinces. After which he received embassadors from Artabanus, king of Parthia, to renew the alliance between the empires; and the next year went into Egypt, a step at which Tiberius did not hesitate to express displeasure. While his nephew was employed on that side of the empire, Tiberius's son Drusus, whom his father had sent into Illyricum, on account of a war between Maroboduus, king of the Suevi and the Cherusci, led by Arminius, was successfull in sowing feuds among the Germans. And both Maroboduus, and an opponent of his, named Catualda, being driven from their country, and recurring to the Romans for protection, the first passed the remainder of his life at Ravenna, and the other was conveyed to Forum Julium, now Frejus, in Narbonne. With the same policy Tiberius enticed to Rome Rhescuporis, a petty king of Thrace, who having murdered Cotys, had seized his dominions, and was by the senate banished to Alexandria, where he ended his days; and that part of Thrace was divided between Rhemetalces, the son of Rhescuporis, and the sons of Cotys. Germanicus, soon after his return from Egypt into Syria, was taken ill, recovered, but quickly relapsed, and died, it was supposed, as well by himself as those around him, by poison given him by Cn. Piso and Plancina his wife, who were thought to have been employed by Tiberius and Livia for this nefarious purpose. Whatever was the cause of his death, he was greatly and justly regretted by all his countrymen but Tiberius, Livia, and their sordid slaves. In the height of the publick grief, Livilla, the wife of Drusus, and sister of Germanicus, was delivered of male twins, to the great joy of their imperial grandfather. This year Arminius, by whom being inspirited to shake off the Roman yoke, the Germans long maintained their liberty against the Roman generals, fell by the treachery of his kindred.

Tiberius retires into Campania. Various insurrections take place.

Early in the consulship of Tiberius for the fourth, and of Drusus for the second time, the former, under pretence of his health, retired from Rome into Campania; and in his father's absence, Drusus so conducted himself as to gain the affections of the people. The Odrysians and other Thracian tribes having revolted from Rhemetalces and the guardian appointed to the sons of Cotys, committed

dreadfull ravages, but were defeated by P. Velleius. The Gauls being loaded with tribute, and oppressed by their governours, a partial insurrection took place among them; excited by a native of Treves, named Julius Florus, and Julius Sacrovir, a leading man among the Ædui, that is, the people of Autun. By the death of Florus, who, being defeated, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, slew himself, the insurrection of Treves was quelled; and Sacrovir meeting with the same fate, that of the Ædui was likewise suppressed. This year P. Sulp. Quirinius, termed by St. Luke Cyrenius, dying at Rome, was, by the desire of Tiberius, honoured with a publick funeral. An influence had long been gained over the mind of Tiberius, by L. Ælius Sejanus, the son of a Roman knight, commander of the prætorian guards; in which command Sejanus himself was joined, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. This ambitious favourite was strong in body, and bold in mind; alike fawning and imperious; and being, by the favour of his master, made the second man in the empire, he aimed at the sovereignty itself. With a view to the attainment of this, he endeavoured to secure the affections of the prætorian guards, of which he had, by his father's being sent into Egypt, become the sole commander, and which he, by the emperour's permission, united all in one camp; a step that was afterwards attended with most important consequences. He next gained a strong party in the senate; and what perhaps gave him still more influence, he is said to have brought over to his interest the wives of all the men of quality of Rome. In the meantime, the penetration of Tiberius seemed to have forsaken him; and he was ever extolling his favourite, and placing him nearer on an equality with himself. But Drusus complained of the preference shewn to Sejanus; who, being irritated at some indignities received from that heir apparent, debauched his wife, and, through her means, had him taken off by poison. Having thus far succeeded, Sejanus next applied himself to compass the destruction of the children of Germanicus; and seized an opportunity given him by Tiberius's rising jealousy of them, to persuade him, that a powerfull faction in favour of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and her children, was formed in Rome, which could be repressed only by cutting off one or two of the

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leaders of it. In consequence of which, false accusations were brought against those whom the favourite or his master wished to be removed; and the charges of treason, which had before been many, were multiplied by the undisguised encouragement which the informers received; and so well were the ends of the accusations discerned, that it became common for the accused to kill themselves, ere they were brought to trial. In the consulship of C. Corn. Lentulus and M. Asinius Agrippa, the inhabitants of Cyzicum were deprived of their liberty, which had formerly been granted for their services to the republick, because they had neglected the worship of Augustus, and committed some violence on some Roman citizens. Sejanus, intoxicated with his past success, ventured to ask in marriage of Tiberius, Livia, the widow of Drusus; but met with a refusal, conveyed in such terms, as excited in his breast considerable apprehensions; in consequence of which, he began to advise the emperour to retire from the noise of Rome to some pleasant place of retreat. The wild Thracians having taken arms, on account of the stoutest of their youth being taken to recruit the Roman armies, were, after a most vigourous resistance, compelled to submission by Poppæus Sabinus. Agrippina having, by the violence of her temper, offended Tiberius, Sejanus, to accelerate her ruin, privately suggested to her, that she ought to avoid eating at the emperour's table, poison being prepared for her; by following which advice, she offended him still more.

Tiberius retires from Rome: Pontius Pilate appointed governour of Judæa. Tiberius fixes his abode at Capreæ: Livia dies; and the family of Germanicus is persecuted.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Tiberius executed his long-intended purpose of leaving Rome: of this retreat several causes were assigned; but whatever was the real, he never revisited the city. An accident occurred soon after his departure, which increased his confidence in his worthless favourite,* whose counsels, however wicked, he thenceforth blindly followed. The same year in which these things happened, Pontius Pilate was appointed governour of Judæa, in the room of Valerius Gratus. The fall of an amphitheatre

* The accident was this: as Tiberius was supping in a cave at one of his villas, the mouth suddenly fell in, and buried some of his attendants; the rest alarmed, all but Sejanus left the emperour, and fled; but the favourite covered Tiberius with his body, and supporting with it the sinking roof, his master escaped unhurt.

at Fidenæ, and a great fire in Rome itself, gave new opportunities to Tiberius of manifesting his generosity, which he by no means neglected. But the good effects resulting from this were counterbalanced by the encouragement given to informers, by whom the most illustrious citizens were betrayed and persecuted; and through the prevalence of whom, and the fearfull effects of their accusations, true or false, a general dread and mutual distrust was diffused through the city. In the meantime Tiberius, detesting the publick eye, retired to A. D. 27. Capreæ, an island distant three miles from the Cape of Surrentum, and surrounded with inaccessible rocks; and its few stations for vessels such, that none could put in unperceived; and having on it twelve stately villas. In this retreat Tiberius divested himself of all concern for the commonwealth—sensual indulgence being his only care: still his jealousy and suspicion continued; which were, from private views, inflamed by Sejanus, and perpetually fed by the host of spies and informers employed in the city. The Frisians, provoked to resistance by the tyranny of their governours, during the consulship of App. Jun. Silanus and P. Sil. Nerva, shook off their yoke, and defeated L. Apronius and a considerable force under his command. Tiberius visiting the coast of Campania for a few days, during which his favourite appears to have received more adulation than himself, betrothed Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius, ordering the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome; and the following year died the emperour's mother, Livia. After her decease, the persecution of the family of Germanicus was openly pursued; Agrippina was banished to the island now called Santa Maria; Nero, her eldest son, to that of Ponza, where he quickly ended his days; and her younger, Drusus, was put into close confinement.

The fall of Sejanus, and subsequent cruelties and debaucheries of the emperour.

Sejanus having now risen to the very summit of power, and there being no access to honours but through him, he was more dreaded than Tiberius himself: when Antonia, the widow of Drusus, the emperour's brother, receiving private intelligence of the deep designs and secret practices of Sejanus, sent a letter by one of her most trusty domesticks to Tiberius, by which he was warned of his danger. Thus apprized, he became sensible of the difficulty of his situation; since the army and senate were filled with the creatures of Sejanus,

and even among the imperial attendants were some of his spies. With great address, however, he first, under the covert of heaping on him additional honours, removed Sejanus from Capreæ; he then, by shewing that his power with him was somewhat diminished, caused his friends to begin their desertion of the sinking favourite: after which he began to heap honours on Caius Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina; at which the rage and jealousy of Sejanus were thoroughly alarmed. But when, in addition to the emperour's mentioning him in his letters without the usual encomiums, he desired the senate to execute the decree against paying divine worship to a mortal; this being supposed, even by himself, to be done with a view to him; many who had professed inviolable friendship to Sejanus began to withdraw, for fear of being involved in his approaching ruin. The desertion of his followers, which now took place, determined the fate of Sejanus; for Tiberius, seeing him not so formidably supported, gave the command of the prætorian guards to another, and wrote to the senate to secure his person; when he was conveyed to prison, followed by the curses of those who, a few hours before, had adored his statues;* and the next day being declared guilty of high-treason, was condemned, executed, and his body dragged by the mob for three days through the streets of Rome: and his execution was followed by a general slaughter of his friends, as well as that of his guiltless children. The blood thus shed seems to have increased the thirst of Tiberius after it, and promiscuous was the slaughter which he made; while the executions he ordered were all preceded by torture of the unhappy wretches. The servility with which the senate complied with all his sanguinary orders, the continued and unrelenting cruelty of those orders, which converted the metropolis into a slaughter-house, (and under which fell, by famine, Drusus, the son of Germanicus, while his mother Agrippina perished by the same; but whether voluntarily or not, remains undetermined) and the horrid debaucheries in which the emperour

* For to this wretch altars had been reared, and to that height of folly had his arrogance risen, that he even joined his adorers; and, with impudence unequalled, offered sacrifices to himself.

was himself wallowing, while he issued his commands for the torture and death of so many innocent as well as guilty, form a contrast most striking to what was in the meantime passing in Judæa: whither the reader must now be requested for a short time to turn his thoughts.

The appearance of the Christ in Judæa.

It was at a time when the Jews, encouraged so to do by the writings of Moses and the prophets, were looking for the appearance of the Messiah, that Jesus of Nazareth was, by John the Baptist, pointed out as that character. How this declaration was confirmed by the circumstances of His birth, His miraculous works, and especially by His return from the grave, is detailed in the history of His ministry on earth, given in the writings of His immediate disciples. His appearance is noticed here solely as an historical fact, which not only connects this with the earliest part of the history of the earth, when a promise was vouchsafed of a victory through the seed of the woman over that adversary, by whose craft she had been seduced to bring on herself and her posterity the sentence of death; and which victory was most aptly demonstrated by the resurrection of One, Who had previously passed through such a scene of sufferings, that He might most justly be said to have eaten of the fruit of the ground in sorrow all the days of his life, and to have had his lower part bruised by the malice of the adversary of innocence and truth; but it is necessary to elucidate the subsequent portion of the story of mankind. For with this is so interwoven the progress of His doctrine, and the fortunes of that society of which He laid the foundation, and to which was quickly applied the name of His household, in its denomination the Church, that it cannot be even understood without frequent allusion to them. How much less then can a just notion be formed of the marked divine interposition, which since the veil of separation between Jew and Gentile has been removed, is no longer confined in its visible effects to the former, but has been extended to all nations, which by embracing the faith of Christ, have acknowledged their Creatour's performance of that promise which He vouchsafed to make unto the race, on their first parents forfeiture of life! Of the reality of this interposition, the unaffected lovers of truth have a

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perpetuated testimony, which has been given for their instruction, their guidance, and their support, under the specifick title of the Revelation of Jesus Christ; through which the predictions contained in the more ancient scriptures, relating to the last days of the world, have been so dilated as to form a prophetick history of His church, until the promised consummation of all things in the restoration of the Tree of Life, and the visible presence of God on a new earth, to all those who have not rejected His redemption. The contrast which the humility, the purity, the singleness of heart, and the benignity displayed in the life of Jesus, and His great object, the salvation of men, forms with the jealous pride, the sensuality, the duplicity, and the cruelty of Tiberius, delighting in the miseries and destruction of men, does indeed point out to us Jerusalem as the city of the Great King, and Rome as the seat of Satan; nor will the reader, in what remains to be related of this metropolis of the heathen world, find reason to induce him to think, that the prince of darkness has not continued to reign in it by his deputies, to the present day.

Death of Tiberius, and succession of Caius.

The diabolical life of Tiberius now drew toward its close: having passed his seventy-seventh year in such health as to ridicule those who called in medical assistance, he was at length taken ill on his return from the neighbourhood of Rome to Capreæ, when he dissembled his indisposition, and, under the declension of his strength, he exerted himself, and even affected to be gay in discourse: nor was the course of executions stopt by his illness: nay, he did not relinquish his scandalous debaucheries, or mention his distemper to a physician. He had, it should seem, by a will, made some time before, appointed Caius Caligula, the son of Germanicus, and Tiberius Nero, his own grandson by Drusus, heirs of the empire: but Caligula, apprized that his end drew near, and doubting of his favourable intentions toward himself, left nothing untried to secure the empire to himself by other means; and it being concluded that Tiberius, when he had only been seized with a fainting fit, was dead, he in haste shewed himself to the people to receive their congratulations, when the emperour so far revived, as to call for some refreshment; and that vengeance, which all who had betrayed

any joy at the report of his death very justly dreaded, was prevented by Macro's, as some say, causing the debilitated monarch to be smothered by a weight of covering, under the pretext of keeping him warm, while others ascribe the suffocation to his nefarious successor; and some writers acquit both, asserting that he expired through weakness. However this was, the news of his decease was received with great joy, and Caius immediately informed the senate by letter of his own accession to the empire.

The promising conduct of Caius at the commencement of his reign, and the lamentable alteration that ensued: he is at length slain by a conspiracy.

Caius Caligula, as the son of Germanicus, succeeded to the empire with the most avowed favour of the senate and people, and to continue this were his measures at first well adapted. He manifested great piety towards the memory of his mother and brother, great regard to his surviving relations, renewed several salutary regulations, and declared that he would avoid, as much as it should be in his power, the disorders of the late administration; and that he had nothing so much at heart, as to render his people happy. In the course of his first year, he restored the kingdom of Commagene to Antiochus, the son of the monarch of the same name, who had been driven from the throne by Tiberius; Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, he released from the confinement into which he had been thrown, and bestowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, with the title of king; sending Marcellus to govern the rest of Judæa in the room of Pontius Pilate, against whom the people of the Jews had preferred many grievous complaints. A peace was, by the directions of Caius to the governour of Syria, L. Vitellius, now concluded with Artabanes, king of Parthia, on conditions very advantageous to the Romans. In the midst of this publick good conduct, however, Caius was in private so intemperate, as thence to become dangerously ill; and the whole empire was alarmed for his safety: yet at length, to the great joy of all, he recovered. But this illness, it has been supposed, had a fatal effect on his understanding, since, after it, great was the alteration in his conduct. On his accession he would accept no titles of honour, but he now assumed such as were before unheard of. After having adopted Tiberius, the son of Drusus, with great expressions of affection, he in a few days sent him an order to put himself to death; while he declared, that he

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spared his own uncle Claudius only to keep him for a laughing-stock. His grandmother Antonia he treated so ill, as to hasten her death. Those who, during his illness, had devoted themselves for his life, vowing to fight among the gladiators if he recovered, he obliged to perform their vows. In the second year of his reign, he appointed Soemus prince of the Iturean Arabs: gave Armenia Minor, and soon after, part of Arabia, to Cotys, king of Thrace; and to Rhemetalces, that portion of Thrace which Cotys had holden; and to Polemon he gave the territories of Pontus, which his father Polemon had possessed. But his conduct at Rome formed such a mixture of cruelty, absurdity, and nefarious impurity, as would be highly disgusting in the perusal; mentioning therefore only a few of the most characteristick of his enormities, the transactions of his reign worthy of notice may be stated also in few words. Finding it expensive to feed the wild beasts kept to supply the publick shows, he frequently visited the prisons, and sentenced a number of the prisoners to be thrown to the beasts, without enquiring whether they were innocent or guilty: great numbers of the old, the infirm, and the indigent he condemned to the same death, pleading that he thus delivered the state from so many burdens. He constantly obliged parents, however innocent themselves, to assist at the execution of their children. Having demanded of one who had been banished by Tiberius, how he employed himself in his exile; on his replying, that he constantly prayed for the death of Tiberius; he immediately concluded, that those whom he had banished prayed for his death, and therefore had them all put to the sword. His own sister Drusilla he took from her husband, and lived publickly with her, as his own wife; with her, and his other sisters, he maintained a criminal conversation, ere she was married. C. Calpurnius Piso having invited him to his wedding, when the solemnity was finished, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her, but in a few days divorced her; yet some time after banished both her and Piso, under the pretence that they had lived together. At an entertainment with some kings who came to pay him homage, on some debate arising among them about the height of their extraction, he started up, and repeating the Homeric

words, "Εις Κοιρανος εςω, Εις Βασιλευς; Let there be one ruler, one king;" he would immediately have assumed the diadem, but being told he was already above all monarchs, he began to claim divine honours; and, after many ridiculous freaks of placing himself by the idols to receive the same worship with them, he had at length a temple built, at a vast expense, to himself, and his own statue in gold placed in it; and, after having made the greatest and richest men of Rome his priests, he at last became priest to himself, collated his wife to the same dignity, and also his horse. To this new divinity the cities and nations of the empire hesitated not to erect altars and temples: but the Jews, who alone had sense, piety, and fortitude enough not to submit to such blasphemous debasement, suffered most cruel persecution for their refusal in the city of Alexandria. To this detestable monster, the body who still bare the name of the senate of Rome, manifested the utmost obsequiousness, and submitted to the grossest abuse from him. The consuls having offended him, by forgetting to give notice that his birth-day should be observed as a festival, he deposed them, and caused their rods to be broken; a mortification so great as to induce one of them to destroy himself. From the pro-consul of Africa he took the command of the legions quartered in the province, and gave it to a lieutenant; through the continuance of which regulation, those lieutenants became gradually more powerfull than the pro-consuls, and were afterwards stiled counts of Africa. His ridiculous expedition into Germany at the head of a very numerous army, in which he neither slew or even saw an enemy, deserves not further notice: passing through Gaul, he most grievously oppressed the inhabitants of it by his extortions. Having banished his sisters, as concerned in a conspiracy (whether real or feigned remains undetermined) with Cn. Lentulus and M. Æmilius Lepidus, he sold all their furniture, jewels, and slaves, putting his own price upon them, and compelling the Gauls to purchase. To Lentulus, who had the command of the army in higher Germany, Sulpicius Galba, afterwards emperour, was appointed successor: and another future emperour, Flav. Vespasianus, wishing by any means to gain the favour of Caius, meanly proposed throwing the bodies of Lentulus and Lepidus into the Tiber. On the departure

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of Caius from their country, the Germans made an irruption into Gaul, but were quickly and vigorously repulsed by Galba. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, was at this time deprived of his tetrarchy, which was given to king Agrippa: during the forty-eight years in which Herod had enjoyed his tetrarchy, he built the city of Tiberias. Caius having invited to his court Ptolemy, king of Mauritania, either from jealousy of the notice taken of him, or from a desire to get possession of his wealth, had him murdered. On this news the Mauritanians revolted. Mithridates, too, king of Armenia, the ferocious monster condemned to banishment. Ere he left Gaul he assembled, under the pretext of invading Britain, an army on the opposite shore; and having made every preparation for battle, he ordered his soldiers to gather cockle-shells on the shore, as the spoils of the conquered ocean. After his return to Rome, a conspiracy was formed for ridding the earth of so detestable a tyrant, the principal actor in which was Cassius Chærea, a tribune of a prætorian cohort; and after much perilous delay, the conspirators successfully effected their purpose, and put Caius to death in his own palace, after he had reigned not quite four years. Nor did Chærea's vengeance stop at the person of the tyrant; since he had his wife Cæsonia killed by a tribune, who also took his infant daughter out of the cradle, and dashed her brains out against the wall. Thus does Heaven visit the sins of the father on the child.

The accession of Claudius; his character, and various laudable measures.

After the alarm which naturally followed the death of the sovereign, which his German guards were at first eager to revenge, the senate were for restoring the republick; but the soldiers, to whose camp Claudius had been carried by a party of themselves, declared for an emperour; and the people joining in requiring the same, the senate were compelled to assent; and Claudius, guided by the advice, and encouraged by the exhortations of king Agrippa, accepted the high office, and was the first who on his accession gave a largess to the soldiers, and began, in fact, the practice, which afterwards was so frequently repeated, of purchasing the empire of the army. The new emperour was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and, by his mother Antonia, grandson of M. Antony and Octavia, and younger brother to Germanicus. With considerable debility, both of

constitution and of mind, he had been constantly treated with great contempt by all his own family, and even by their servants. Yet had he made some proficiency in the liberal sciences; his temporary addition of three letters to the Greek alphabet is well known; and even Seneca has commended his works. His extreme timidity, owing to the manner of his education, gave great advantage to all who wished to influence him; and he consequently became little more than a puppet in the hands of his two successive wives, Messalina and Agrippina, and his freed-men, of whom he made directors. By his wife he had a daughter, Octavia, afterwards married to Nero; and within a few days of his accession to the empire he had a son born, who was first named Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, and afterwards Britannicus Cæsar. When established in the throne, after putting to death Chærea, Lupus, who murdered Cæsonia and her guiltless infant, and a few others who were concerned in the assassination of Caius, he pardoned the rest; and declined the greater part of the honours which the base senate were now in the habit of decreeing to all who held the sovereignty; forbidding all men to pay him divine worship, or stile him a god. The very numerous instances he gave of his justice and clemency, suppressing the law of injured majesty, recalling the exiles, lightening the taxes, and restoring the property, both of individuals and cities, which his two immediate predecessors had seized, quickly won him the hearts of the people. Yet his pitiable weakness in presuming to hear and decide the most intricate causes, drew on him more contempt than even the ridiculous cowardice that he betrayed. In the first year of his reign he gratefully enlarged the kingdom of Agrippa, by adding to it Judæa and Samaria; and to his brother Herod he gave the principality of Chalcis, under Libanus: and restored to the kingdoms of which they had been unjustly deprived by Caius, Mithridates the Iberian, Mithridates the Cilician, to the kingdom of Bosphorus, and Antiochus to Commagene. The Romans now gained some victories over the Mauritanians, of whose taking arms mention has been already made. Galba, and P. Gabinius Secundus, overcame the Catti and the Marsi, two German nations: Gabinius, too, defeated another tribe of Germans, the Chauci. The next year the Mauritanians, as far

as the river Nigir, which separates Africa from Æthiopia, were totally reduced, and the whole kingdom divided into two provinces, named Cæsariana and Tingitana, both which Claudius appointed to be governed by Roman knights. A great famine which this year raged at Rome, induced Claudius to form a large haven at the mouth of the Tiber; but after his decease, it was soon rendered useless by an accumulation of sand.

While Claudius himself was thus laudably exerting what abilities he had for the publick good, his wife Messalina, a woman of insatiable lewdness, and his freed-men, so abused the power he gave them, as, by the destruction of one man of high rank and character, to alarm the nobility for the security of their persons and estates. Hence a conspiracy was formed, which ended only in the death of the heads of it, and the banishment and execution of as many as, under the plea of being engaged in it, Messalina, and Narcissus, one of the favourite freed-men, chose to deprive of their lives or their estates. The former of these at length carried her shameless lewdness so far, that she obliged Caius Silius, the handsomest man in Rome, to put away his wife, and then publickly married him; a step so plainly indicative of their intention of dethroning the emperour, that all about him united in rousing him to avenge it: and particularly Narcissus, who, obtaining from Claudius the command of the prætorian guards, while his master was hesitating, had that monster of lasciviousness and cruelty slain. Nor did her death seem to have any effect on the stupid mind of him whom she had so long kept in bondage. In the mean time, however, some Britons driven from home by faction, took refuge in Gaul; and being by their countrymen reclaimed with menaces, this was used as a pretext for that invasion of their island, to which one of the fugitives, named Bericus, persuaded Claudius; and Plautius, who had succeeded Gabinius in his command in lower Germany, was, with his legions, ordered into Britain: where he landed ere the inhabitants had any information of his design; and defeating them in several skirmishes, advanced as far as the Thames. Here he waited until, having informed the emperour of his progress so far, Claudius left Rome; and with a large additional force joining

Plautius, they passed the Thames, defeated the Britons, and took several strong holds, among which was Camalodunum, now Maldon in Essex, the residence of Cynobelinus, one of the British kings. In this expedition Vespasian eminently distinguished himself, adding to numerous other victories the reduction of Vectis, now the Isle of Wight. Claudius, after disarming the Britons who had submitted, appointing Plautius governour of the conquered provinces, with a charge to pursue his conquests, returned to Rome; where the senate complimented him and his son with the name of Britannicus. The emperour, after being received at Rome with a most magnificent triumph, restored to the senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedon, which were now again governed by pro-consuls. He bestowed on M. Jul. Cottius, prince of the Cottian Alps, the title of king, with an increase of territory. But the Rhodians he deprived of their liberty, for crucifying some Roman citizens; yet only for a time. He next thought proper to order a great many of the statues erected in Rome to be removed, and enacted a law to prevent the increase of them. And what was of more importance, after severely punishing some provincial governours for oppression, he made some salutary regulations to restrain such in future. Having generously pardoned Asinius Gallus, the son of Agrippina, the first wife of Tiberius, who was plotting to seize the sovereignty, he added to his popularity by a decree forbidding freed-men to appear against their patrons on trial. In the office of censor he got credit on the one hand, by some beneficial regulations; and on the other, betrayed great weakness, in the discharge of its duties. Though, by the Cincian law, every man who pleaded a cause was forbidden to take either fee or present, exorbitant were the fees at this time exacted by the pleaders: this the senate was disposed to correct, by putting in execution the obsolete law; but through the favour of Claudius the fees were only restrained to two hundred and fifty crowns.

Some disturbances raised by the Germans quelled. After the death of Messalina, Claudius marries.

The Cherusci, who inhabited the present duchy of Brunswick, applied to Claudius for a king, and he sent them Italicus, a nephew of Arminius: but this prince being a native of Rome, and educated as a Roman, the Cherusci soon rose against him, and drove him from the throne. Yet he was afterwards restored by the Lango-

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bardi; supported by whom, he oppressed the Cherusci most tyrannically. At the same time, the Chauci made incursions into the province of lower Germany, but were driven back into their own country by Cn. Domitius Corbulo, who was prevented by the jealousy of Claudius from subduing the nation. To preserve his troops from idleness, however, Corbulo employed them in digging a canal, three and twenty miles long, between the Meuse and the Rhine, to prevent inundations, supposed to be that at present known by the name of the Fliet. Aulus Plautius returning from Britain, was, in the government of it, succeeded by P. Ostorius Scapula. Most of the ancient patrician families being extinct, Claudius now created several new ones. He introduced into the senate several ædui, and promoted a decree for admitting such of the Gallic nobility as were Roman citizens to the senatorial dignity; and afterwards numbering the citizens, he found them to amount to six millions nine hundred thousand. Though, on the death of Messalina, Claudius had most positively declared that he would never marry again; after, to satisfy his strange conscience, the senate had passed a decree declaring marriages between uncles and nieces lawfull, he took to wife Agrippina, the surviving daughter of his brother Germanicus, who had first been married to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had L. Dom. Ahenobarbus, afterwards the emperour Nero. Having, on the death of her husband, abandoned herself to profligacy, she was banished by her brother Caius: but being recalled by Claudius, she married again, and quickly murdered her second husband to obtain his estate. This flagitious woman the weak emperour having made his wife, she ruled him and his empire without controul, exhibiting insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and cruelty scarcely paralleled. Contriving to get a petition from the senate to Claudius, to betroth Octavia his daughter to her son Domitius, the emperour, unaware of her views, readily consented. This year Ituræa and Judæa, on the death of their kings, Schemus and Agrippa, were annexed to the government of Syria; and towards the end of it, Claudius extended the circumference of Rome. Pallas, a freed-man of Claudius, engaged in criminal correspondence with Agrippina, now persuaded the simple

Agrippina, and adopts Nero, most unjustly, as his eldest son.

emperour to adopt, in preference to his own son, Domitius for his eldest; because he was three years older than Britannicus; and from this time the former was called Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus. Henceforth the treatment which Britannicus experienced from Agrippina was most unjust and cruel; and the last, to display her power, procured a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the Ubii, where she was born, and which she called from her own name Colonia Agrippinensis, now the city of Cologne. About the same time the Catti made incursions into the Roman territories, but were with great slaughter repulsed by Pomponius Secundus. At this time, too, Vannius, who had thirty years before been made king of the Suevi by Drusus, was expelled by the Hermundarians and Ligians. But Vangio and Sido, his nephews, divided his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithfull to the Romans. The next year Nero, though only fourteen, had the manly robe bestowed on him, and was declared prince of the Roman youth; while Britannicus was carried about in the usual habit of children, and all attached to him were removed from about his person, and he was committed to the care of others, appointed by his step-mother. The next step that wretched woman took was, to persuade Claudius to remove the two commanders of the prætorian guards, and place them under one who should owe his promotion to her. Another great famine this year prevailed; but, by the exertions of Claudius, whom the mob most outrageously insulted, was quickly put an end to.

Transactions of Ostorius in Britain.

P. Ostorius Scapula, the new commander in Britain, being quickly forced to take arms against the unsubdued tribes of the island, after giving those who had broken into his province a defeat, he built several forts on the Severn and other streams, to secure the territories of the Romans. This excited against him the Iceni, who inhabited the present counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; who, being joined by the bordering nations, formed a considerable army, which Ostorius attacked in their fortified camp, and defeated. Having thus overcome the Iceni, he advanced into the country of the Cangi, the counties, probably, of Salop and Chester; ravaging their territories till he approached the Irish Sea, when he was called back by the commencement of commotions among the Brigantes, who

dwelt in the present counties of Lancaster, York, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland; and had submitted to him before. Here having put to death the chief exciters of the disturbances, and pardoned the rest, the Brigantes ceased from their attempts to recover their independence. Having after this marched a numerous body of veterans to Camalodunum to keep the conquered country in awe, he gave Cogidunus, a British king, and great friend of the Romans, certain cities, to secure still more firmly his attachment; and then with all his forces marched against the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales, a people resolute in themselves, and confiding much in the valour and conduct of Caractacus, the most eminent of the British commanders. This general removed the seat of war into the country of the Ordovices, now North Wales, and, it should seem, some adjoining counties; and, on a hill in Shropshire, called Caer Cardoc, waited the approach of Ostorius; whose troops, through the superiority derived from their discipline and their armour, soon dislodged the Britons from their strong position; and gaining a complete victory, took prisoners the wife and daughter and brothers of Caractacus: after which, he himself having fled for refuge to Cartismandua, queen of Brigantes, was delivered up by her in bonds to the conquerour; having supported the attacks of the Romans for seven years. On being carried to Rome, the conduct of this prince impaired not his former fame; and, in admiration of it as well as in compassion to his misfortunes, Claudius granted to him, his wife, daughter, and brothers, both their lives and their liberty. The success of the Romans now met with some interruption, which was lengthened by the death of Ostorius, who sunk under the weight of his cares and anxieties. For a successor to him Claudius appointed Aulus Didius Gallus. Among the Britons, the next to Caractacus in reputation was Venutius, the husband of Cartismandua, which faithless queen wantonly deserted him, and marrying his armour-bearer Vellocatus, to him transferred the crown, as well as her person. This vile conduct kindled a civil war among the Britons; in which Venutius, supported by the Brigantes themselves, and powerfully succoured by the neighbouring nations, reduced the queen to the utmost distress. But she, obtaining assistance from the Romans, a

bloody battle ensued, in which these were in the end victorious, and rescued their ally from her dangerous situation. Still Venutius maintained himself in his kingdom; and after many battles, not much to the advantage of either side, Didius, stricken in years, and satisfied with the honour he had already acquired, contented himself with acting on the defensive.

Agrippina strives to render Nero popular. Claudius beginning to suspect her, she has him poisoned.

When Nero had entered the sixteenth year of his age, the marriage between him and Octavia was celebrated: soon after which, to acquire the fame of eloquence, he pronounced orations in favour of three several cities; and by his mediation in their favour, the Coans obtained a general immunity from impositions; the inhabitants of Apamea and Byzantium, a release from all tribute for five years: all this through Agrippina's policy to gain for her son a character for compassion and humanity. On the contrary, Claudius she impelled to measures of cruelty the most detestable. He now, too, had a decree passed, making the decisions of his procurators or receivers, who, for the most part, were enfranchised slaves, of equal authority with his own; and the knights he invested with the same jurisdiction as the senators. Claudius having more than once dropped words significative of his repenting of his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of her son, she determined to cut him off by poison, which was mixed by his taster in some mushrooms; but this failing of the effect expected, his physician, already corrupted by Agrippina, under pretence of assisting the emperour in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in venom so potent, that it quickly put an end to his life; after he had reigned thirteen years and eight months. Thus died Caius Claudius Tiberius Nero, a prince not badly disposed in himself, but weak enough to be blindly led by his wives and his freed-men; through whose influence or direction there were put to death in his reign thirty-five senators, and three hundred Roman knights: for to most of these executions he was probably a stranger; since a centurion one day reporting to him, that such a consular had, according to his order, been put to death; the emperour with great surprize replied, that he had given no such order; but one of his freed-men justifying the officer, in revenging

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of his own accord the cause of the emperour, the last acquiesced, and, without further examination, approved of the execution.

Accession of Nero; his good conduct at first, but rapid alteration. Murder of Britannicus. The emperour is governed by Poppæa: differs with his mother. The Ansibarii perish for want of a settlement. Armenia reduced.

The reader will undoubtedly conclude, that the loss of a prince like that just described, could not in itself be lamented; but when he views the character of his successor, he will perceive that the change was truly deplorable. For Agrippina having taken precautions to keep Britannicus in private, sent her son Nero to the camp of the prætorian guards, where, addressing the troops in a speech adapted to the occasion, and promising them a largess equal to that which Claudius gave them, he was saluted emperour; which choice neither the senate or the people opposed. No sooner was Nero saluted emperour, than Narcissus, who under his old master had born an absolute sway, and acquired enormous wealth, was dragged to prison by Agrippina's orders, where, to avoid a more painfull death, he killed himself. Junius Silanus, a great grandson of Augustus, she next caused to be poisoned, lest the people should cast their eyes on him for emperour in preference to Nero. The torrent of blood which this execrable woman would have proceeded to shed, was prevented by the new emperour's preceptors, Burrhus and Seneca; who, without being jealous of each other, united in managing the dangerous age of the prince, and in their efforts faithfully to serve him and promote the publick good. At the beginning of his reign, Nero seems to have listened to those faithfull counsellors, and by his measures both benefited his subjects, and done honour to himself; while the bold attempts of his mother, to make herself a partner in his sovereignty, were rendered ineffectual. But the preceptors running into the gross, though very common errour, that the indulgence of his irregular appetites to a certain point would prevent their pupil from seeking still more inordinate indulgences, they opposed him not in his first entrance on vice, and he quickly became a perfect slave to it. Yet he bore at first with considerable patience the overbearing insolence of his mother, only dismissing from his employments Claudius's freed-man Pallas, who principally supported her in her ambitious attempts, and of whose past conduct the sum which he possessed at the time of his death, seven millions sterling,

forms no bad criterion. But Aprippina, in her rage against her son, adverting to the superior claim that Britannicus had to the empire, and threatening to appeal to the soldiery on his behalf, ere the second year of his reign was over, Nero caused his rival to be poisoned even in his own presence; and so undisguised was this murder, that all things requisite for the funeral were prepared beforehand. The death of Britannicus not putting a stop to the seditious operations of Agrippina, Nero removed her from the palace, depriving her of the guards which used to attend her; on which publick disgrace, her former train of courtiers forsook her. But one of these forging a charge against her, which, on investigation, was discovered to be unfounded; her son, after having determined to put her to death, consented to see her again, punished those who had conspired against her, except his own freed-man Paris, and conferred, at her request, rewards on her friends. However true may be the anecdote reported of Nero, that when pressed to sign a warrant for the execution of two robbers, he exclaimed, "Oh, that I had never learned to write!" His murder of Britannicus very early proved how little averse he was to dipping his hands in blood; and in the following year, listening to the counsels of Otho, afterwards one of his successors in the empire, and Senecio, he abandoned himself to revelry and debauchery; scouring the streets and the stews of the city, with his profligate companions, by night: in one of which rambles, having been severely hurt by a senator, whose wife he insulted, on the husband's afterwards making an apology, and thus disclosing that he had learned who it was, the tyrant impelled him by menaces to destroy himself. Otho, one of those who misled the emperour, was afterwards by him deprived of his wife; and that Nero might not be disturbed in the possession, he was preferred to the government of Lusitania, which he administered for the space of ten years, with eminent integrity; acquiring no less reputation by his gravity, and regular conduct in authority, than he had deserved infamy by his dissolute life, in a private station. In the mean time, his wife Poppæa, who possessed every engaging quality but virtue, for some time entirely governed the emperour; who yet, this year, adopted some very equitable regulations to alleviate the pressure of

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the taxes. About this time the Frisians, under the conduct of Verritus and Malarigis, took possession of some lands, on which, as uninhabited, the Roman soldiers were accustomed to send their cattle to graze; and were driven from them by Dubius Avitus, who had succeeded to the command in lower Germany. Some time after which, the Ansibarii, expelled from their own country by the Chauci, were led to the same lands by Boiocalus, a man of great renown and of tried fidelity to the Romans, who pleaded hard with Avitus to be permitted to stay on them: but being most unfeelingly refused, and the terrour of the Roman arms deterring all others from assisting them, they wandered from place to place until the whole tribe was consumed. This year Domitius Corbulo completed the reduction of Armenia, by expelling Tiridates, the brother of Vologeses, the Parthian monarch, and making himself master of Artaxata, the most important place in the whole kingdom.

Nero is by Poppæa incited to have his mother put to death; suffers from the consciousness of his guilt; abandons himself to his passion; gives the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes.

Poppæa, who was ambitious of being made the wife of Nero, but despaired of this while Agrippina survived, made it her study to excite in the emperour's breast an hatred of his mother. Her scoffs, her insinuations, and her calumnies, made a great impression on Nero, and so alarmed his mother, that she endeavoured to beguile him when inebriated into an incestuous commerce with herself; but this being prevented by Seneca, Nero, on reflection, avoided all private conference with Agrippina; which giving Poppæa a more favourable opportunity of enraging him still more against her, she at last brought him to a resolution of delivering himself, even by matricide, from her whom he now termed his dread and torment: but a deep plan which he laid for doing this without discovery failed in the execution; and he had her openly murdered by some naval officers, which he ordered to execute the nefarious deed. Her impious son, though he seems to have been at first stricken with horrour at his own crime, sent letters to the senate, accusing her of having employed one of her freed-men to assassinate him, disappointed in which, she had laid violent hands on herself; and this letter, it is said, *Seneca* composed. The base senate pretended to believe this statement, decreeing to Nero fresh honours on the occasion; but the receipt of which, we are told, could not preserve him

from those horrours of guilt which the consciousness of his crime kept alive in his breast. He now abandoned himself to the indulgence of all extravagant passions: of two, highly unbecoming his station, he was particularly fond—driving a chariot, and singing to the harp in a theatrical habit; the last of which, by the example and encouragement of the sovereign, led to theatrical representations becoming fashionable among the first people of Rome of both sexes; which not unnaturally promoted sensuality and wantonness. To the kingdom of Armenia, reduced by Corbulo, Nero in the following year appointed Tigranes, giving him a body of Roman troops to support him in his realm.

Transactions in Britain.

In the subsequent year, the situation of affairs in our own island became such as to justify notice. Veranius, the successor of A. Didius, being prevented by death from doing more than ravaging the territories of the Silures, was succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus, a commander of great eminence; and for the two first years he had great success in reducing nations still unvanquished, and establishing garrisons to keep the conquered countries in awe. Trusting to these, he proceeded to Mona, now Anglesey, which he easily reduced, though the chief seat of the druids. But while there, the sudden revolt of the province was announced to him. For, stimulated to resistance by ill usage the most grievous, the Iceni (whose late king had made the emperour joint heir with his own daughters; in return for which his house had been plundered, his widow Boadicea violated with stripes, his daughters dishonoured, his principal subjects stripped of their hereditary possessions, and his own relations treated like slaves) prevailed on the Trinobantes, and several other tribes, to unite with them, and attempt the recovery of their liberty; which the very great oppression exercised by the Romans in various modes rendered them all eager to do. Encouraged therefore by the absence of Paulinus, the Iceni inhabiting the present counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, and the Trinobantes dwelling in those of Essex and Middlesex, unanimously took arms, under the conduct of Boadicea, a princess. While the garrison at Camalodunum were utterly unprepared, the Britons, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand, assailed on every side the soldiers

dispersed in the forts; and, having sacked the several garrisons, fell on the colony itself, as the centre of publick servitude; took and razed both that and the temple, and put every Roman to the sword. After which, hearing that Petelius Cerealis was advancing with the ninth legion, they hastened to meet and routed him, with the total destruction of all his infantry. When the news of this revolt reached Suetonius, he left Anglesey, and boldly marched to London; then having a number of Roman inhabitants, and famed for a great conflux of merchants, and its plenty of commodities and provisions. But the general, not thinking this post adapted to the small number of his troops, removed from it; when the Britons, getting possession of it, massacred promiscuously all that were left behind. Similar slaughters were perpetrated at Verulamium, and severall other towns; in which seventy thousand of either Romans or their confederates were destroyed. In the meantime Suetonius, having assembled an army of about ten thousand men, came to an engagement with the Britons, who are said to have amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand; which multitude he totally defeated, slaying near eighty thousand of them; while of the Romans only four hundred fell. Boadicea herself did not long survive the battle; but whether her death was caused by a wound received, or by poison she took from despair, remains undecided. Yet, great as had been their loss, and harassed as at the same time they were by a famine, owing to the cultivation of their lands being neglected, the Britons continued in arms; and though Nero sent Polycletus, one of his freed-men, to reconcile the general and the procurator, whose differences encouraged the Britons, and to make peace with the last; his appearance, gorgeous as it was, made no favourable impression on them. But Suetonius, sometime after losing a few gallies on the coast, was superseded in his command by Petronius Turpilianus, who passed his government without either offensive or defensive war, and this tranquillity continued until the reign of Vespasian.

Death of Burrhus. Nero marries Poppæa, and puts Octavia to death.

During thee transactions in Britain, several persons of great distinction at Rome were degraded or banished, for forging a will; and one Valerius Ponticus, a pleader, was interdicted for endeavouring to save the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and a decree,

which might not be without its use in other countries, was passed, that whoever should take a fee for such vile employment, should suffer the same punishment as one publickly condemned for calumny. Not long after this, the governour of Rome being murdered by a slave of his own, by an ancient law of the city, all his slaves, to the number of four hundred, were put to death. Burrhus, to the regret of all the virtuous, now dying, two captains of the prætorian guards were appointed, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus, the latter a man of infamous character, and the associate of Nero in his debaucheries. One of his advisers to virtue being removed, the emperour's mind was, by the suggestions of his evil counsellors, so alienated from the other, that Seneca saw it requisite to live as privately as he could; and his retreat increased the influence of Tigellinus; by whose persuasion Nero put to death the two men of whom he stood most in awe, Plautus and Sylla, betraying by his jests, when their heads were presented to him, the most unfeeling cruelty. Perceiving, by the manner in which these nefarious deeds were received by the senate, that his most flagrant iniquities would not be stigmatized by that degraded body, Nero proceeded to repudiate Octavia, and marry Poppæa; by whose persuasions he, under forged charges, at length put the innocent princess to death. In the following year an earthquake overturned a great part of the city of Pompeii, and damaged many others in Campania. Poppæa being now, to the great joy of Nero, delivered of a daughter, the senate ordered publick testimonies of congratulation; but, in four months, this offspring of the unrighteous union was cut off; when flattery took another turn, and to the infant were voted a priest, altars, and sacrifices. His passion for exhibiting in publick as a musician increasing, Nero at length mounted the stage at Naples, and sang for several days together, to all the rabble that were drawn together by an incident so extraordinary. On his return to Rome, he frequently banqueted in the publick squares; the sumptuousness of which feasts, excessive as it was, did not surpass the lewdness practised at them. To convey to his readers an idea of what these infamous meetings were, an historian has described one of them given by Tigellinus; but which was too obscene to be presented to

Nero appears as a singer on the publick stage, and abandons himself to the basest passions.

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the eyes of the readers of this Work; and of which therefore it need only be said, that neither Paris in the days of her late revolution, nor Sodom in those of her prosperity, could well exceed it in abominations. For the same reason the practices of Nero himself shall be passed without further notice than observing, that he was visibly given up to work all uncleanness with greediness.

Rome burned. Nero's golden palace; and assistance in rebuilding the city.

In addition to the enormities already related of this instrument of divine wrath, it is by the greater part of the historians of his reign asserted, that by his orders the burning of Rome, which now occurred, took place. In this most rapid conflagration, of fourteen quarters, into which the city was divided, three were entirely laid in ashes; seven had remaining in them only a few half-consumed houses, standing here and there; and four quarters only remained entire. The destruction of ancient monuments, of exquisite specimens of art, and of manuscripts, that then took place, is inestimable; neither is the distress of the miserable inhabitants easy to be described. On the ruins of the city, however, Nero constructed a palace described to be of an extent and sumptuousness scarcely credible, called his golden house, the extravagant costliness of which may be judged of by a few particulars. Such was its extent as to comprize fields, great wildernesses, thick woods, artificial lakes, hills, &c.; and one author asserts, that it extended quite round the city. The house was tiled with gold, and the roof of one of the banqueting rooms represented the firmament, both in figure and motion, turning incessantly day and night, and showering down all sorts of sweet waters. In rebuilding the city itself, Nero manifested attention as well as bounty: the streets were laid out regularly and spacious, and straight; and to all the great houses which stood by themselves, and were called isles, large porticoes were added, which Nero engaged to raise at his own expense, and to deliver to each proprietor the squares about them, cleared from all rubbish. He established, too, some excellent precautions against future accidents by fire; and the city in a short time rose from its ashes with new lustre.

First persecution of the Christians.

Notwithstanding his munificence, the suspicion that Nero was the author of the late calamity was still entertained, to transfer which

from himself, he laid the guilt on the Christians, already very numerous in the city, and commenced the first general persecution carried on against the disciples of the gospel. For the Great Master of these, having appointed twelve select individuals to take the lead in preaching and establishing his doctrine among the nations, they, having gained a multitude of converts among the Jews in their own country, were specifically directed to extend their instruction to the Gentiles; and in obedience to the heavenly command, dispersed themselves into different parts of the empire; first entering the synagogues of the Jews then established in numerous cities of it, and there propounding, first to that people, the conditions of reconciliation to God, and of the gift of everlasting life through Christ; to the reality of whose resurrection, both as a testimony of the divine acceptance of the sacrifice which he had offered on the cross, and as an assurance of the return of the whole race from the grave, they bare testimony, by the miraculous works, with the power of performing which He had endowed them. For the promotion of their doctrine, and the continued instruction of the converts to it, they instituted a regular form of government for the several congregations they collected; and under the guidance of that Spirit with which they were inspired, specifically for the purpose of enabling them to recollect, and rightly understand all the instructions of their Lord, far from endeavouring to avoid in their institutions any similarity to what had existed before, or affecting novelty as a mark of excellence, they adopted a form of church government in some points resembling the Mosaic, with minor regulations evidently taken from the synagogue; but the great principle of which was, that which their Divine Master had so strongly inculcated during His abode with them, unity arising from mutual love. To the preservation of this, tended the institution of various offices in the churches, under the supervision of an overseer, denominated from the original term a bishop; and the care of various churches being assumed by an apostle, to whose successors, at length, the former term came to be appropriated; that of elder or priest being applied to those who had not the care of many congregations. A society whose members were thus united, and who received such proofs as the

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miraculous powers exhibited by the first preachers afforded of the divine patronage, and had the motives of duty towards God, and charity to men, for persuading others to embrace that faith, which alone, they were justly persuaded, could lead to salvation, could hardly fail rapidly to extend itself by the indefatigable exertions of all its zealous members; and this it had now done sufficiently to have its numbers noticed among the confluent multitudes of Rome. On these, then, Nero having laid the charge of setting fire to the city, all who either confessed themselves to be Christians, or were accused by others of holding that faith, were seized, and their executions aggravated by torture. For, says the Roman historian, they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs, or fastened to crosses, or wrapt in combustible garments; which, when the light failed, were set on fire, to dispel the darkness of the night.

Nero plunders the empire. A conspiracy is betrayed, and suppressed by many deaths, among which was that of Seneca. Poppæa killed by Nero. His journey into Greece, and return.

Nero having quite drained his treasury by his golden house and embellishing the city, to replenish it, had recourse to the most shameless rapine and extortion, not only in Italy, but in the provinces and confederate nations; even the very temples were plundered of all their ornaments and offerings, which, together with the metallick statues of the gods themselves, were conveyed to Rome, and melted down: and it is said, that from this time Nero never gave any man an office without telling him, "You know what I want—Let us make it our business, that no one may have any thing which he can call his own." Having arrived at this perfection of tyranny, a conspiracy against him might well be expected; and in next year a very extensive one was formed, but discovered by the treachery of a freed-man of one of the parties; when so many were discovered to have been concerned in it, that, what with their executions and the deaths of their guiltless children, whom Nero drove out of Rome, and with their tutors, governours, and domesticks, caused to be either poisoned or starved to death, so that whole families, we are told, were cut off at one meal; a carnage took place, which not only filled Rome with deaths, and funerals, but made the neighbouring country a scene of misery. After the suppression of the conspiracy, Nero distributed a reward to the soldiers, bestowed high

honours on those who assisted in prosecuting the conspirators, assembled the senate to inform them of what had passed, and addressed an edict to the people, with the evidence against, and the confessions of the conspirators; and most profuse were the senators in ordering publick thanksgivings on the occasion. Among the deaths which now took place, were those of Seneca the philosopher, and Lucan the poet; both of whom died bravely, though neither left a spotless character behind him. The tyranny of the imperial monster was next exercised in compelling the people of all ranks to attend in the theatre to his singing and playing; while inattention was punished in whomever it was discovered; and numerous were the spies employed in the detection of it. This year, too, he killed his wife Poppæa by a kick, when she was pregnant, for some offensive remark which she ventured to make to him. After her death, Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, declining Nero's offer of marriage, was, on that account, put to death, as implicated in a conspiracy: after which he indulged his thirst of blood by putting to death, under pretences the most trifling or the most false, various eminent persons, both male and female. While Campania was at this time ravaged by tempests, by which whole villages were overturned and the fruits of the earth destroyed, Rome suffered by a fearfull pestilence, which swept off thirty thousand of its inhabitants. Still the executions of the tyrant and his favourites, who, by false accusations, destroyed all they thought proper, continued, and extended even to one, in whose society Nero found much pleasure, C. Petronius, the obscene, though elegant poet, who died with a coolness and courage not to be expected in one so abandoned to self-indulgence. To divert the attention of the people from their domestick sufferings, Nero now received Tiridates with all imaginable pomp; and crowned him, in one of the squares, king of Armenia; loading him, at his departure, with presents of extraordinary value. After this coronation, Nero shut up the temple of Janus, in token of universal peace. Proud of royal guests, the emperour invited to Rome Vologeses, king of the Parthians, and brother to Tiridates; but he answering, that it would be less trouble for the Roman to come into Asia, where he would endeavour to meet him, the offended prince

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made great preparations for war against him; among the rest, levying a legion of Italians, into which no man under six foot high was admitted. But when he heard that the Parthian was also preparing for a vigorous resistance, all his menaces evaporated in a disgracefull expedition into Greece, at the head of an army of musicians: where he contended for, and consequently carried off, at the Olympic games and other places, all the prizes for which he was a competitor, to the amount of eighteen hundred; though at Elis he was thrown, and severely hurt, in attempting to drive ten horses: and at length, with an iniquity which equalled the meanness of his ambition, he commanded the statues of all the other victors to be pulled down, dragged through the streets, and either broken to pieces or thrown into the common shores. Although while in Greece he restored the whole province of Achaia to its ancient liberty, which it enjoyed until the time of Vespasian, so much did they suffer from the avarice indulged in this imperial visit, and the great dearth of provision caused by it, that the Greeks longed earnestly for his departure. The Jews who had been driven, by the oppression of their governours, especially Florus, to take arms, this year defeated Cestius Gallus, governour of Syria; who, after he had raised the siege of Jerusalem, acquainted Nero with his misfortune; who appointed Mucianus to supersede him in the government of Syria; and in the command of the troops, Flavius Vespasianus; though but a little before he had threatened this last with destruction, for having slumbered while the tyrant was singing on the stage. While Nero was in Greece, he put to death, almost daily, some one of the most illustrious Romans, which he had carried with him for that end; thinking that, as they fell at a distance, their murders would attract less attention; while Helius, whom he left governour of Rome, and another freed-man, named Polycletus, made no less havock in the city than their master did in Achaia. Virtue, quality, and wealth, were deemed unpardonable crimes; and, as Nero seemed to have carried ingratitude and unrighteousness to their height, in depriving Domitius Corbulo of a life which had, during his reign, been devoted to his own honour and service, so Helius, by extending his exterminating hand to the nearest relations and the children of those he condemned, raised in the city

an alarm so great, that a general insurrection was apprehended; and the terrified freed-man, finding that his representations by letter or message did not bring back his master, suddenly left Rome, and reaching the emperour in Greece, so terrified him with his account of the state of the metropolis, that he immediately returned to Italy; but in his voyage lost by shipwreck all the plunder he had seized in Greece; while great was his own danger; at which some having, during it, imprudently betrayed their joy, on his landing he had them massacred without pity. For his success in his musical contests in Greece, he entered Rome in a ridiculous form of triumph, having eighteen hundred crowns born before him; and then he returned to his customary theatrical exhibitions.

Julius Vindex revolts in Gaul. Galba saluted emperour by the army in Spain; at length declared so by the senate. The death of Nero.

Nero had now proceeded so far in his career of blood as to have exhausted the patience of both Italy and the provinces; but the first who ventured to announce his determination no longer to submit to the unrelenting tyranny under which the empire groaned, was the then governour of Celtick Gaul, Julius Vindex, who was descended from the ancient kings of Aquitain; and having assembled the Gauls, harassed by oppression, exhorted them to concur with him in the only means through which they could hope for relief. So well was his proposal approved, that he was quickly joined by an hundred thousand armed men. Upon this, he wrote to Galba, then governour of the Tarraconian Spain, exhorting him, for the common benefit of mankind, to take the lead of the insurrection; which, after consulting with his friends, and having, at an appointed meeting, exhorted the Spaniards to assist in dethroning a wretch so unprincipled, sanguinary, and despicable as Nero, he did; causing proclamations to be fixed up in every city of the province, inviting all to join him. When Nero heard of the revolt of Vindex, it seemed to affect him no further than as promising a fair occasion for plundering the inhabitants of that province still more unmercifully. But when, by the arrival of additional messengers, the alarm increased, he in great terrour removed from Naples to Rome; but there, after a short consultation with some of the principal men, in which no resolution was taken, he relapsed into his usual trifling; ordering, however, some legions to be collected,

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and setting a price on the head of Vindex. Yet on hearing of the revolt of Galba, after continuing some time motionless, he burst out into the fury of a madman. Still he continued to pursue his revels; and on the senate's declaring Galba a traitor, immediately seized his estate, which the latter returned by exposing to sale Nero's estate in Spain. The rage of the tyrant on this suggested measures of the most frantick cruelty; but laying aside the thoughts of these from despair of effecting them, he prepared for war, but with no intention of facing the perils of it. In the mean time, all the governours of the provinces declared for Galba, except Clodius Macer in Africa, and L. Rufus Virginius in Upper Germany; the last of whom even marched against Vindex. But on a conference with the last, they came, it is said, to an agreement to act against Nero; but their armies, contrary to their commanders will, entered into hostilities with each other; and in the battle the Gauls were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men, when Vindex slew himself; and the victorious legions solicited Virginius to assume the imperial dignity, which he resolutely declined, referring to the senate the disposal of the empire. Galba, on hearing of the determination of Virginius, was greatly disheartened, and was ready to follow the example of Vindex. But, at Rome, the unseasonable impositions of Nero occasioned an insurrection of the people, and at the news of the revolt of the German legions, his alarm was increased; and while, in all the hesitation of fear, he was doubting what course to take, Nymphidius Sabinus, whom he had associated with Tigellinus in the command of the prætorian guards, though intending finally to seize the sovereignty for himself, addressed those guards in behalf of Galba, and by making them such promises as no one could perform, prevailed on them to proclaim Galba emperour; and even Tigellinus, the chief promoter of his crimes, forsook and betrayed Nero in this extremity. The tyrant, finding himself deserted, fled in disguise from Rome; on the news of whose flight the senate assembled with joy, proclaimed Galba emperour, took to him the usual oaths; and declaring Nero an enemy to the state, doomed him to be punished in the ancient manner. The news of this revolution and sentence induced the fallen tyrant, who had

taken refuge in a country-house belonging to Phaon, one of his freed-men, to attempt to avoid the last by killing himself: but, being unable to summon up resolution to do it, Epaphroditus, his freed-man, at his request, reluctantly assisted him; and thus the detestable wretch was removed from the earth. A. D. 68.

Accession, reign, and murder of Galba.

With the death of Nero the imperial succession in the family of the Cæsars finally closed, and hereditary succession to the empire was, in all, for some time interrupted. Galba, to whom the senate had voted the empire, was a man of good family and higher character; but had, in some instances, manifested a severity of justice which bordered upon cruelty; and very soon did he betray that fatal weakness which has brought to destruction so many princes—a readiness to yield to the suggestions of favourites; of which he had three in number, who scrupled not to prostitute the credit and character of their master to their own base passions. So that, while he was upright and well-meaning, their numberless iniquities being imputed to him, he was hated as if he committed them himself. Galba, on his arrival in Rome, publickly executed four of Nero's freed-men, and the famous poisoner Locusta; but Tigellinus, whose death the people loudly demanded, was protected by Vinius, one of the new emperour's favourites; and under the same protection escaped Halotus, another of Nero's ministers, equally detested for his cruelty and extortion; and for whose punishment the people were equally earnest. Nay, for a very great bribe paid to the iniquitous Vinius, he was placed in a very honourable as well as profitable office. By conduct like this no small odium was brought on Galba, who permitted in his favourites practices so scandalous: neither was this odium diminished by the unbecoming parsimony of the emperour. But what in this respect was the most impolitick, was his refusing to give the prætorian guards the donative which had been promised to them; while his severity in exacting observance of discipline, raised a disgust that required some counterpoise. The new year was scarcely begun, when news arrived that the legions in Upper Germany imperiously demanded another emperour, referring the election of one to the senate and people of Rome. This intelligence induced Galba to proceed in a purpose he had already conceived,

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the appointment of a successor; and on further information being received, that the legions had broken his statues, and openly declared that they never would acknowledge him for emperour; he actually named Piso Licinianus, a descendant, on the father's side, from Crassus the triumvir, and on his mother's, from his associate Pompey. This choice he first made known to the soldiers, and then to the senate. In the mean while, Otho, the old companion of Nero, and husband of Poppæa, who, having early espoused and vigorously promoted the cause of Galba, had conceived hopes of being named his successor; enraged at his disappointment, determined to attempt to seize the empire immediately; and by fit emissaries, and a proper distribution of money, having secured a sufficient party in the prætorian guards, he was by them declared emperour, and Galba and Piso both slain, the former having lately entered his seventy-third year.

A. D. 69.

Otho confirmed in the empire by the senate. Vitellius raised to it by the legions in Germany. The rivals attempt the destruction of each other.

The elevation of Otho to the empire was most obsequiously approved of by the senate, knights, and people; but being raised by the soldiery, he was obliged to yield to their will, and let them appoint the captains of the prætorian guards, and the governour of Rome; for the former of which they chose Plotius Primus, who had risen from the ranks, and Licinius Proculus, in whom Otho had manifested great confidence; and for the last, Flavius Sabinus, brother to Vespasian. But scarcely had this new emperour taken possession of the sovereignty, than tidings were brought that the armies in Upper and Lower Germany, as well as the cities of Cologne, Treves, and Langres, had united in declaring Aulus Vitellius emperour; who, having been preferred by Galba to the command of the legions in Lower Germany, had, by attention to their comfort, by restoring numbers who had been degraded, and cancelling the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others, gained the affection of the soldiers. No sooner was the news of this step of the German legions spread abroad, than the governour of Belgick Gaul, and that of Lyons, the troops in Rhætia and in Britain, embraced the same party; so that the portion of his forces, which Vitellius entrusted Valens to lead to Italy, reached the Alps without resistance. Neither, though he shed more blood, and committed greater

ravages in his passage, did Cæcina, who marched through Helvetia, meet with much more opposition: while a body of cavalry in Italy, and the city of Milan, with three others, declared for Vitellius. Cæcina, thus encouraged, passed the Alps; and great were the lamentations at Rome, uttered by all ranks, that two men like Otho and Vitellius, most infamous for effeminacy, profusion, and debauchery, should thus be chosen to rend and destroy the empire. Otho, however, by the release of a man of high character, whom the soldiers had sought to destroy for faithfully adhering to Galba, Celsus Marius, and the just destruction of the infamous Tigellinus, gained applause from all. While the forces of Vitellius were yet advancing to Italy, each of the competitors strove to bring the other to terms of accommodation; each, too, endeavoured to procure the assassination of his rival, and to seduce his troops; but neither succeeded in the second base measure; and as the German legions continued faithfull to Vitellius, so did the prætorian guards to Otho. But for the last, the greater part of the provinces and their commanders declared; and, among the rest, Vespasian in Judæa gave his army the oath of fidelity to Otho.

The Roxolanians invade Mæsia, and are all destroyed. The troops of Otho being defeated by those of Vitellius, the former submits to a voluntary death.

While the attention of the Romans was engrossed by the civil war, the Roxolanians, a people of Sarmatia, having with a body of nine thousand men invaded Mæsia, and cut off two cohorts, were by the third legion routed, and driven into the marshes, where they all perished. As the contest between the rivals advanced towards a crisis, the consternation and difficulties of the inhabitants of Rome increased, from dread of the city itself being converted into a field of battle, and from fear of giving offence to that which might prove the successfull party. At length, after the forces of Otho had, in some instances, proved victorious, and the two armies were on the banks of the Po, Otho contributed to the discouragement of his troops by retiring from among them, and devolving the command of it on Proculus, by no means equal to the charge. From his place of retreat, however, Otho sent positive orders to his army to come to an engagement, which was consequently fought near Bedriacum; in which the regularity and discipline, as well as the numbers of the troops of Vetellius, naturally prevailed over the mutinous and

disorderly forces of Otho; though the contest was long and bloody; the slain on both sides amounting to above forty thousand. The day after the battle, the remainder of Otho's army, with his brother Titianus at their head, submitted to Vitellius, and sware allegiance to him. Otho, on learning the defeat of his troops, took the resolution of putting an end to the sanguinary contest by a voluntary death; and though his resources were fully equal to the support of it, and the troops about him gave most extraordinary proofs of their inviolable affection and unbounded attachment to him, he, with a magnanimity little to be expected from a character so debauched, disregarding all their solicitations to live, put an end to his own life, as the only means of stopping the rage of civil discord; having reigned three months, and disgraced himself by no cruelties, while he possessed the power of committing them.

A. D. 69.

Vitellius received by the senate and people of Rome. The contemptible character manifested by him. Transactions in Judæa. Vespasian chosen emperour by the legions there, and in Pannonia, and in Dalmatia. Antonius Primus marches into Italy; fights his way to Rome. Vitellius taken and put to death. Vespasian acknowledged emperour by the senate.

After the death of Otho, his troops submitted to Vitellius; nor did the citizens of Rome, or the senate, hesitate to follow their example; yet this submission did not preserve Italy from the merciless ravages of the troops of Vitellius, who were not restrained by their commanders, Cæcina and Valens: the former courting the favour of the soldiery, and the latter himself being infamous for pillage. Vitellius received, on his march towards Italy, the news of his rival's fall; and at Lions he was met by the generals of both parties. The excuses of the generals who had fought for Otho, he accepted; freely pardoned Titianus, his brother; but ordered all the centurions who had signalized themselves in the cause of his rival, to be put to death; a measure which alienated from him the minds of the soldiery, and especially of the Illyrian legions: while, by ordering Dolaballa to be assassinated, Vitellius drew on himself the general abhorrence: nor did he in other points act so as to prepossess his new subjects in his favour; his progress to Rome being marked by magnificent feasts; the providing of which reduced to beggary the principal men of the cities through which he passed; while the roads were filled with carriers, loaded with choice meats for the imperial table. Under a leader thus abandoned to intemperance, it is not matter of surprize that his army rioted in all manner of excess, and without controul laid waste the country through which they passed. The disturbances,

however, occasioned in Italy by the multitude of troops so lately engaged in hostilities, which were cantoned in it, led Vitellius to send back to their former stations several bodies, and to disband others. Yet on the receipt of tidings that the provinces in the east had taken the oath to him, as he had dreaded Vespasian, he and his army abandoned themselves to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine. On his arrival in Rome he made a publick speech to the senate, in which, with a mistake not very unfrequent, he particularly dwelt on his own temperance; his commendation of which must have convinced his hearers, that, at least, it was not much surpassed by his veracity. In the room of the prætorian cohorts, whom he had not unwisely disbanded, he raised sixteen new ones, and four city cohorts, of a thousand men each; and as captains of the prætorian guards he appointed Publius Sabinus, and Julius Priscus: the latter being indebted for his preferment to Valens, and the former to Cæcina; for by these two favourites all the functions of the sovereignty were discharged, and no portion of power left to Vitellius. He seems, indeed, to have considered the whole of the imperial functions to have consisted in eating, a subject not of sufficient importance to be here enlarged on.* The state of affairs in the East presents a more interesting object of attention. Judæa being in the time of Nero infested with a multitude of banditti, and cruelly oppressed by two successive most rapacious governours, Albinus, and Gessius Florus, against the last of whom the Jews having preferred complaints to Cestius Galbus, the governour of Syria without obtaining redress; as soon as a dispute between them

* Some particulars of the excessive gluttony of this wretch, so unworthy of a throne, may, for the better designation of his character, be here set down. Often eating four and five meals a day, he found great convenience in an habit he had acquired of unloading his stomach when he pleased. As all his meals were expensive beyond belief, so they were not always at his own cost. For he frequently invited himself to his friends houses, to breakfast with one, dine with another, and sup with a third, on the same day; and was every where entertained in a most sumptuous manner. In one entertainment, made for him by his brother Lucius, it is said, that two thousand different dishes of fish, and seven thousand of fowl, were served up. He is reported to have squandered away in banquets, in four months time, above seven millions sterling.

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and the Syrians, concerning the city of Cæsaræa, was decided in favour of the latter, the Jews flew to arms; and though Agrippa endeavoured to assuage their fury, his efforts availed not; while Florus, though entreated to quell the sedition by the chiefs of the nation, quietly beheld it with malignant pleasure. The evil soon spread over the kingdom; and thus began the war that ended only in the destruction of Jerusalem, and was marked by massacres so extensive and relentless. A number of assassins having joined the seditious, the united body took the title of zealots; and having expelled the Romans from several fortresses, they at length attacked those at Jerusalem, whom, when they had compelled to capitulate, on condition of being permitted to retire, they basely massacred on the spot. The revolted Jews having carried their conquests beyond the Jordan, Cestius Gallus thought it time to exert himself; and in partial accomplishment of the prediction of Daniel,* he set out from Antioch, and marching into Judæa with a powerfull army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, and massacred all the Jews with whom he could meet; and proceeding, though not without loss, to Jerusalem itself, he set fire to all the exterior parts of the city, which the inhabitants had abandoned, and began to besiege the rest, whither they had retired. But the siege was suddenly raised; and over the retreating army the Jews gained a victory; encouraged by which, they began to make more arrangements for carrying on the war with the Romans. Cestius being superseded by Vespasian, the last was employed in operations against the Jews during the three revolutions at Rome, which have been now described; and, on hearing of Nero's death, and the succession of Galba, he had sent his son Titus for Rome, to compliment the new emperour and receive his orders. But Titus having a tedious passage, received at Corinth advice of Galba's death, and of the contention between Otho and

* The remarkable accuracy of this prophecy is not perceptible in our translation, where the thirty-first verse of the eleventh chapter of the above-named prophet, runs: "And arms shall stand on his part, &c." Whereas the original literally rendered is: "And from his portion (viz. that of Antiochus, i. e. Antioch) arms shall arise;" as they did both now and when Vespasian marched against Judæa from the same place.

Vitellius for the empire. On this he returned to his father; who, having laid aside his animosities with Mucianus, governour of Syria, at the solicitations of him and the other officers, promised (though he had taken the usual oath to Vitellius) to assume the title of emperour, whenever a proper opportunity offered. In the meantime, the governour of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander, by birth an Egyptian, and totally addicted to Vespasian, caused the legions there to swear allegiance to him; and two days after, the army in Judæa took the oath to him in person, with singular ardour; while to his party acceded the whole province, the kings of Edessa, Commagene, Ituræa, all the maritime provinces as far as Asia and Achaia, and the inland regions bordering on Pontus and Armenia. The Illyrian army, too, on learning what had passed in the East, declared for Vespasian; an example which was followed by those in Pannonia; and the forces in Dalmatia rejected it not. The Pannonian legions in embracing the cause of Vespasian, were chiefly influenced by Antonius Primus, commander of the seventh legion; a man of great personal bravery, and of popular eloquence. He, conceiving expedition in their movements to be of the first importance, marched for Italy at the head of a select body of troops; and having advanced to Forum Allienum, now Ferrara, there attacked a detachment of Vitellius's troops, which they routed: and being in the meantime joined by two legions from Pannonia, Primus advanced to Verona, and obtained possession of it. Here, hearing of the confusion reigning among the troops of Vitellius, Primus advanced, and, after some less important conflicts, defeated an army of them near Cremona, and afterwards took their camp, and the city itself: soon after which, Valens, Vitellius's chief commander, being taken prisoner, Gaul, Spain, and Britain declared for Vespasian. It was long before Vitellius, who, under all these losses, continued his usual course of debauchery, could be persuaded to join the army; at length he came to the camp, where, on every report of the enemy's approach, he betrayed great fear, and failed not to intoxicate himself. At length, hearing of the revolt of his fleet at Misenum, he returned to Rome, and thought that a proper occasion for assuming the title of Cæsar. Primus having passed the Apennines, the army of Vitellius

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began first to desert by parties; and when convinced of the death of Valens, whose head Primus sent to their camp, they in a body went over to the party of Vespasian. Offers were now made to Vitellius of personal safety, a revenue, and a retreat, but those about him persuaded him to refuse them; nor could Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's elder brother, governour of the city, prevail against his determined supporters, but was by them put to death, after the burning of the capitol, in which he and his forces had taken refuge. On the news of the danger of Sabinus, Primus accelerated his march to Rome; and, after a most obstinate conflict in the streets with the adherents and soldiers of Vitellius, (during which the populace, enured by their very amusements to blood, with theatrical applauses encouraged the combatants, and when individuals fled into the houses or shops, insisted on their being dragged out and slain; while, close by heaps of carcases and streams of blood, were holden luxurious banquets and voluptuous revels; so that at the same time were exhibited all the abominations of a most dissolute peace, and all the barbarities of the storming of a city), both that and the camp of the prætorian guards were taken; and Vitellius himself, being detected and dragged out from the place where he had concealed himself, was, after suffering every indignity from the populace, as well as the troops, put to death at the place of publick execution. On hearing this, Domitian, the son of Vespasian, then at Rome, presented himself to the leaders of the party, and was by the soldiers saluted Cæsar, and conducted in triumph to his father's house. Here, instead of striving to restrain the licenciousness of the soldiers, by whom and their commander, Primus, Rome underwent all the sufferings of a sacked city, he attended only to his infamous pleasures. When the fury of the soldiers began to subside, the senate met and confirmed the sovereignty to Vespasian.

A. D. 70.

Disturbances in various parts of the empire.

During these commotions in Italy, the Batavians revolted under the conduct of Claudius Civilis. The people of Dacia, too, having no army near to restrain them, rose in arms, and passed the Danube, but were driven back by part of the troops with which Mucianus was advancing through Mæsia; and Fonteius Agrippa, to whom this service was delegated, built a great number of forts on the

banks of the Danube, to prevent any future sallies. In Pontus too, great disturbances were excited by Anicetas, formerly a freed-man of king Polemon, who, under colour of assisting Vitellius, seized Trebizond, burnt the fleet which guarded the coasts, and committed dreadfull ravages on the shores of Asia. But when Vespasian sent against him a body of legionaries under Virdius Geminus, a distinguished officer, this servile war was soon ended, by the capture of Anicetus and his followers.

Origin and family of Vespasian. Revolt of the Batavians; its progress and repression.

Vespasian, now raised to the summit of earthly power, was of a family by no means distinguished, but was admitted, among many other new men, into the senate by the emperour Caius. He had been consul for two months in the reign of Claudius, and was by Nero appointed pro-consul of Africa. He had two sons, Titus and Domitian, and obtained the empire in the sixtieth year of his age. By this great turn in his fortune neither his aspect or his behaviour was changed. He immediately rewarded his friends, by bestowing on them different offices; but most of them were men of signal merit. It was at Alexandria that he received advice of the death of Vitellius; but continuing some months there, until the season became favourable to navigation, Mucianus, who arrived at Rome very soon after the death of Vitellius, and on whom Vespasian had conferred an unlimited authority, discharged the imperial functions for him: but while he was doing this, the Batavians, whose revolt has been mentioned, were proceeding with extraordinary success. This people were not subjects, but allies of the Romans; and coming from beyond the Rhine, settled in an island at the extremity of Gaul, possessing the present South Holland, part of Utrecht, and the island of Betaw, in Guelderland. Claudius Civilis, who had narrowly escaped being put to death by the Romans, induced his countrymen to take arms against them; and being joined in this by the Caninefates, who dwelt on part of the island, and the Frisians from beyond the Rhine, they forced the winter encampments of two cohorts, burnt all the strong holds in the island, and massacred all the Roman victuallers and traders. Civilis then openly took the lead; and his forces from time to time increasing by desertions from the Romans, and having the offer of assistance from the Germans,

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he pursued the war under the pretence, for some time, of supporting the cause of Vespasian; but afterwards declaring that the liberation of his own country and Gaul from the Roman yoke was his determined object. Herdeonius Flaccus, who commanded an army in Lower Germany, being murdered by his own mutinous troops, the news of this, and of the death of Vitellius, and of the burning of the capitol, being divulged in Gaul and Germany, both nations entered into open hostilities against the Romans, and means were successfully taken to seduce into revolt the legions that served under Herdeonius. But the Sequani continuing faithfull to the Romans, the states of Gaul determined to do the same; and on the arrival of some fresh forces from Italy sent by Mucianus, who defeated a body of the Treverians, the legions which had in their revolt proceeded to swear allegiance to the Gauls returned to Cérealis, one of the commanders sent into Gaul by Mucianus. From this time, though Civilis continued the contest with persevering gallantry, the tide of success was no longer with him; but he was at length obliged to accept the offer of pardon from the Romans, and make his submission.

Vespasian arrives at Rome. His excellent conduct. He and Titus triumph for the conquest of Judæa. Slight sketch of that war, and its conclusion.

Vespasian, at length leaving Alexandria, arrived at Rome, where he was received with both honour and joy. Here he conducted himself so as to answer the great expectations entertained of him. He recalled the army to its ancient state of discipline, restored authority to the senate, reforming both that and the equestrian order: he corrected numberless abuses which had crept into the courts of judicature: he rebuilt the capitol, and with great exertions and at much expense restored many publick records that had been burnt. He was affable to all, and compassionate even to criminals: ready to forgive, and quick in forgetting injuries. The only fault mentioned to counterbalance these virtues, was his immoderate love of money, which induced him to do many mean things to obtain it: yet he expended his revenue with great generosity, and to noble purposes. Titus having completed the conquest of Judæa by the taking of Jerusalem, on his return to Rome the senate decreed a triumph to both the emperour and him; for under the personal command of the former no small part of the country had been

reduced. All Galilee, in which were several fortresses obstinately defended, was conquered: he had overrun near half of Idumæa, and taken every place between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, except three; and his last orders given in Judæa were those for the siege and utter destruction of that devoted city. The prophecies which had been uttered concerning the sufferings and desolation of it, and especially those pronounced by the Saviour himself, are well known. The accomplishment of these were forwarded by the dissensions which prevailed among the Jews themselves, and in the violence and obstinacy of which, judicial infatuation is too manifest to be overlooked. When Titus invested Jerusalem, three parties had possession of it: the most numerous, consisting of ten thousand zealots and five thousand Idumeans, had possession of the city; the court of the priests was holden by the least, consisting only of about two thousand four hundred men; and the outward courts by a party of six thousand men, lying between and constantly waging hostilities against the other two; and they at length, by a treacherous and impious stratagem, got possession of the whole temple, and slew or compelled to submission all the second party. The two that now remained, united indeed in their opposition to the Romans, yet gave not over hostilities between themselves. While Titus was preparing the ground round the city for the reception of his engines, he sent Josephus, the well-known historian, who had been taken prisoner by Vespasian at Jotapa, and set at liberty on his attaining the empire, which Josephus had assured him he would, to make offers of peace. But these being indignantly rejected, and a second offer meeting with no better reception, Titus pushed on the attack so vigorously, that in a fortnight from the commencement of the siege, he entered the first wall, and nine days after, got possession of the second. In the mean time, within the city both famine and pestilence raged; yet these added only to the fury of the factions, by which the houses of the wretched inhabitants were broken open in search of food; and if none was found, the owners were put to torture, to force them to confess if they had any concealed; in the course of which, one woman of rank discovered to them the remains of her own child,

which she had slain to support herself. Again Titus gave them four days for recollection; and again, by Josephus, called on them to capitulate: but though great numbers privately deserted to the Romans, the rest became only more desperate; while many who would have taken advantage of the mercy of Titus, were precluded from it, by a notion taken up by the Roman soldiers, that they had swallowed great quantities of gold; and in one night two thousand were ripped up to get at the supposed treasure. But when Titus heard of the shocking fact just mentioned, of a mother being driven to eat her own child, he swore the utter destruction of the city; still he made repeated fruitless endeavours to save the temple, which was at length, spite of all his authority, set on fire; and though he entered it himself, and saved some of the sacred utensils and the book of the law, the whole edifice was consumed: after which took place a massacre, without distinction of quality, sex, or age; nor did the Romans cease slaying and burning, until they had destroyed all but two gates of the temple. Still the factions, who had forced their way from the temple into the city, refused to surrender; when Titus gave up the last to the fury of his soldiers. Those that then remained retreated to the royal palace in the upper part of the city, which, in somewhat less than three weeks more, was also taken, and all, except the most vigorous, put to the sword; the number of prisoners amounting to ninety-seven thousand. As soon as the burning and massacre were over, Titus ordered his troops to demolish the city; and this order was so punctually executed, that, except a piece of the western wall to serve as a rampart to the tenth legion left there, and three towers, to preserve some idea of the strength of the place, there was not left sufficient to shew that the ground had been inhabited. To conclude the history of this most marked judgment, the number of Jews slain and taken during the war, but of which much the greater part were the former, amounted to a million four hundred and forty-five thousand. The detail thus given would not have been so extended, but that this, being the first instance of vengeance taken for despising the long-suffering of Christ, and thus affording a caution to the world of what those must finally expect,

both in judicial infatuation and other inflictions, who set his Gospel at nought, merits to be impressed as deeply as possible on the mind of the reader.

His father gives to Titus the title of emperour. Several countries reduced to Roman provinces. Transactions of Agricola in Britain.

Titus, ere he returned to Rome from the Jewish war, had the title of emperour bestowed on him by Vespasian; and being in a manner made his partner in the sovereignty, he discharged all the functions of it. Antiochus, king of Commagene, being, under charges, whether true or false seems undecided, driven from his kingdom, this was reduced into a Roman province. The same year the Alani, dwelling between the river Tanais and the Palus Mæotis, broke into the territories of the Medes and Armenians, nearly captured the king of the latter, who opposed them, and obliged that of the former to abandon his dominions to their mercy, carrying off booty unestimated, and a great number of captives. Vologeses, king of the Parthians, alarmed at their approach, requested succours of Vespasian, but the prudence of that emperour declined the grant. The following year were reduced into Roman provinces, Greece, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Samos, Thrace, and Cilicia; and some Jews who had fled from Jerusalem, having excited a sedition at Alexandria, Vespasian ordered the temple built in the territory of Heliopolis to be demolished. From Rome itself all the philosophers were banished, as guilty of seditious practices, after the example of Helvidius Priscus, who was deservedly put to death (though contrary to the intention of the emperour) for endeavouring to raise in the Romans the assassinating spirit of Brutus and Cassius. In the consulship of L. Ceionius Commodus and D. Novius Priscus, the celebrated Cn. Jul. Agricola was sent to govern Britain. He had previously been in the island, as tribune of the twentieth legion, when Vettius Bolanus was governour of Britain; but from the mildness with which Bolanus ruled, had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by military exploits. Petilius Cerealis succeeding Bolanus, attacked the Brigantes, the most potent people of the island; and for the trial of Agricola's skill and courage, often trusted to his conduct part of the army. Having after this governed Aquitain to the general satisfaction for three years, and born the consulship for a short time, he was sent into our island in lieu of Julius Frontinus, who had

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entirely reduced the Silures. On his arrival, he found that the Ordovices, or natives of North Wales, had, by cutting to pieces a party of Roman cavalry, excited the whole province to arms. Against the Ordovices, therefore, he, without hesitation, took the field, and attacking them even on the heights which they occupied, routed, and made such havock of them, that nearly the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this success, he next attempted, and effected the reconquest of Anglesea, which had been lost in the general revolt of Britain. To secure the superiority thus gained, Agricola next applied himself so earnestly to redress the grievances under which the natives of the island suffered, that he in a great measure reconciled them to the Roman government, and induced them to desire a continuance of the peace which they then enjoyed. Not long after this, a conspiracy against the emperour, entered into by Alienus Cœcina and Eprius Marcellus, was detected; for which the former was slain, when at supper by invitation with Titus; and the latter, having been condemned by the senate, cut his own throat. Vespasian having, after a disorder in his bowels, drunk too freely of some waters, much admired for their coolness, was seized with a fever and a flux, which quickly so reduced him as to render his recovery desperate. Still he attended to business, and when nearly fainting through weakness, with genuine humour said, "If I be not mistaken, I am going to be a god;" ridiculing the deification of deceased emperours. His death took place in the seventieth year of his age, and the ninth of his reign, and was the cause of general and unaffected lamentation.

To Vespasian succeeded his son Titus: of his reputation for both abilities and courage much is said, yet by one writer he is charged with having betrayed, ere his father's decease, pride, cruelty, and avarice; but this accusation was done away by his behaviour as emperour, no prince having governed with more moderation, humanity, and good-nature. While he received all who applied to him with great affability, he maintained the dignity of an emperour. He abrogated the law of treason; but proceeded with relentless severity against informers. In the first year of his reign occurred that fearfull eruption of Mount Vesuvius, by which Pompeii, Hercu-

laneum, and the neighbouring places, were overwhelmed. The ashes then thrown up, are said to have been carried as far as Africa, Egypt, and even Syria. Pliny, the elder, was suffocated by this eruption. While these things were passing in Italy, Agricola so conducted the war in Britain, that several of the unvanquished communities gave hostages, and suffered fortresses to be erected in their territories: and it has been conjectured that he penetrated as far north as the Frith of Edinburgh. While Titus was in Campania, relieving those who had suffered by the irruption of Vesuvius, a fire raged for three days and nights in Rome, consuming a great number of publick and private buildings, the library of Augustus with all its books, great part of the capitol, and the theatre of Pompey. All this damage, as far as it could be repaired, Titus took on himself, and at his own cost restored both the publick edifices and the houses of individuals. The conflagration was followed by one of the most dreadfull plagues with which the city had ever been visited, under which the emperour's care of his subjects was equally exemplary. It was at this time that great progress was made by Agricola in civilizing the Britons, and rendering them more easy to be kept in subjection, by introducing among them the Roman manners and refinements. He is said, too, to have carried his conquests as far as the Tay. In the following summer, he secured all the country on this side the Clyde and the Forth, fortifying the isthmus between the heads of these two rivers with forts. In the ensuing September Titus was seized with a fever when on the road to Cutyliæ, his paternal estate, which he reached with difficulty ere he expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the third of his reign. He left behind him only one child, a daughter, named Julia Sabina. The tidings of his death every where excited unfeigned sorrow, he being lamented thoughout the empire, as a prince who merited the appellation he had received, of the love and delight of mankind.

A. D. 81.

On the decease of Titus, his brother Domitian was, without the least opposition, acknowledged emperour; who in the beginning of his reign strove to gain the affections of the people, by disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. But universal was the

Accession of Domitian. Agricola's conquests in Britain.

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War with the Daci, Quadi, and Marcomanni.

dread excited in the city, when he caused his near relation Flavius Sabinus to be assassinated, only because the publick crier had by mistake, instead of consul, proclaimed him emperour, in the assembly of the people. The success of Agricola, in carrying his conquests farther into North Britain, gave Domitian an opportunity of assuming the title of Imperator a fourth time; but for what victories it had been before taken, is not mentioned. In the next summer, the Caledonians attacked the camp of the ninth legion; but Agricola gaining timely information of their purpose, sent a reinforcement, by the help of which they were repulsed and defeated: while this victory so encouraged the Romans, that they requested to be led on to the extremity of Britain; yet, so far were the Caledonians from being intimidated by it, that they only prepared more earnestly to revenge themselves. This year the emperour himself undertook an expedition against the Catti, described as the most polished and warlike nation in Germany, without the least provocation; and while they were quite unprepared, laid waste part of their country, took captive a few peasants, and then hearing that the Germans were collecting their forces, hastened back to Rome with all the parade of a conquerour; while the senate decreed him a triumph, in which were led before his chariot a great number of purchased slaves, attired like Germans. The following year Agricola advancing to the Grampian hills, there came to an engagement with a much superior number of Britons, whom he totally defeated, with the slaughter of ten thousand men, while the loss of the Romans amounted to only three hundred and forty. After this victory, no enemy appearing, Agricola led his army into the country of the Horestians, presumed to be that of Angus: having there received hostages, he ordered the commander of his fleet to sail round Britain; which he accomplished, and proved, what was before supposed, that it was an island. Now were discovered and subdued the isles of Orkney and Thule, now Iceland, or, as others think, Shetland. Of Caledonia, however, the Romans did not continue long masters; what Agricola had won being soon after lost by Domitian. A British king, named Arviragus, is mentioned, as at war with the Romans in the time of this emperour; and it is said, that, on the departure of Agricola, the Caledonians possessed

themselves of the forts raised by him in their country: nor do the Roman historians take scarcely any notice of the affairs of Britain until the reign of Adrian. To Agricola, by Domitian's directions, were given all the honours bestowed, instead of a triumph; yet such was the jealousy excited in the imperial breast by his achievements, that the emperour resolved to recall him; to give a favourable colour to which measure, a report was spread that the province of Syria was designed for him: but when he returned to Rome, he retired into private life. This same year Cariomerus, king of the Cherusci, a German nation, being expelled from his kingdom by the Catti, because he had submitted to the Romans, applied to Domitian for assistance; but the emperour, not being inclined to a war with that fierce nation, sent him a sum of money instead of troops. The Suevi and Lygii, who are said to have holden part of Mæsia, having the next year solicited Domitian for succours, the simple emperour sent them only an hundred horse; which so irritated the former, that, joining the Iazygians, a Sarmatian tribe, they advanced with a design to pass the Danube, and lay waste the Roman territories; and from the statement made that soon after the return of Agricola out of Britain, the Romans lost entire armies in Mæsia, Dacia, Pannonia, and Germany, by the bad conduct of their generals, it seems probable that the Suevi put their design in execution. The emperour, too, it appears, returned this year from some expedition: after which, abandoning himself to jealousy and cruelty, he caused the nativity of all the illustrious persons in the city to be cast; and put to death those whom the astrologers said were destined to empire. Nerva, who succeeded to the empire, would have suffered among these, had not an astrologer assured the emperour, that he could not live many days. Domitian encouraged informers more than any prince had ever done; and multitudes of senators and knights were accused of treason, and either sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered by the emperour to kill themselves. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Falsehood and flattery, envy and rapaciousness, passed for evidence. The tribunals erected for justice were turned into shambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties, was in truth robbery and assassination. In the midst of

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his cruelties, Domitian made himself no less infamous for his lewdness and debauchery; and his avarice was not inferior to these. The weight of the tributes, and the rigour employed in exacting them, occasioned great disorders and frequent revolts in the provinces. In Africa the Nasomonians, a people in the eastern part of that peninsula, were driven, by the exactions they suffered, to revolt; and at first defeated the governour of Numidia, and slew great numbers of his men; but were in the end themselves all cut off. The same year the impious emperour assumed the titles of both Lord and God, dictating the beginning of an ordinance in these terms; *Our Lord and our God* orders and commands: and from that time no one dared to address him by any other title. In fine, he is said, before the fourth year of his reign expired, to have surpassed in pride, cruelty, and rapaciousness, and all other vices that complete the character of a perfect tyrant, all his predecessors. In the next year seems to have occurred the most bloody and dangerous war which the Romans maintained during this reign, that with the Daci; a people of great strength and equal courage, dwelling in the regions now named, Moldavia, Walachia, and Transylvania; though, being afterwards placed by the emperour Aurelian in part of Illyricum, they gave the name of Dacia to that country. At this time one Duras ruled over the Daci, but voluntarily resigned the sovereignty to one Decebalus, as better qualified for the trust. This people, dreading what the avarice of Domitian might plot against them, determined to begin first; and falling upon the governour of Mæsia, defeated and slew him; committing horrid devastations, and seizing all the forts which the Romans had erected in their neighbourhood. On this, Domitian marched at the head of a formidable army into Illyricum; and, rejecting the proposal made by Decebalus for a renewal of the former treaties, sent forward the flower of his forces, under the conduct of Cornelius Fuscus, a man not deemed equal to a command in chief. Decebalus, in contempt of such an adversary, sent again an offer of peace, on condition that the Romans submitted to an annual tribute of two oboli an head. This insult provoked the Romans to enter the Dacian territories, and a pitched battle ensued, in which, after a contest bravely maintained, the imperial

A. D. 79.

army was defeated, Fuscus slain, one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives were taken. After this, many bloody battles were fought, with various success: at length, however, Decebalus was reduced to sue for peace, which was refused by Domitian; who then, instead of pressing him to unconditional submission, weakly turned his arms against the Quadi and Marcomanni, because they had not sent him succours. These two nations, of great strength and fame, begged the emperour to refrain from hostilities with them, who were not conscious of having given offence; when the tyrant had their embassadors murdered; provoked by which they took the field, and defeated him. Dejected at this, Domitian offered very advantageous terms to Decebalus, which were accepted: but the Dacian refused to go in person to him, but sent his brother to treat with him; whom Domitian received with particular marks of esteem, and presented to him a diadem for Decebalus: he gave him, too, large sums of money; and engaged to pay him a yearly sum. This opprobrious peace the emperour misrepresented to the senate as the submission of Decebalus; for which, as well as for being defeated by the Quadi and Marcomanni, they decreed him a triumph.

Lucius Antonius assumes the title of emperour, but is defeated and slain. Domitian's jealousy and cruelty: he marches against the Sarmatians: the enormities of the informers he encourages: persecutes the Christians; and is killed by a conspiracy.

Lucius Antonius, governour of the Upper Germany, provoked by the cruel tyranny of Domitian, and depending on the fidelity of the two legions he had under his command, at once assumed the title of emperour, and was acknowledged as such by most of the German nations, with a promise of powerfull succours. But Lucius Maximus marching against him, he was defeated, slain, and his army entirely cut off: and Maximus mercifully burnt all the papers of Antonius, that Domitian might not use them to the prejudice of others. The emperour however found, on this occasion, ground to execute or banish and seize the estates of a great number of persons. Acilius Glabrio, whom Domitian had raised to the consulship, being a man of eminent strength and activity, the emperour obliged him to fight in the Arena with a large lion, which he killed. The people, by applauding this achievement, excited Domitian's jealousy, who, under pretence of some crime or other, banished, and soon after caused him to be murdered, as attempting to raise disturbances.

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But the disposition of this wretch to torment, while he insulted those in his power, was manifested by nothing more than his inviting the principal senators and knights to an entertainment, when they were with great ceremony conducted to an hall hung round with black, and illuminated with lamps only sufficient to discover several coffins, inscribed with the names of the guests themselves. Here having long waited in dreadfull expectation, the doors suddenly burst open, and a great number of naked men, with their bodies blacked, and a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall; and having for some time kept them in fear of immediate death while they danced round them, at length set the doors open, and informed them that the emperour gave the company leave to depart. The Sarmatians having cut in pieces a whole legion with the commanding officer, Domitian undertook an expedition against them; but of the event of this nothing is said. The following year, the cruelties of the imperial murderer became incessant; virtue and even science were persecuted; every thing was construed into a crime to satiate the rapacity of the informers; nor were the iniquities of these greater than their rewards. The pontifical and consular dignities were given to some, others were sent into the provinces as procurators, while in every station they exerted their terrours, and pursued their hatred. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freed-men against their patrons; and such as had no enemies, were betrayed and undone by their friends. In the fourteenth year of Domitian, a cruel persecution was raised by him against the Christians, of whom great numbers were put to death, both at Rome and in the provinces; the emperour having commanded all who professed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the state. Among the many who then suffered, may be reckoned some of the emperour's own relations, namely, Flavius Clemens, his first cozen; and the son of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian; with the two Flaviæ Domitillæ, the one the wife, the other the niece of Clemens. During this persecution, St. John was confined to the island of Patmos, in the Archipelago, where he was favoured with the Apocalyptic vision. But now the enormities of this scourge of a large part of the human race drew

A.D. 95.

towards the close; and singular is represented to have been the mode in which that close was forwarded. It is stated, that a child, with whom the emperour was accustomed to divert himself, having one day, when Domitian was asleep, taken from under his head a paper to play with, the empress happening to meet him, desired to see it, when, to her astonishment, she found that it contained the names of several eminent persons destined to slaughter, and her own at the head of them; with those of Norbanus and Petronius Secundus, captains of the prætorian guards, and of Parthenius, the emperour's chamberlain. To these Domitia immediately communicated the whole, and they immediately resolved to prevent the tyrant. Stephanus, a freed-man of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, a man of great strength, took on him to dispatch the tyrant; and being accordingly introduced by Parthenius to present a fictitious memorial, he stabbed Domitian while he was reading it; and Parthenius and some other conspirators joining him, the tyrant was slain; though, by the attendants, whom the noise drew to the apartment, Stephanus was killed. Thus fell Domitian, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the sixteenth of his reign having just commenced. For his death the soldiers shewed some regret, the people none, and the senate much joy, melting down his golden and silver statues, overturning his triumphal arches, and declaring his name infamous. A. D. 96.

With the death of Domitian ended the reigns of those who are called, improperly enough, the twelve Cæsars, and also of the emperours of the Flavian family; and here begins the prophetick history of the Apocalypse, the apostle receiving his vision during the continuance of that family on the throne, and being called to see the things which must come to pass after what were then passing; in the original, "μετα Ταυτα." Nor can the prediction of the period of conquest,* which immediately follows, be so well understood by any mode, as by marking the contrast between that time and the reign of Domitian, in which the Roman arms repeatedly suffered

Accession of Nerva; his character, reign, and death.

* For the proof of a period of conquest being foretold of this age, the reader may see a Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, by the Author, printed for Messrs. Rivington, 1802.

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disgrace from the barbarians. When the death of Domitian was published, the senate assembled, and unanimously declared M. Cocceius Nerva emperour. He was neither a Roman by birth, nor descended from an Italian family, but a native of Narnia, in Umbria, whose family came originally from Crete. Yet his father, and grand-father, and great-grand-father, had been consuls. He is described as a man of most humane temper, of great moderation and generosity, whose only pursuit during his short reign was the happiness of those over whom he ruled. After having been declared emperour, Nerva repaired to the camp of the prætorian guards, and having secured them by a promise of the donative, now become usual, he went to the senate, where he was received with the strongest marks of esteem and affection: which he returned by, it has been observed, blending together two things, weakly deemed by some irreconcileable—publick liberty and sovereign power. He immediately delivered those who had been arraigned of treason, causing their lands and property to be restored to them. Against informers he enacted laws more severe than even those of Titus; forbidding slaves or freed-men to appear against their masters in any accusation, and ordering that no one should be accused of the crime of violated majesty, or prosecuted for living after the manner of the Jews. As he lessened the taxes, to raise the money he wanted, he not only retrenched all superfluous expences which the folly or wickedness of his predecessors had introduced, but sold no small portion of the plate and rich furniture, both of his own house and the imperial palace, with several estates; most munificently distributing the money arising from these sales.* To the reformation of manners he applied himself with great care, was assiduous in the administration of justice, and so lenient as to afford perhaps

* One anecdote demonstrating his total freedom from covetousness must not be left unmentioned. Herodes Atticus having found in his house a large treasure, requested to know of Nerva how he should dispose of it; the emperour answered, "*Utere*,—Use it." But Atticus replied, that it was too great for a private person, and therefore he was afraid to use it. To this the generous prince answered only, "*Ergo abutere*,—Abuse it then;" but meaning probably, "impart it to others."

just cause for complaint of his promiscuous exercise of forbearance. When a conspiracy was discovered, headed by Calpurnius Crassus, against this excellent prince, Crassus was only banished, with his wife, to Tarentum; the emperour alledging the oath he had rashly taken, not to spill the blood of any senator. The mutiny of the prætorian guards, who, headed by their commander Ælianus Casperius, repaired to the palace, demanding the punishment of all concerned in the death of Domitian, and cut in pieces Petronius Secundus, Parthenius, and the other conspirators, proved in the end beneficial to the state; since Nerva, learning from it that his age and infirmities were despised, resolved to name a successor, who would support him, and make a good emperour after his decease. For these purposes he selected Ulpius Trajan, considered as the greatest and most meritorious individual of the age. He afterwards gave him the title of Cæsar, and even that of Emperour; so that he became not only his appointed successor, but his partner in the empire; and on this measure the disorderly soldiery immediately returned to their duty. Trajan being then in Germany, at the head of a powerfull army, Nerva by letter acquainted him with his appointment, and referred to him the punishment of that insult received from the prætorian guards and their commander. After some time, Trajan sent for Casperius and those of his party, as if to employ them; but either discharged them with ignominy, or put them to death. Towards the close of this year, a victory was gained over the Germans, of such consequence that Nerva deemed himself justified in assuming the title of Imperator on account of it. Very early in the following year, Nerva was seized with a fever, under which he soon sunk, after a reign of sixteen months, and at the age of more than seventy. A. D. 98.

Accession of Trajan, and his character: attacks the Daci, and compels their king to accept conditions of peace. Decebalus renews the war, then

Trajan, who now succeeded to the sole command, was both by birth and family a Spaniard, born in Italica, near Seville. From his youth he had been employed in the army. When very young, it is said, he checked the pride of the Parthians. He was in person robust, and had been enured to fatigue; in countenance comely and majestick; and in behaviour extremely engaging. He was indisputably the best commander of his age, and equal to the best generals

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in despair slays himself. Trajan overruns Dacia, and reduces it to a Roman province: determines to attack the Parthians.

of antiquity: in every duty of war indefatigable; marching on foot at the head of his troops. He was great in war, nor inferior in peace: he delighted to see his people happy, and to make them so was his chief object. His remarkable speech to Suburanus, when he presented him with a drawn sword, as the badge of the office of captain of the guards, has been preserved; "*Pro me; si merear, in me:* —To be used for me; but, should I merit it, against me." In generosity he is stated to have excelled even Nerva. With these virtues, however, vices were mingled: addicted to intemperance in wine, and subject to much worse desires; he was also ambitious, and more desirous of extending the confines of the empire than was consistent with justice. His persecution of the Christians does not entirely consist with the lenity ascribed to him. He suffered himself to be stiled Lord, and sacrifices to be offered to his statues; and people to swear by his life and eternity, as most sacred things. Trajan, after his accession to the empire, continued some time in Germany: all the nations of that country sent him congratulations on his elevation to the sovereignty; and those beyond the Danube refrained from their usual winter expeditions into the Roman territories, not daring to provoke so great a commander. In the beginning of this reign, the Bructerians having been expelled from their country, after very great slaughter, by the Chamavians and Angrivarians, settled in the present county of Nassau. On arriving at Rome, Trajan entered the city on foot; meeting his old friends with the greatest affability. Soon after his arrival, the senate decreed to him the title of Optimus, which he seemed to value above all bestowed on him; and, indeed, he endeavoured to prove himself entitled to it, as far as munificence would justify it: for by means of his largesses, which he frequently renewed, he is said to have supported near two millions of people. This was, indeed, imperial bounty. When the people had again bestowed on them the privilege, which they had so grossly abused, of electing magistrates, appears not; but Trajan, it seems, when standing for his third consulship, appeared among the other candidates, soliciting the suffrages of the tribes. The Daci becoming daily more formidable, and their king maintaining a good understanding with the sovereign of the Parthians, the correspondence

between these powers gave Trajan considerable jealousy. He therefore readily embraced an opportunity, which the first gave him, of making war on them, by some hostilities they committed in the Roman territories. Having assembled a numerous army, he, with expedition scarcely credible, marched to and passed the Danube; and entering Dacia without opposition, committed every where dreadfull ravages: and Decebalus advancing to meet him, a battle ensued, in which the Romans, after slaying great numbers of the enemy, gained the victory, yet paid dearly for it. Pursuing this advantage, Trajan so harassed Decebalus, that the latter sent to treat of peace; but the terms not being adjusted, the Romans advanced into the vicinity of the Dacian metropolis: while, on the other side, Maximus, one of Trajan's generals, took several strong holds; in one of which was the sister of Decebalus, and a Roman standard, lost when Fuscus was defeated. At length the Dacian monarch, dreading the loss of his capital, offered to submit to any conditions; and having sworn to observe those which Trajan prescribed, he was introduced to the emperour, and acknowledged himself his vassal; and at his command sent deputies to the senate for the ratification of the peace. Having placed garrisons in most of the cities of Dacia, Trajan returned to Rome, where he assumed the surname of Dacicus. After a solemn embassy had arrived at Rome, from Sauromates king of Bosporus, to make an alliance with Trajan and the Roman people, Decebalus began to prepare again for war, inviting the neighbouring nations to join him against the Romans as against a common enemy. With this invitation the Scythians complied; but the Jazyges refusing, he invaded and seized part of their country. On this the senate declared him an enemy, and Trajan in person marched against him: when the barbarian had recourse to the base measure of assassination; but, not succeeding in that, he attempted by other means, not much more honourable, to induce the emperour to grant him favourable terms. In the meantime Trajan built over the Danube a wonderfull stone bridge of twenty arches, of which some remains were in the last century to be seen near Severin, in the Lower Hungary; and the architect of which was Apollodorus of Damascus. In the following year, being the eighth of Trajan's

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reign, a dreadfull earthquake overturned in Asia the cities of Elea, Myrine, Pitame, and Cermæ; and in Greece those of Opus and Oritæ. On the return of spring, Trajan entered Dacia by his new bridge, and so successfully overran that country, that Decebalus put an end to his life, and his kingdom was reduced to a Roman province; having, it is said, the compass of a thousand miles. In this war Adrian commanded a legion, and so distinguished himself, that Trajan presented him with the diamond which Nerva sent him, on naming him for his successor. In Dacia the emperour planted a great number of colonies, formed of poor citizens of Rome, and of other towns of Italy, who were willing to settle there. The most celebrated of these is now a poor village in Transylvania, named Graditch.* The same year that this war was concluded, Arabia Petræa was conquered by A. C. Palma, governour of Syria. Trajan reduced, with the Daci, several nations allied with them; so that the fame of his conquests reaching the most distant countries, embassadors were sent even from India to congratulate him on the success of his arms. The following year, Trajan made, at a vast charge, a road through the Pontine Marshes, of which there are still some remains. Ere he set out for the East, a conspiracy, formed against him by Crassus and several other eminent persons, was detected, and the guilty condemned by the senate to banishment. To the journey into the East, now mentioned, Trajan was incited by a hope of reaping glory from a war with the Parthians. The pretence for commencing one was, that the Parthian king had assumed a right to dispose of the crown of Armenia. Vologeses, brother to Tiridates, who was on the throne of Armenia in the third of Vespasian, was in the year eighty succeeded by Artabanus, and he by Pacorus, the friend of Decebalus. Pacorus was father to Parthamasiris, and probably to Cosrhoes, who reigned at this time in Parthia. When this last found that Trajan really intended to attack him on account of the above-mentioned offence, he endeavoured to appease him by rich presents, and a representation that

* This colony was by the Romans called Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacia Sarmiz.

Exedares, to whom the crown of Armenia had been given, had resigned it, and by beseeching Trajan to dispose of it in favour of Parthamasiris. At Athens the Parthian embassadors delivered this message to Trajan, and received a very unsatisfactory answer, with a rejection of their presents; after which the emperour continued his journey to Antioch in Syria.

Trajan conquers Armenia; receives the submission of several kings; reduces Mesopotamia, and compels Chosroes to give hostages to him; and extends his conquests towards the Caspian Sea.

During Trajan's stay at Antioch, several petty princes paid their compliments to him, all of whom he received with apparent kindness and confidence; but Abgarus, prince of Edessa in Mesopotamia, while he sent him presents, and declared his wish to live in peace with him, declined personally waiting on him, lest he should offend the Parthians. Trajan having made the necessary preparations for his expedition, advanced to Armenia; and having treated Parthamasiris, when he came to him to request the crown of it, in such a manner as to induce him to remind him that he was not his prisoner, he proceeded to make himself master of the whole country (in defending which, Parthamasiris was slain), and reduced it to a Roman province. On this several princes voluntarily submitted to Trajan, among whom are particularized the kings of Iberia, Sarmatia, Bosporus, and Colchis. He also named a king for the Albanians. Having garrisoned the strong-holds of Armenia, the emperour advanced into Mesopotamia, and admitted Abgarus of Edessa into his friendship. After which he reduced the greater part of that country by the very fame of his name; so truly went he forth conquering and to conquer. But Trajan stopt not here; for, building a bridge over the Tigris, he conquered a considerable part, if not the whole, of Adiabene, and compelled Chosroes to conclude a treaty, and deliver hostages to him. Neither, through the perishing of so many historical works, in which the achievements of this prince are recorded, is any thing more known of his wars in the East for the six following years. We are indeed assured, that in the Parthian war he distinguished himself, both as a soldier and a general: and that a Moor by nation, named Lusius Quietus, became eminent beyond all the commanders employed by him in that war; and particularly for reducing the Mardi, a people of Asia, near Armenia, and not far from the Caspian Sea.

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Trajan again attacks the Parthians, and subdues Assyria and Babylonia: takes the Parthian capital, and subjects the countries to the confines of India: narrowly escapes death, in an earthquake at Antioch.

Whatever occasioned the renewal of the war with Parthia, in the eighteenth year of his reign, Trajan, early in the spring, left Syria to attack the Parthians, encamped on the other side of the Tigris; having contrived to transport his army over that river, to the great dismay of the enemy. Having again made himself master of Adiabene, he subdued, too, the country which still retained the name of Assyria; and turning to the south, entered Babylon, and reduced its large territory; in which, until that time, the Roman standards had never been displayed. After which, again passing the Tigris, he made himself master of Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian, and afterwards of the Persian, empire. Here he took captive the daughter of Chosroes, and seized the throne of the Parthian kings, which was of massive gold. The taking of Ctesiphon put him in possession of the neighbouring countries; and he is stated to have reduced all the regions which lie between Babylon and India. Assyria and Mesopotamia he reduced to Roman provinces; so that the empire at this time extended even beyond the Tigris. Trajan returned to Antioch for his winter quarters, which, while he was there, was nearly ruined by an earthquake; the shocks of which were repeated for several days, and by it many thousands perished, among whom was one of the consuls, and several other persons of distinction. Trajan himself was much hurt, but escaped through a window from the house in which he was.

Trajan reduces the king of Mesene to tribute; succeeds in his attack on Arabia Felix. Insurrection of the Jews. Revolt of several conquests, and recovery of some. Trajan gives the Parthians a king; makes war on the Hagarenes, but cannot take Atra:

The following year the port of Ancona was formed, by the orders of Trajan, as some years before had been that of Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia. In the spring of this year the emperour, sailing down the Tigris, compelled the king of Mesene, an island formed by that river, to become his tributary. It should seem that it was about this time that he conquered, whatever he did reduce, whether a part or the whole, of Arabia Felix. Yet after this admirable course of conquest, he retained not in subjection all the nations he had subdued; for most of them after his departure revolted, and drove out or massacred the garrisons left among them. At this time the dispersed Jews rose in rebellion in various parts of the empire, but most especially in Egypt, Lybia, and Cyprus. As the massacres they committed were extraordinary (for in Lybia they destroyed

above two hundred thousand persons, and in the island of Cyprus two hundred and fifty thousand, besides a number in Egypt scarcely credible); so the cruelties they perpetrated were most nefarious; sawing asunder some of their victims, and throwing others to wild beasts; while they washed themselves in their blood, wore their skins, and made garlands of their entrails. Trajan, irritated by the report of these barbarities, sent Marcius Turbo into Lybia, with a strong force, and orders to pursue the Jews with revenge answerable to the enormity of their crimes. Turbo defeated them with great slaughter; but the victory was not decisive, nor did the war cease until the reign of Adrian. In the island of Cyprus the Jews were all cut off to a man. The example of insurrection set by that people, was followed by most of the newly conquered countries. But Lusius Quietus gained great advantages over the insurgents, recovered the city of Nisibis, reduced and laid in ashes that of Edessa; and two other commanders retook Seleucia on the Tigris, and several other places. Though the Parthians had taken no part in the revolt, Trajan deemed it prudent to give them a king of their own, instead of a Roman governour; and therefore repairing to Ctesiphon, in a large assembly of Romans and Parthians, on a plain near that city, he, with great pomp, crowned one Parthamaspates king of the Parthians; who continued faithfull to the Romans, but had little authority over the Parthians, who despised him as a slave to Rome. The following year Trajan marched into Arabia, and made war on the Hagarenes. But here he found he had gone beyond his commission; for after a narrow escape from being killed in one of the assaults on their city of Atra, he was compelled to raise the siege. Soon after this, being seized with a dropsy and palsy, he was obliged by the rapid increase of his disorder, to lay aside his purpose of reducing some places which had revolted in Mesopotamia, and leaving the command of the army to Adrian, whom he had appointed governour of Syria, embarqued for Italy. But on his arrival at Selinus in Cilicia, he was seized with a flux, which soon deprived him of life, after a reign of nineteen years and a half.

is seized with his last illness, and dies at Selinus.

A. D. 117.

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Accession of Adrian; his character; contracts the bounds of the empire; lessens the taxes; defeats and makes peace with the Sarmatians. Most iniquitously puts to death four consulars; begins and pursues his progress through the provinces.

Publius Ælius Adrianus, who was by his father left to the guardianship of Trajan, succeeded him in the empire, under the plea of adoption by the late emperour, and by the favour of his widow Plotina. He was a man of eminent abilities, improved by great learning; with some considerable virtues, and vices as gross: very munificent, kind to his friends, but accessible to slanderers: a reviver of the ancient military discipline, but addicted to every kind of superstition. After he had caused himself to be declared emperour, he wrote to the senate excusing his assumption of the sovereignty, under the plea of having been compelled to it by the soldiery; to whom he doubled the donative given by his predecessors. He immediately deprived the renowned Lusius Quietus of the command of his countrymen, the Moors; suspecting his aspiring to the empire. The conquests made by Trajan he relinquished, and made the Euphrates again the eastern boundary of the empire. The Armenians he permitted to choose a king; and the Parthians disliking Parthamaspates, he made him sovereign of some neighbouring nation, and suffered them to recall Cosrhoes; and fearing the use which might be made of it by the barbarians, he ordered the noble bridge built by Trajan over the Danube to be broken down. On his return to Rome, he was by all ranks received with great demonstrations of joy; and quickly after, he remitted debts due to the Exchequer to the amount of more than seven millions sterling. He moreover lessened the taxes, both at Rome and in the provinces. In the year following, an invasion of Illyricum by the Sarmatians and Roxolani obliged Adrian to hasten into Mæsia, where he defeated the barbarians on their return: those that escaped sent embassadors to the emperour, who granted them honourable terms; and thus soon closed the war. From Illyricum, whither he next went, he wrote to the senate, complaining of Corn. Palma, L. Pub. Celsus, Dom. Nigrinus, and Lusius Quietus; all consulars, men of eminent parts, and highly esteemed by Trajan, whom yet the obsequious senate most iniquitously ordered to be put to death, without even apprizing them that they were accused. This step drew on Adrian the publick hatred on his return to Rome; therefore, he on oath publickly disclaimed all

knowledge or desire of it; and stopt the proceedings carrying on against several other persons of great merit and distinction, as privy to the supposed conspiracy. The next year this emperour commenced a progress, which he purposed to extend to all the provinces of the empire, and did in fact visit the greater part of them; thus employing nearly the whole remainder of his reign. He began with Gaul, viewing the chief cities and forts of it, and distributing relief to the poor inhabitants: thence he proceeded to Germany, where was stationed the flower of the Roman troops: from hence he returned through Gaul into Britain; where, while the greatest part of the island continued subject to Rome, the northern nations had revolted. These Adrian did not deem it worth his while to reduce again; but, to secure the province against the Caledonians, he drew a wall from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tine in Northumberland, eighty miles in length. From Britain Adrian passed through Gaul to Spain: here he narrowly escaped assassination, from a slave labouring under insanity. From Spain he returned to Rome; after a short stay in which city he passed into Greece, and thence into the East: from hence returning through the Proper Asia, he visited Cilicia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Phrygia; ornamenting most of their principal cities with publick edifices at his own expence: he visited, too, the islands of the Archipelago. The following year he went into Sicily, and visited the top of Ætna, and thence returned to Rome. In the hundred and twenty-ninth year of our æra, the cities of Nicomedia, Cæsarea, and Nicæa, in Bithynia, were nearly destroyed by an earthquake, and rebuilt at the emperour's expence; and in the same year he passed into Africa, whose inhabitants had suffered under a five year's drought, leaving every where signal marks of his liberality. But the fair fame he thus obtained, was again clouded by his cruel treatment of Apollodorus the architect; who having anew irritated him by a sarcastick remark on the construction of a temple the emperour had built at Rome, Adrian first banished him, and then, under some pretence or other, caused him to be put to death. Passing during the summer again into Asia, he restored to Chosroes his daughter, whom Trajan had taken prisoner. Here many petty kings, some by invitation, some without,

waited on him; were magnificently entertained, and loaded with presents on their departure; and the Bactrian princes, who did not come, sent embassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of Rome. From Asia Adrian went into Syria, and thence into Palæstine, and Arabia, and Egypt. In the following year a very learned civilian, Salvius Julianus, compiled, by Adrian's command, the perpetual edict, containing all the laws which had been yearly published by the prætors in their edicts; and intended itself to continue in force as a body of standing laws. While at Alexandria, Adrian conferred great favours on the place; repairing both the publick and private buildings; and not only restoring to the citizens their former privileges, but heaping on them new favours. From Egypt the emperour passed into Lybia Cyrenaica, where he slew a lion of extraordinary size, which had made great ravages in the country.

An insurrection of the Jews, and its punishment. The Massagetæ invade Armenia. Adrian's munificence to the Athenians. He returns to Rome, and receives several embassies.

Adrian returned from the Cyrenaica, through Egypt, Syria, and Greece, to Italy. But no sooner had he left Syria, than the Jews, from a cause not specifically ascertained, revolted, under the conduct of one Barcoquebas; under whom, having hailed him as the restorer of their nation, they over-ran Judæa and Syria, committing the most dreadfull ravages: but their leader's cruelty was chiefly directed against the Christians. This insurrection Adrian at first seemed to despise; until, by the numbers that united in it, it grew formidable: he then gave the command of the army in Palæstine to Julius Severus, governour of Britain, esteemed the greatest general of his time. The Jews having made themselves masters of Jerusalem, after massacring the Romans, settled there: Severus besieged the place, took it, and laid it in ashes: the war, however, lasted two or three years; and was ended by a complete victory on the part of the Romans, in which Barcoquebas was taken prisoner. In the course of this war the Romans are stated to have slain five hundred and eighty thousand men; as to those which perished by fire, famine, and distempers, they were un-numbered. Of the Jews who out-lived this second massacre of their nation, multitudes scarcely credible were sold, at the same price as horses; while such as were not disposed of in Palæstine, were transported into Egypt; where they either perished by famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants. This war being

ended, Adrian published an edict forbidding the Jews, on pain of death, to approach Jerusalem, or any place whence it could be seen. Partly on the ruins of the ancient city, Adrian built a new one, naming it Ælia Capitolina; so that the name of Jerusalem was for some time lost among the heathens. Where the temple had stood were placed two statues of the emperour, and others of the gods; and over the gate which led to Bethlehem, one of marble, of a hog. But the ridicule thus thrown on their law, and the contempt thus expressed for their worship, does not appear to have been overlooked; though, perhaps, not yet fully repaid. At the time of the Jewish war, Pharasmanes, king of either the Alani or Massagetæ, committed dreadfull ravages in Media, and penetrated through Armenia into Cappadocia; but on Fl. Arrianus, governour of this last province, preparing to meet him, quickly withdrew. Adrian in the mean time continued well pleased at Athens; and, joining in the celebration of the great feast of Bacchus, he distributed on that occasion large sums, and a very great quantity of corn among the populace: and with so many buildings did he embellish the city, that he was considered as a second founder of it. At length the emperour left this favourite seat of learning, arts, and the most detestable vice, to return to the metropolis of his dominions. He had not been long there, when embassadors arrived from Vologeses, king of Armenia, complaining of Pharasmanes, king of Iberia; and others from the Iazyges, a Sarmatian tribe, requesting to have their ancient treaties with the people of Rome confirmed by the emperour. These were received with great urbanity; and Pharasmanes himself arriving at Rome, with his wife and son, to answer the complaint of Vologeses, bringing rich presents, these were repaid by others far more valuable; to which Adrian added fifty elephants and five hundred chosen men for a guard, and an enlargement of his dominions. The Iazyges, too, were admitted into the senate to receive an answer there.

Adrian taken ill, adopts L. Verus; who dying, he adopts Titus Antoninus; his disorder increasing, he

A lingering disease now attacked Adrian, which led him to think of a successor; and he adopted Lucius Verus. In the following year the emperour retreated to Tibur, now Tivoli, where it is said, that he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness. Afterwards yielding to that cruel disposition which he had hitherto restrained,

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he ordered many illustrious persons, under different pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. At length his appointed successor died; leaving one son, L. Verus: neither, from his extreme lasciviousness, was his death to be lamented. In his place Adrian adopted Titus Antoninus, on condition that he should adopt M. Annius Verus, called afterwards Marcus Aurelius, and L. Verus, the son of the deceased prince of that name. The pain which he suffered daily increasing, Adrian became furious, put to death several senators, and directed Antoninus to have several others executed. In the mean time the tormented emperour endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself: being prevented in this, he removed from Rome, where he then was, to Baiæ; and neglecting the advice of his physicians, ate and drank according to his own inclination, and thus hastened his death; which took place in his sixty-third year, after he had reigned very nearly one-and-twenty years.

hastens his death by an unrestrained diet.

A. D. 138.

On account of the cruelties perpetrated by Adrian, the senate were at first for branding his memory, by annulling all his acts; but Antoninus urging that his adoption must with the rest be cancelled, they permitted this bloody tyrant, whose pollutions had been execrable and his blasphemies shocking, to have divine worship decreed to him.* Still the good deeds even of such a character ought to have justice done them: he prohibited, though without full effect, the offering of human sacrifices: he abolished all private workhouses, in which much grievous oppression was exercised. He had at first suffered the Christians to be persecuted; but when better informed of their tenets, he put a stop to the persecution. Titus Antoninus, who succeeded Adrian in the empire, derived his origin, on his father's side, from the city of Nemausus, now Nismes, in Languedoc. His family, the Aurelian, is thought to have been very ancient, though not distinguished very early by preferments in Rome. His nearer ancestors on both sides were eminent for their virtues. He was in

Accession of Antoninus Pius. His character: marries his daughter to M. Aurelius. The Brigantes revolt: are reduced. Some other insurrections take place, but are quelled. Justin Martyr presents his apology with effect. Several publick calamities. Antoninus's death.

* Can this, and the numerous similar particulars which appear in the course of this History, be read without an acknowledgement of the justice of the title applied in the Revelation to Rome, *The Mother of the abominations of the earth?*

the forty-second year of his age, when he attained the sovereignty, and happy in the esteem and affection of persons of all ranks, and that, too, not undeservedly. Ever ready to hear with the most obliging patience the complaints of his subjects, yet holding light popular applause: an utter enemy to ostentation: neither offering flattery himself, nor fond of receiving it: an unaffected observer of the laws and religious rites of his country: such was the mildness of his temper and the suavity of his manners, that, during his long reign, he is said never to have done any thing that yielded to any one just cause of offence. Whether it was for the respect he manifested for the memory of his own father, or the singular care he took of his father-in-law in his old age, or of Adrian in his sickness, or on any other ground, the senate bestowed on him the surname of Pius. No sooner was this wise man raised to the empire, than he disposed of the greatest part of his private estate in favour of the indigent citizens. He chose for governours of provinces only men of known integrity. Of the publick revenue he was sparing, and deprived several of the pensions which Adrian had settled on them; saying, he could not bear to see the state devoured by those who lived on the labours of others. The whole tribe of informers he utterly extirpated: and in his benevolence in the support of multitudes of children whose parents were indigent, in his gifts to men of learning, and in his publick works, he gave daily instances of the most ample generosity. Such was his moderation in abstaining from all ambitious projects, and so great his equity, that even declared enemies of Rome chose him for arbitrator of their disputes. The king of Parthia having invaded Armenia with a formidable army, merely on the receipt of a letter from Antoninus, retreated, and disbanded his troops. The kings of Hyrcania, Bactria, and India, sent embassadors to him, requesting his alliance: Pharasmanes of Iberia came to him in person: the Lazi, Armenians, Quadi, and several other nations not subject to the empire, readily received such princes as he appointed. And to so high a degree was he revered by all ranks, that neither the soldiery or people could, for the space of more than an hundred years, consider any one as truly emperour, who did not bear the name of Antoninus. During the first consulship after his accession, Antoninus

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gave his daughter Annia Faustina in marriage to his adopted son, M. Aurelius, whom he created Cæsar; which had now, it seems, become to be considered as the title marking the heirs apparent of the empire. In the consulate of Lollianus Avitus, and Claudius Maximus, the Brigantes in Britain revolted; but were soon reduced by Lollius Urbicus; who deprived them of much of their country, subdued some more northern nations, and built a new wall between the Friths of Forth and Clyde. Two years after this, some disturbances arose in Germany and Dacia, but were soon composed: the Alani, too, attempting to invade the Roman dominions, were repulsed with great loss. On all occasions the emperour manifested a particular esteem for M. Aurelius: but as the conduct of L. Verus was very different, very different, too, was the treatment which he experienced from Antoninus: he neither bestowed on him the title of Cæsar, nor invested him with any power. The Moors having taken arms in the consulate of Torquatus and Julianus, were totally defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to take refuge beyond Mount Atlas. It was in the fifteenth year of Antoninus's reign, that Justin Martyr presented to him, his adopted sons, and the senate, his first Apology for Christianity; and so far was Antoninus influenced by it, and other information which he received, that he then put a stop to the persecution going on against the disciples of the Gospel. The following year was marked by an inundation of the Tiber, a fire which consumed part of Rome, and a famine which swept off great numbers of the citizens. During the consulship of Ceionius Silvanus and C. Serius Augurinus, the cities of Cos and Rhodes, with several others in Lycia and Caria, were overturned by an earthquake; but soon restored to their former lustre by the munificence of Antoninus. Five years after this (no events worthy of remark having occurred in the intervening period) the emperour was seized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in his seventy-fourth year, and in the twenty-third of his reign.

A. D. 161.

Accession of Marcus Aurelius, who makes Lucius Verus his

Marcus Aurelius was of a family which came from Succubæ, a city of Spain, and forty years old, when, on the death of Antoninus, he succeeded to the empire. He is said to have excelled in all

branches of learning; but his principal study was philosophy; and from twelve years of age he assumed the habit, and practised the austerities then in vogue among the philosophers, by which he injured his health. As soon as Antoninus was dead, the senate pressed M. Aurelius to assume the management of affairs, without any mention of L. Verus, who was entirely abandoned to debauchery. M. Aurelius, however, immediately made him his partner in power; and the two emperours went together from the senate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promised the soldiers a bounty; and M. Aurelius spoke for both. With great mildness did they both govern; and to cement their unity, M. Aurelius betrothed his daughter Lucilla to Verus. But the happiness which the whole empire now felt was interrupted by a very destructive inundation of the Tiber, followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced a numberless multitude of insects, which destroyed what the flood had spared, and occasioned a famine in Rome. At the same time the Catti made irruptions into Germany, and the Britons began to revolt. Against the latter was sent Calpurnius Agrippa, and against the former, Au. Victorinus: but of the success of these commanders nothing is recorded. But against Vologeses, king of the Parthians, who soon after the death of Antoninus appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army, Marcus was not displeased to have the opportunity of giving Verus the command; and thus removing him from the debaucheries of the capital. Great disturbances, too (but the account preserved of which is very confused), were now prevalent in Armenia: Sohemus, the king of that country, was driven from the throne; and the king of the Henochii, a people dwelling between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, was killed by a petty prince named Tiridates, afterwards taken by the Romans, and confined to Britain. Severinus, the governour of Cappadocia, having led several legions into Armenia, was there attacked by the Parthians, and cut off with all his army. Elated at this victory, Vologeses entered Syria at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadfull ravages both in that province and in Cappadocia, which he likewise invaded, after having put to flight Attidius Cornelianus, who commanded in

partner in the empire. This last, to remove him from Rome, sent into the East; but there only pursues his debaucheries. The Parthian war: the Romans have great success: take the Parthian capital, and destroy Selcucia. War with the Marcomanni: death of Verus: Marcus's success against the barbarians: Pertinax raised to the consulship.

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Syria. Against this formidable enemy Verus set out from Rome, but had not left Italy ere by his intemperance he brought on himself a violent distemper; and though he recovered of this, the year was, through his loitering at every place that could afford him amusement, far spent, ere he arrived in Syria; where, choosing Antioch for his residence, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war, he, through four years which it continued, never once appeared at the head of his army, but was wallowing in all the debaucheries of Daphne. In the mean time his officers and troops, which were the flower of the Roman army, gained many signal victories; and after an overthrow at Europa, a city on the Euphrates, the Parthian commander Osrhoes, having lost his army, was compelled to conceal himself in a cave. While these things were passing in the East, Rome presented a scene of happiness under the vigilant, mild, and just government of Aurelius. The following year Armenia being again reduced, Sohemus was restored to the throne of it; and in the next, M. Aurelius sent his betrothed daughter Lucilia into Syria to be married to the contemptible Verus. In the fourth year of the reign of Aurelius, Vologeses being totally defeated by Avidius Cassius, the latter pursuing his victory, advanced to Ctesiphon, took that city, and reduced to ashes the palace of the Parthian monarchs: he also made himself master of Edessa, and Babylon, and all Media. The city of Seleucia on the Tigris received the Romans as friends; yet Cassius ordered the citizens, to the number of four hundred thousand, to be massacred, and the city to be utterly demolished. On his return he lost a great number of his own men, partly by disease, partly through want of provisions. The war being ended, L. Verus appointed kings over the nations which had submitted to Rome. Verus, after his return to Rome, begged that the title of Cæsar might be conferred on the two sons of M. Aurelius; who received it accordingly. The return of Verus, however, proved most extensively fatal; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed; so that the infection was at length spread to all the regions which had any communication with Rome, or the Romans; raging with violence for some years. This pestilence was followed by a dreadfull famine, earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At

the same time the Marcomanni, one of the most warlike of the German nations, having drawn into their alliance all the barbarous tribes bordering on the Roman dominions, from Gaul to Illyricum, broke into the empire. Against these enemies, early in the next spring, both the emperours took the field; and with such terrour did their approach strike the barbarians, that they repassed the Danube, and even put to death the promoters of the war; and most of them sent embassadors to make their submission. Yet the war seems to have broken out anew in the following year; for it appears, that the Romans then gained a signal victory over the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians, and Daci. And the next year, notwithstanding this defeat, the Germans renewed the war with more vigour than ever; and induced both the emperours to leave Rome in the depth of winter, who were quickly driven back by the plague beginning to rage at Aquileia. In returning from whence, L. Verus died of an apoplexy, to the relief of the empire, as well as of M. Aurelius, to whom his very profligate conduct afforded much trouble and vexation. This emperour, delivered from so troublesome a partner, seemed to surpass not only his predecessors, but himself, in the goodness of his government. His lieutenants gained some advantages over the Marcomanni in the beginning of the ensuing year: however, these soon resumed their arms; and having first cut to pieces Vindex, the captain of the guards, and most of his men, they approached the Roman territories; when, an obstinate engagement taking place, the Romans were at length defeated, with the loss of near twenty thousand men. After this, the barbarians entered Italy, destroying all with fire and sword. The emperour's army being greatly weakened by the plague, he was forced to take extraordinary measures to recruit it; and to avoid the necessity of burdening the people with additional taxes, he sold the plate, jewels, and furniture of the palace; and very large was the sum thus raised. Ere the emperour left Rome, he lost his son, Annius Verus, in the seventh year of his age. Severe appears to have been this war: the different tribes of barbarians perpetrated in different places dreadfull devastations; but by the extraordinary prudence and intrepidity of Aurelius himself, and the eminent bravery of his officers and troops, the

enemies were not only compelled to repass the Danube, but received in so doing a compleat defeat. The Iazyges were defeated, both in Pannonia and in passing the Danube. Pompeianus, who had married the emperour's daughter Lucilla, the widow of Verus, requesting to have Pertinax joined in the command of a body of troops, Aurelius complied; and such was the success of Pertinax in his commission, that the emperour admitted him into the senate: and afterwards, being convinced that the complaints to which he had before listened to against him were groundless, he appointed him governour of Rhætia and Noricum, whence he drove the Germans; and was therefore, notwithstanding his mean birth, raised to the consular dignity.

Insurrection in Egypt quelled by Av. Cassius: extraordinary deliverance of Aurelius and his army. Most of the German nations reduced to sue for peace. Revolt of Cassius, ended by his death. Aurelius sets out for the East. Death of Faustina. The emperour returns from the East: has great success against the Germans; the full effect of which is prevented by his death.

Ere the war with the Marcomanni was ended, an insurrection of robbers and shepherds, incited by the priests, began in Egypt; and the Egyptians in great numbers joining them, they defeated the imperial troops in a pitched battle, and overran the whole country. When Cassius marching against them, did, by sowing divisions among them, at length reduce them to submission. The same commander achieved great things, this and the succeeding year, in Armenia and Arabia; but history does not particularize them. At the same time the Moors ravaged, with fire and sword, the greatest part of Spain; but were driven thence by the emperour's lieutenants. Two years after this, Aurelius appears to have gained considerable advantages over the Germans; and in another or two, the emperour and his army escaped destruction, when surrounded by the enemy in a place without water, in a manner so extraordinary as to occasion the deliverance to be attributed to the Divine interposition: a mercy which the heathens ascribed to their feigned gods, and the Christians to the Lord. That, by the interposition of the former, it could have been effected, no man in his senses will now assert. If therefore it was a miraculous occurrence (and that all parties agreed in thinking it such, there is testimony the most incontrovertible), it must have proceeded from the power and goodness of Him, Who alone could have wrought it; and whether it be more reasonable to conclude, that that power and goodness were exerted on supplications made to Himself by those who worshipped Him as the

sole Lord of heaven and earth, or in compliance with petitions offered by those who denied His supremacy to imaginary beings, to whom they rendered the honour due to Him alone, let the reader judge. By a great rain falling suddenly, however, the Roman army was in fact rescued from impending destruction, and their enemies, by the effect of the storm on them, brought to throw themselves on the mercy of Aurelius. And this event took place in the country of the Quadi. Great part of the ensuing year did the emperour continue in Germany, and at length compelled the Quadi and Marcomanni to sue for peace. Yet they quickly infringed that granted them; but were, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, again utterly defeated: when most of the nations in Germany again implored the emperour for peace; though the Quadi still continued in arms. Those who submitted were obliged by Aurelius to remove five miles from the Danube; and from the king of the Iazyges the emperour received not only all the Roman prisoners he had taken, but a body of eighty thousand horse to serve in his armies. While these things were passing in Germany, Avidius Cassius, governour of Syria, of whom mention has already been made, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour, on a report, it should seem (but whether raised by himself or not is uncertain), of the death of Aurelius; and soon became master of Egypt on one side, and all the countries beyond Mount Taurus on the other. In the mean time Aurelius, having finished the war with the Marcomanni, and already heard of the rebellion of Cassius, sent for his son Commodus from Rome, and gave him the manly robe with the usual ceremonies; and at length left Germany to march into the East: but he had not advanced far, when he heard that Cassius was killed. His son Metianus, and the captain of his guard, were the only persons of distinction that perished on account of his rebellion. The other children of Cassius the emperour took under his protection. The emperour now deeming it proper to make a journey into the East, took with him his son Commodus and wife Faustina; which last died suddenly, in a village at the foot of Mount Taurus. She was a worthless woman, of loose and wanton life; yet Aurelius greatly lamented his loss of her. The Syrians having readily joined Cassius because he was their countryman, a

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law was at this time passed, that no one should hold the government of his own country. Although, on his arrival in the East, M. Aurelius freely forgave all the other cities there, the inhabitants of Antioch having manifested a particular zeal for Cassius and hatred of himself, he deprived them of all their privileges, suppressed their publick assemblies, and took from them their shews and spectacles. Yet, ere he left Syria, he restored the whole. On leaving Asia, he visited Athens, conferred many favours on that city, and established publick professors of all the sciences, with handsome pensions from his exchequer. From hence he returned to Italy, and entered Rome in triumph. While here, and in the neighbourhood, he corrected several abuses; and though he could not, without forfeiting the good will of the people, suppress the combats of gladiators, he allowed them only blunt swords, as equally adapted to the exhibition of their skill. The next year the Marcomanni and their confederates having renewed the war, the emperour, having first married Commodus to Crispina, the daughter of Bruttius Præsens, left Rome to march against them; and in the following years gained over them a signal victory: the full effect of which, however, in the complete reduction of Germany, was prevented by the death of Aurelius; for he died in March the following year, having reigned rather more than nineteen years, and lived nearly fifty-nine.

A. D. 180.

Accession of Commodus: he makes peace with the Germans. The Caledonians commit great ravages in Britain; but are repelled. Commodus dismisses his father's counsellors: an unsuccessfull conspiracy formed against him: Perennis put to death: Cleander succeeds him: conspiracy of Maternus:

A few days after the death of his father, Commodus went to the camp, and presented the soldiers with the usual donative; after which he would have returned to Rome immediately, but was by Pompeianus prevailed on to continue some time in Pannonia. When the Quadi and Marcomanni proposed to open a treaty with him; and one was soon concluded, by which they were deprived of their arms, and precluded from making war on the allies of the Romans. But with the other German nations, whom his father had nearly reduced, Commodus concluded a very dishonourable peace; nay, of some he purchased one with large sums. Having thus ended the war, he hastened to Rome. The next year the senate decreed Commodus the title of Felix, or Happy, but on what account is not apparent; and in the following, his lieutenants, Albinus and Niger, gained some advantages over the barbarians beyond Dacia. During

the next consulate, the Caledonians having passed the wall erected by the Romans, committed great ravages, and cut in pieces a Roman general and his army, but in the end were driven back with great slaughter. This year Commodus dismissed all his father's friends and counsellors, filling their places with his debauched companions, or such as were by them recommended. And here leaves us that scene of security and happiness, and prosperity, which had prevailed under his five last predecessors in the empire; and that period of disturbance commences, which it was predicted should succeed it:* for the imperious behaviour of those who were unworthily raised to high stations, drew on the prince himself the hatred and contempt of the senate; feeling which, he began to put to death some of its most eminent members. This led to a conspiracy, at the head of which was the emperour's sister Lucilla; but which seems to have miscarried merely from the folly of one of the conspirators: in consequence of which these were put to death quickly, and Lucilla privately, after having been banished to the island of Capreæ. The emperour's wife, too, Crispina, underwent the same fate, for imitating his debaucheries. After which, numbers of senators, and other persons of distinction, were slain or banished under different pretences. The emperour's favourite minister, Perennis, being accused of aspiring at the empire; he, his wife, sister, and sons, were all put to death; and Cleander, a freed-man of the emperour's, was appointed to his place; and abused his authority more flagrantly than Perennis had ever done. By him offices, provinces, publick revenues, publick justice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty, were set to sale. Perennis being dead, Commodus endeavoured to throw the whole odium of what had been wrongly done on him. Pertinax, whom he banished, the emperour appointed commander of the troops in Britain, who had mutinied, not being able any more than the natives to bear the tyranny of Commodus. Pertinax by degrees brought the soldiers back to their duty; but after an hard contest, during which he was left on the spot for dead, and after having, too, refused with indignation their offer of the sovereignty. A disturb-

A plague, a conflagration, and a famine: Cleander's execution: Pertinax recalled from Britain.

* See The Revelation, ch. 6, v. 4.

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ance was next raised by a common soldier named Maternus, who having deserted, and being joined by other deserters and banditti flocking to him on every side, became so powerfull as to storm strong cities, overrun great part of Gaul and Spain; and at length, with his men divided into small parties, reached Rome itself, purposing to murder Commodus, and seize the empire; but being there betrayed, was immediately seized and executed. And with him sunk his party. The same year broke out a most dreadfull plague, which lasted two or three years; and was most violent at Rome, where it frequently swept off two thousand persons a day. The following year the emperour, after exacting considerable sums, under pretence of going into Africa, spent the money in revels. About this time, Severus was translated from the government of Pannonia to that of Sicily; and in the same year a great part of the capitol and several contiguous buildings were destroyed by lightning, and the city was afflicted by a severe famine. The people ascribing whatever they suffered to the minister Cleander, they at last rose and obliged the emperour to give up his favourite, and he caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to them. After which, his wife, children, and most of his creatures were by the enraged multitude massacred. About the close of the year, Pertinax was, at his own request, recalled from Britain, and charged with the care of supplying the city with provisions, in the room of Papirius Dionysius, who was put to death, with all who had contributed to raise the price of corn.

Commodus's cruelty increases; and so does his absurdity. At length a successful conspiracy is formed against him; and he is slain.

The various conspiracies formed against him, now led Commodus to abandon himself to cruelty uncontrouled. In one day he put to death ten persons of distinction. All even distantly related to Avidius Cassius already spoken of, he caused to be burnt alive. The following year another conflagration, which lasted several days, and was extinguished only by a sudden and violent rain, took place at Rome. In the next year the Roman troops were defeated by the Saracens, of whom, under that specifick name, this is the first mention that occurs in history. The account of the latter end of this prince's reign, as given by eye-witnesses, is nought but a detail of his absurdities. Often had he appeared on the publick stage in Amazonian and other fantastical dresses, but this year he shamelessly

entered the lists with the gladiators, and acted, and danced quite naked. At length, however, Lætus, the captain of his guards, and Eclectus, his great chamberlain, conspired with his concubine to cut off him, under whom all their lives were in danger; and accordingly had him murdered by his favourite wrestler Narcissus, who seizing him by the throat, strangled him. Thus died Commodus, in the thirty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. The conspirators gave out that he died of an apoplexy. A. D. 192.

Pertinax succeeds to the empire: his previous history and character: he is murdered by the prætorian guards.

Commodus being dead, Lætus and Eclectus repaired to the house of Helvidius Pertinax, whom they judged the individual most deserving of the empire; and surprised him with the offer of the sovereignty, when he supposed that they were sent by Commodus to put him to death: but when he was convinced of the emperour's death, he accepted their offer, and with Lætus, their captain, went to the camp of the prætorian guards, where, after promising them a largess, they took the oath of allegiance to him. From thence he repaired to the senate, where, being received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, he yet intreated Pompeianus to accept the empire instead of himself; and on his refusal, intreated the senate to choose another: but his request not being listened to, he applied to Acilius Glabrio to mount the throne; but he likewise declining it, Pertinax was obliged to accept the office; which all but himself thought him a fit person to fill. This emperour was born in the duchy of Montserrat; his father was a maker of charcoal, which trade he first followed, but quitted it, by persuasion, to keep a grammar-school in Rome; his father having had him instructed in the Latin and Greek languages. But this not answering his expectation, he became a soldier, and was soon raised, by the interest of his father's patron, to the rank of a centurion; in which signalizing himself, he obtained the command of a cohort, and was afterwards employed in several provinces; and at length being cleared of some false accusations, for what he suffered through them, M. Aurelius made him a senator, and gave him the command of the first legion. In one campaign, he recovered Rhœtia and Noricum from the Germans. After several other commands, having, in the reign of Commodus returned to Rome, he was by Perennis ordered

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to retire to his native country; but was sent afterwards into Britain, to restore discipline among the troops. Being recalled from thence at his own request, he held, when Commodus died, the government of Rome. He was, it should seem, a man of great wisdom, extraordinary valour, and blameless character. Finding at his accession the exchequer drained, he ordered all the silver statues of Commodus, which had by a decree of the senate been pulled down, to be turned into money; and sold by auction all his concubines, arms, horses, plate and rich moveables; thus raising money sufficient to pay his largess to the prætorian guards, discharge several of Commodus's debts, and give a bounty to the people. By the mildness and equity of his government, he gained the affections of the senate and the people; but attempting to restrain the licenciousness of the prætorian guards, he made both them and their commander Lætus, who had been so zealous in his cause, adverse to him; and ere he had reigned three months, a party of them marched from their camp to the palace, with their swords drawn, and murdered the emperour. Yet during his short reign he had performed great things.

A. D. 193.

The prætorian guards put the empire up to auction: it is purchased by Didius Julianus: the populace insult him: characters of three new candidates for the empire: Niger elected emperour in the East, and Severus in Europe: the last marches for Rome, where both soldiery and senate declaring against Julianus, he is dethroned, and put to death.

When the news of the death of Pertinax reached the prætorian camp, a most extraordinary scene took place: the soldiers caused it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the best bidder for it should have the empire. When the news of this reached Rome, Didius Julianus, the richest man in the city, was persuaded by the company he was then entertaining, to make the purchase; and hastening to the camp, he assured the soldiers that he would restore all things to the condition they were in under Commodus. Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax, having been haranguing in his own behalf, the soldiers would hear the offers of both, and suffered them to bid one against the other; until Julianus, by a very great bidding, to be immediately paid, silenced his competitor, and was proclaimed emperour, on condition that he should never take the least notice of his rival's aspiring to the empire. M. Didius, who thus purchased the empire, was of an illustrious family from Milan, of sixty years of age; had been much patronized by M. Aurelius, and distinguished himself in repelling an invasion of the Chauci, when governour of Belgic Gaul; and again in Illyricum against the neigh-

bouring barbarians. Commodus preferred him to the government of Bithynia, and afterwards to the pro-consulship of Africa. No sooner was he declared emperour, than at the request of the guards he appointed Flavius Genialis, and Tullius Crispinus, their commanders; and accepted himself the name of Commodus. After the usual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle array to the senate; where those most averse to his elevation appeared most eager in their congratulations; and the senate immediately declared him emperour. But now the prophetick characteristicks of this succession, that peace should be taken from the earth, and that they should kill one another, began to be still more strongly marked. For, however the senate dissembled their real sentiments with regard to the new emperour, the people openly loaded him with reproaches and curses, and even discharged showers of stones at him; and to make his way through them, he was obliged to order the soldiers to attack them; on which great numbers were either killed or wounded. Exasperated at this, all the people took arms, imploring aloud the assistance of the other armies and generals. Among the commanders of the Roman armies at this time, the most eminent were Pescennius Niger in Syria, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, and Clodius Albinus in Britain. The last of these was a man of great courage and military skill; accompanied, however, with great vices:* but he had gained the affections of the senate by an harangue against monarchy, which he made to his troops in Britain. Caius Pescennius Niger had raised himself from a centurion to the first military employments in the empire: by a cotemporary historian he is described as a gallant soldier, an excellent officer, an illustrious consul: he kept his troops strictly to their duty, yet required nothing of them but what he practised himself: he was universally esteemed and beloved by the people of Rome. Septimius Severus was a man of extraordinary talents, and very superior to both the other two: he was deservedly

* He had the misfortune to have an extraordinary appetite; as a proof of which, history has preserved the following account of a breakfast, which he is said often to have eaten: five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, an hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oysters.

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esteemed the most active, laborious, and enterprising man in the empire: but he was deceitfull, self-interested, and ambitious; inclined to both cruelty and avarice, but more to the former; he is said never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action: he was by birth an African, but his ancestors had been Roman knights. Such were the three rivals who were about to start for the great prize, of which a temporary purchase had been made by Didius Julianus. While the last was striving to gain the affections of the people by the mildness of his government, news arrived that Pescennius Niger was acknowledged as emperour by the troops under his command, and all the eastern nations. Soon after, tidings came from Illyricum, that Severus, who commanded there, had by his army been saluted with the title of Augustus; and the armies of Gaul also swore allegiance to him. This example was followed by all the armies, cities, and provinces on that side of Europe, except Byzantium: so that, secure of the provinces behind him, Severus began his march to Rome. Albinus he adopted, who accepted from him the title of Cæsar. Julianus in the mean time caused Severus to be declared by the senate an enemy to his country. Deputies were then sent by the senate to persuade the soldiers to quit the party of Severus; but these joining him, encouraged the troops to pursue their march, and revenge the death of Pertinax; and on their giving out that this was their purpose, they were well received in every place. In the mean time Julianus prepared for his defence, and employed many assassins to murder Severus; while, horrid to relate, he caused a vast number of children to be butchered, to make use of their blood in magick rites. In spite of these, Severus advanced; when Julianus despairing of all his measures, proposed to the senate to declare Severus his partner in the empire: but Severus not only rejected the offer, but ordered the bearer of it to be cut in pieces. The despair to which Julianus was now reduced, was confirmed by the desertion of his troops, and even of the prætorian guards, who agreed with Severus for impunity, on condition of their delivering up all concerned in the murder of Pertinax. The senate then assembled, passed a decree for the death of Julianus, and declaring Severus emperour; and to execute the first part of it, sent a band of soldiers,

one of whom struck off the head of the dethroned monarch, after he had reigned two months and six days.

A. D. 193. Severus revenges the death of Pertinax, appears in the senate, settles affairs in Rome, and marches to encounter Niger.

Severus, as he drew near Rome, caused all to be executed who were at all concerned in the death of Pertinax. The prætorian guards he surrounded with his troops, took from them their horses and every military badge, and banished them an hundred miles from Rome. After he had entered that city and cantoned his troops in it, they drew on him the dislike of the citizens, by the disorders of which they were guilty. To the senate he apologized for having assumed the title of emperour without their authority, and requested them to confirm that of Cæsar to Albinus. Ere he again left Rome, he caused the senate to proscribe all the friends and adherents of Julianus, and he executed without mercy all that were discovered. In the room of the guards discharged, he selected four times their number; thus filling the city with soldiers: and when he had settled all the affairs of the city, and supplied it with great plenty of corn, he set out on his march against Niger.

The contest between Niger and Severus ends in favour of the latter; his merciless treatment of the adherents of his rival, and his further proceeding in the East. He sends to assassinate Albinus; on which the last assumes the title of emperour; but is defeated by Severus, and slain.

But in Severus began another succession of emperours, marked by prophecy with the symbols of an impartial execution of justice, and the réduction of provisions to a fair and easy price; on these points, therefore, the reader may be requested to make his observations to the close of it. Niger, hearing of the senate's acknowledgment of Severus, and of the latter's advance towards him, prepared to meet him; and having made himself master of all Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, he made a proposal to Severus to take him for his partner in the empire, which was with contempt rejected. The war between these two rivals was determined in three severe battles; after the last of which, Niger, fleeing towards the Euphrates, was overtaken, put to death, and his head carried to Severus; who sent it to Rome. On this success, Severus shewed little mercy to the party of his competitor: the senators who had served him as generals or tribunes, he put to death; and the others he banished, and seized their estates; and very great number of persons of inferior rank he caused to be publickly executed, without considering whether it was willingly or by constraint that they were involved in the war. The wife and children of Niger himself, and all those of his family, he caused to

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be murdered, and confiscated their estates. The people of Adiabene and Osrhoene having taken advantage of the late disturbances to throw off the Roman yoke, Severus passed the Euphrates, and reduced them. He likewise entered Arabia, and reduced the inhabitants of it to submission: but it was not until the beginning of the next year that Byzantium, which Niger had strongly garrisoned, surrendered, after a defence bravely supported; and for the obstinacy of it, was partly laid in ashes, and its walls levelled with the ground. After which Severus sent his army to reduce part of Mesopotamia; and what they conquered was made a new province, of which Nisibis was declared the capital. Having thus far succeeded, Severus turned his thoughts to the destruction of Albinus, whom he had until now kept without any suspicion of being considered as a rival. But the assassins whom he sent into Britain to cut him off, miscarried in their attempt; and were by torture compelled to disclose their iniquitous commission. On the knowledge of which, Albinus, as his surest resource, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour; and with a powerfull army passed over into Gaul; where many of distinction, both Gauls and Spaniards, joined him. Severus no sooner heard of his revolt, than he hastened also into Gaul; and on his journey, in a city on the Danube, named Veminacium, gave the title of Cæsar to Bassianus, his own eldest son; distributing, on that occasion, large sums to the soldiers. Then pursuing his march, he arrived in Gaul ere Albinus expected him; when a decisive and very obstinately-contested battle, in which Severus very narrowly escaped, was fought, and ended in the defeat of Albinus, who fell after the close of it; and cruelly was his body insulted by his victorious enemy; who acted over again with his family and adherents the sanguinary scene he had exhibited on the death of Niger. On his return to Rome, he deluged that city with blood; but more, it is intimated, for the sake of the possessions of those he put to death, than for their having been partizans of Albinus.

Severus marches into Parthia, and takes Ctesiphon. The Caledonians

After Severus had cut off all those at Rome who gave him the least umbrage, he set out for the East to oppose Vologeses king of Parthia, who had made himself master of great part of Mesopotamia; but, ere Severus arrived there, he had withdrawn with his army into

his own dominions. However, in the following year the emperour advanced to Babylon and Seleucia; and both the cities, the enemy having abandoned them, he took without opposition. Thence he proceeded to Ctesiphon; and after a siege, during which his troops suffered very severely through want of provisions, he took the place, and gave it up to be plundered by his troops; who put all the men to the sword, and sold the women and children, to the number of an hundred thousand, for slaves. The army, in their joy for the capture, proclaimed Bassianus, the emperour's eldest son, better known by the name of Caracalla, his partner in the empire, and gave the title of Cæsar to his second, Geta; which honours were afterwards confirmed by the senate. Severus, neither keeping Ctesiphon, nor pursuing Vologeses, returned into Syria laden with booty. It may be presumed that a treaty was concluded with the Parthians, since no wars with them are read of for several years; and Vologeses reigned peaceably to his death. During Severus's stay in the East, the Caledonians made dreadfull ravages in the Roman part of Britain; and Lupus, the governour, was compelled to purchase a peace of them. On his march back into Syria, Severus made two attacks on the city of Atra; but only lost in each of them a great number of men, and most of his warlike engines. Two years after this, Severus being in Palæstine, published an edict, forbidding his subjects, under the severest penalties, embracing either the Jewish or the Christian religion; which gave rise to the fifth persecution. This emperour had a favourite, named Plautianus, whose influence over him was such, that there was no access to honours but through his favour; and most notoriously did he abuse his power: when, to the general surprize, the emperour married his eldest son to Fulvia Plautilla, his favourite's daughter. Yet the next year Plautianus, under the charge of a design to have both the emperour and his son assassinated, was put to death, and his daughter banished. The following year Severus applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality; following the advice of the celebrated civilian, Papinianus, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief business of that officer was to decide law-suits with the emperour, or in his name. Severus had

force the Roman commander to purchase a peace with them. Edict against both Christians and Jews. Severus administers justice diligently and impartially: his care in supplying Rome with corn and oil. Disturbances in Britain call the emperour there; who reduces the Caledonians to purchase a peace. Severus builds his wall: his life is attempted by Caracalla: he is seized with his last illness, and dies at York.

now leisure to reform many abuses, and enact several laws; which are spoken of as equally just and necessary. He chose for the governours of provinces men of characters unblemished, and was ready to hear with patience the complaints of his people. By his frugality he left the exchequer very rich at his death, though he found it empty. When he died, there was corn in the publick granaries to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the storehouses for the consumption of five. The following year was marked by the emperour's inhumanly putting to death many illustrious senators. In the next, the northern inhabitants of Britain invaded the Roman territories: when Virius Lupus, the governour, retiring before them, informed the emperour of the state of affairs in his province; who resolved to go thither in person; and in the ensuing spring set out, and took both his sons with him. On his arrival in the island, the Britons sent him offers of submission; but after detaining their embassadors until he was ready to take the field, he dismissed them without acceptance. Having passed the first winter in the southern parts of the island, he marched early in the spring against the Meatæ, who bordered on the Roman dominions, and the Caledonians, who dwelt more to the north. Though in this expedition no battle was fought, what by ambuscades of the enemy and the hardships his soldiers endured, Severus was said to have lost in it fifty thousand men. Yet in the end, the Caledonians were obliged to purchase peace, by the cession of part of their country, and the delivery of their arms. Great part of the following year, Severus was employed in building a wall in Britain from sea to sea, to secure his conquests against the more northern Britons. This work ended, the emperour retired to York; where he was seized with a lingering disorder, supposed to be produced by grief at the wicked conduct of his eldest son, who, in return for the extraordinary affection which his father had ever shewn him, had attempted, during the late expedition, to murder him in the sight of both the Roman and British armies; nor, when prevented, did he manifest the least remorse on the just and affectionate remonstrances of his father. In the next year, the Meatæ and Caledonians infringing the treaty so lately made, attempted to pass the new wall; enraged at which, Severus

ordered Caracalla to lead the whole army into their country, and put all he should meet to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. The nefarious prince, unexpectedly trusted with this command, studied to seduce the officers and soldiers; and his success on some of these coming to the knowledge of Severus, he called the army together, and being carried to the tribunal, he reproached the officers who had seconded the iniquitous design of his son, with folly, ingratitude, and treachery; ordered them all to be instantly beheaded in his presence, and then asked the army with an imperious air, whether they were yet satisfied that the head ruled, and not the feet? After this, his disorder increasing much by the uneasiness of his mind, he sent for both his sons, and earnestly recommending concord to them, gave them, too, this advice, to gain the affections of the soldiers by enriching them; careless whether they were loved or hated by the rest of their subjects. His pains, especially in his feet, increasing, he asked for poison; but no one giving it him, he is said to have put an end to his life by glutting himself with coarse meats. He died at York on the fourth of February, in the year two hundred and eleven, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His body was burnt at York, and his ashes carried by his sons to Rome.

A. D. 211.

Severus was succeeded by his two sons, Bassianus and Geta; the name of Caracalla, afterwards fixed on the former, was applied to him from his custom of wearing a kind of cassock, so denominated by the Gauls. He, during his childhood, gave many instances of a disposition particularly mild; yet, as he grew up, proved a most sanguinary and merciless tyrant: while just the reverse took place in his brother; who, ere he was murdered, became the darling both of the people and the soldiery. These brothers from their childhood betrayed an utter aversion to each other; and no sooner had their father expired, than Caracalla would, but for the opposition of the soldiers, have excluded Geta from any share in the empire. With the Meatæ and the Caledonians he concluded a treaty, and restored to them the lands which Severus had compelled them to cede. Ere he left Britain, he had, under various pretences, cut off the physicians who had refused to poison his father, and all the deceased

The two sons of Severus succeed him: their different characters, and mutual animosities. Caracalla concludes a peace with the Caledonians, and leaves Britain: he has his brother murdered. His extraordinary cruelty; his oppression, and prodigality. He makes a progress into Gaul, and afterwards into Asia: his iniquitous conduct there,

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and his well-deserved death.

emperour's friends, and those especially who strove to reconcile him and his brother; and at the same time sent assassins into Italy to murder Plautilla, who had been his wife, and Plautius her brother. Such was the commencement of Caracalla's reign; nor did the succeeding part of it differ from its opening: for after two fruitless attempts to destroy him, he at length succeeded in having his brother murdered, even in his mother's arms, who was herself wounded in attempting to defend him. After this, having secured the army by an exorbitant largess, he massacred without any distinction all the friends of Geta, beginning with his domesticks, to the number, it is said, of twenty thousand. Among the friends of Geta was sacrificed the celebrated civilian, Papinian. Of satiating his cruelty, in seeing another of his father's great favourites, L. Fabius Chilo, butchered, he was disappointed, through the people and the city guards rescuing him, and uttering such menaces against the authors of such deeds, that, to appease the multitude, Caracalla ordered the tribune and soldiers, whom he himself had employed, to be immediately put to death. But instead of detailing the numerous instances of his enormous cruelty, suffice it to say, that Caracalla, in wanton bloodshed, equalled at least, if he did not surpass, all the monsters that had set on the throne of Rome before him. In his taxes, too, he was extremely oppressive: neither did any prince ever employ more iniquitous means of raising money, or squander it with more prodigality. He shewed, on all occasions, the utmost contempt for the senate; entirely neglected the administration of justice; took no care of the provinces; and raised to the highest employments of the state the meanest and most infamous persons of the empire. The reign of this scourge of the Roman world was not, however, protracted through any great space of time. Finding himself hated at Rome, he, in the third year of his reign, left it for Gaul, where having made such havock of the people as to be more hated there than at Rome, he returned to the last city. But his stay was short, being called into Germany to oppose the Catti, Allemanni, now first mentioned in history, and inhabiting the present duchy of Wirtemberg, and other German nations. With these, though he behaved with great courage as a soldier, he was obliged

to purchase not only a peace, but liberty to return with safety into his own dominions. This was no sooner known, than all the German nations terrified him into the grant of yearly pensions. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, after the conference, he always put to death the interpreter through whom he conferred with them. Neither was the reasons of this fully known until after his death, when the barbarians confessed, that he encouraged them, should any misfortune befall himself, to march to Rome; which, he said, they might very easily take. The next year marching from Germany into Dacia, and gaining some slight advantages over the Getæ, he passed through Thrace, and thence across the Hellespont into Asia. In the several countries through which he travelled, he endeavoured to gain the favour of the people; and dressed in the mode of the countries through which he passed. Having reached Antioch in Syria, he would have quarrelled with the Parthians, then engaged in a civil war by the two sons of the late king Vologeses: but these complying with his demands, he determined to reduce Armenia and Osrhoene, though then at peace with their kings. These, therefore, he invited as friends to Antioch, and there imprisoned them. On which Osrhoene submitted: but the Armenians successfully resisted him. From Antioch proceeding to Alexandria, he there took a most bloody revenge of the satyrical writings published in that city on the death of Geta, by giving it up to the swords and pillage of his army. After this nefarious act, he advanced to the East, entered, in breach of all faith, into the Parthian dominions, and committed in them great ravages. But in the next year, Macrinus, captain of the guards, having reason to think that the tyrant would, if not prevented, cut him off, formed a conspiracy by one of the associates in which the detestable wretch was slain, in the thirtieth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. A. D. 217.

Macrinus raised to the empire. The history of his short reign, and of that of his successor, Heliogabalus.

After a pause of three days, the prætorian guards, who were at Edessa, in the neighbourhood of which Caracalla was assassinated, declared Macrinus emperour; who, after a faint refusal, accepted the empire, and distributed, on his accession to it, large sums among the soldiery. He was a native of Cæsarea in Mauritania, now Algiers; of very mean descent; his name Opelius Macrinus: he is

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represented as of a most mild and humane temper. He was pretty well versed in the laws; and when captain of the guards, officiated in his judicial capacity with great equity, in the absence of Caracalla. The new prince immediately informing the senate of Caracalla's death and his own accession, they joyfully confirmed the choice of the army, ranked that of Macrinus among the patrician families, and proclaimed his son Cæsar. The new emperour leading his army to Antioch, there gave his son the much revered name of Antoninus. But was to his great surprize obliged, by the vehemence of the soldiers demands, to deify Caracalla, whom he himself had caused to be murdered as a monster gorged with blood. Such was the *elegant* polytheism of the Gentiles. Artabanes, king of the Parthians, now advancing to take vengeance for the evils inflicted on his people; the two armies came to an engagement, supported a long time with great obstinacy, and probably with no great advantage on either side, as it was quickly followed by a peace. The Armenians, whom Caracalla had, too, highly provoked, Macrinus appeased by restoring to the throne their king Tiridates, and to him the lands which they had formerly holden in Cappadocia. Being thus freed from military avocations, Macrinus endeavoured to correct, by several excellent laws, though some very severe, the abuses that had prevailed in the time of his predecessor. In the midst of his good deeds, however, he betrayed a partiality for those of his native rank; and deprived of their posts men of merit and distinction, to fill them with mean persons void of merit. Such was his severity in punishing transgressions in his soldiers, lately accustomed to licenciousness, that they soon openly exprest their dislike and contempt of him; and being informed that he was the principal cause of Caracalla's murder, they became so incensed against him as to look for an opportunity of dethroning him. This the next year they found, by the artifices of Mæsa, the sister of the late empress Julia, who perceiving that her grandson Eleagabalus, or more commonly Heliogabalus, priest of the sun at Emesa, had attracted the attention of the Roman soldiers in Macrinus's army near that place, gave out that he was the son of Caracalla; and being herself very wealthy, offered great rewards to all who would espouse his cause. The

credulous soldiers believing her tale, and allured by her promises, invited her and her grandson to their camp, and proclaimed him emperour, by the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus; and after some struggle, supported with neither wisdom or courage by Macrinus, both the last and his son were put to death, and Heliogabalus raised A. D. 218. to the empire: for on receiving his letters announcing his accession, the senate, who were now become the obsequious ratifiers of whatever the armies did, confirmed the appointment. The new emperour has been characterized as the most profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal tyrant that ever disgraced a diadem. His reign, however, did not extend to quite four years: yet in this short space he married six wives, and turned the imperial palace into a brothel. His prodigality was as boundless as his lust; nothing appeared at his table but foreign delicacies of enormous cost. Gold-dust was strewed before him as he walked to his carriage. Being constantly served in gold plate, he, after supper, always distributed among his guests and attendants what had that day been used. He fed his dogs with the livers of geese, his horses with raisins, and his wild beasts with partridges and pheasants. Ere he left Syria, he caused to be put to death several persons; and Gannis, a servant of his grand-mother's, whom he himself valued for his fidelity, advising him to relinquish his vices and live as a Roman emperour, he not only ordered to be put to death on the spot, but with his own hands gave the first blow. When he arrived at Rome, his absurdities were exceeded only by his cruelties: he made his grand-mother a senator; and he instituted a senate of women, of which his mother Soæmis was president. By the decrees of this body were to be regulated the dress, the precedence, the visits, and other matters of equal importance of the Roman ladies. His idol Eleagabalus he placed in one magnificent temple at Rome, and built another for him in the country, whither he was carried at the beginning of summer. To this he is said to have sacrificed children, mostly sprung from illustrious families; and several senators of great distinction he had murdered, merely because he thought that they disliked his conduct. Mæsa at length discerning that such a wretch could not long be endured on the imperial throne, prevailed on him to adopt another

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grandson of hers, Alexianus; on which occasion the young prince assumed the names of Alexander and Severus. Heliogabalus, finding he could not seduce this youth into his own debaucheries, gave private orders for his being murdered. But the care of his mother and grand-mother, and the love of the soldiers, rendered abortive his attempts, both publick and private, to rid himself of one who was now become his rival; which at length pursuing too far, he excited a mutiny of the prætorian guards, in which both his mother Soæmis and himself lost their lives, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign.

A. D. 222.

Accession of Alexander Severus: his birth and character: he reforms the abuses of his predecessor: marries. Disturbances in the capital, and the provinces. Severus's treatment of Ovinius Camillus; and his success against the Germans, Moors, and Armenians.

Heliogabalus being removed, Alexander Severus, though then in only the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperour by the soldiery, and joyfully received as such by the senate. By birth he was a Phœnician, but his father Genesius Marcianus was a Syrian; his mother, Julia Mammæa, educated him with extraordinary care and attention to his morals, as well as to his improvement in science; and gratefully did he repay her solicitude. His first work was the reformation of his court; his next, that of the governours of the provinces, and other publick officers: he next contracted a marriage with Sulpicia Memmia, the daughter of Sulpicius, a consular. For the first three years of his reign the empire enjoyed a profound peace; but in the fourth, Artaxerxes, having on the ruins of the Parthian empire re-established the Persian, advanced against the Romans; but choosing to attack the impregnable Atra, he lost so many men, that after ravaging great part of Media, and some unsuccessfull attempts on Armenia, he retreated into his own country. Two years after this, the troops quartered in Mesopotamia murdered their commander, and deserted in great numbers to the Persians. Those in Syria proclaimed emperour one Taurinus; who, fleeing from the honour, was drowned in the Euphrates. One Uranus started for the empire at Edessa in Osrhoene; but was defeated by Alexander's troops. At Rome the prætorian guards attempted to raise to the empire one Antoninus, but he withdrew from the city. But Ovinius Camillus, a senator of high family, endeavoured, on the contrary, to gain the affections of the soldiery; when Alexander being informed of his practices, sent for him, thanked him for offering

to take so great a burden on himself, styled and treated him in every respect as partner in the empire; but so tired him with making him partake in the duties of his arduous station, that Camillus, mortified at his own inadequacy, begged to resign and return home; which it was granted him to do in safety. Great advantages were this year gained over the Germans: while Furius Celsus signalized himself in Mauritania Tingitania, and Junius Palmatus in Armenia.

The Persian war. Alexander marches to the Rhine; and is there assassinated.

The following year the emperour took for his colleague in the consulship, Dion Cassius, the historian; but so much was he hated for his efforts to restore the ancient discipline by the prætorian guards, that the emperour advised him to pass the time of his consulship in the country. This year Alexander, having detected Vetronius Turinus, one of his greatest favourites, in corrupt practices, accused him to the senate, on whose sentence he was executed.* Three years after this, Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian monarchy, unexpectedly invaded the Roman dominions; and treating with contempt the remonstrances of Alexander, the last left Rome to march against him; and, when arrived at Antioch, sent a second embassy to prevent a war between the two empires: but the Persian returning a most insulting answer, Alexander made very powerfull preparations for the war; and a legion having mutinied, because some individuals of it were punished for a breach of discipline, he with great spirit disbanded them at a word; when they laid down their arms, and silently retired: but on the intercession of several persons of distinction, ere he marched against the Persians, he restored them, having first punished their tribunes with death. This legion, it is remarked, particularly signalized themselves in the Persian war, as well as manifested a peculiar concern for the death of Alexander. On taking the field, such was the discipline of his troops, that their camp, we are

* Turinus had been guilty of defrauding people of large sums, under pretence of recommending them to the emperour for preferment: this was then termed *selling smoke*. He was therefore tied to a gibbet, and suffocated with the smoke of green wood and wet stubble; the publick cryer proclaiming, "*He who sold smoke, dies with smoke.*"

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told, seemed a well-governed city.* Yet his care and generosity to his soldiers were not exceeded by his severity: nor did he fail to set them in himself an example of regularity, temperance, and soldier-like demeanour. Of his success in this war, the accounts most widely differ: but whether he conquered, or was conquered, on hearing that the Germans had invaded the Roman dominions, after erecting and garrisoning several forts in Mesopotamia, he returned to Rome, and entered the city in triumph, in a chariot drawn by four white elephants which he had taken: after which he hastened to oppose the torrent of barbarous nations which had passed the Rhine: but when he arrived on the banks of that river, he found the enemy had repassed it, on the news of his approach: he therefore ordered a bridge to be built over it. While this was doing, discontents arising among the legions quartered in Gaul, on account of the severity of the discipline maintained by Alexander, Maximinus, a Goth, whom for his courage the emperour had preferred to the command of a body of Pannonians, privately fomented the sedition, and excited in the multitude a contempt of Alexander, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning Mammæa. The emperour then having but few troops with him, the barbarian resolved to seize that opportunity of having him assassinated; and allured, by the hope of great preferments, some of the most resolute of his men to undertake the murderous task; who accordingly, having put to flight his guards, slew the captain of those guards, Mammæa, and Alexander himself. Thus fell Alexander Severus, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. The soldiers no sooner heard of his death, than they put to the sword all those accessary to it, except the chief criminal, Maximinus, who persuaded them that he was not concerned in it. The loss of this prince was deeply regretted by the senate, the army, and the people; nor undeservedly, since his administration of the government was most equitable. He punished with impartiality, and

A. D. 235.

* One remarkable instance of the equity of his punishments is, that a soldier having done some injury to an old woman, he discharged him; and obliged him, as her slave, to maintain her as long as she lived.

rewarded with liberality. Though sparing of the publick, he was generous with his own money; he reduced the imposts, with which both Rome and the provinces were at his accession loaded, to a thirtieth part: he filled, at a vast charge, the publick granaries; distributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn among the poor citizens; and he allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children: he built granaries in all quarters of the city, for the use of those who had none of their own: he was well versed in polite literature, and a patron of learned men. In short, to the end of his reign, he made it his great study to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuses, to restore the military discipline, and to discharge with fidelity and disinterestedness each duty of an excellent prince—*he held a balance in his hand, and permitted no injustice to be done as to oil or wine.*

Maximin proclaimed emperour by the army: his great cruelty and extensive executions. Revolt of the Osrhoenians quelled by the murder of Quartinus. Maximin ravages Germany; and gains victories over the Dacians and Sarmatians. The elevation of the Gordians to the empire, and their consequent destruction.

During the confusion caused by the murder of Alexander, the Pannonian troops, commanded by Maximin, proclaimed him emperour; and after he had solemnly declared that he was not at all accessary to the death of their late sovereign, the other troops took to him the usual oath. The senate, not daring to oppose the choice of the army, confirmed it. He was a native of Thrace, or its confines; of very mean extraction, but of gigantick stature, being eight feet and an half tall, and well shaped, and of good proportion.* With his reign commenced the succession, which is marked in the book of the Revelation by the extent of the ravages of death among men;† and in consistence with the prediction, no sooner was he settled on the throne, than all those who had been intimate with Alexander, or shewed any concern for his death, were massacred. Being ashamed of the meanness of his birth, he caused all who knew his parents or any of his family to be privately murdered. A conspiracy, headed by Magnus, a consular of noble family, to break down the bridge over the Rhine when Maximin had passed it, and

* History has not failed to give some account of what this extraordinary bulk required for its support: one writer says, that Maximin ate forty, but another, more ancient, asserts, sixty pounds of flesh a day, and drank six gallons of wine.

† See the Revelation, vi. 8.

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abandon him to the enemy, increased his cruelty; and all those whom he even suspected of being privy to it, were butchered without trial or examination, to the number of four thousand. A few days after which, the Osrhoenians that were in the army, convinced that Alexander had been assassinated by the order of Maximin, revolted, and, much against his will, proclaimed T. Quartinus emperour; who was quickly after assassinated by one Macedo, a pretended friend, who had been the chief authour of the revolt, and who carried his head to Maximin, and met from him the just reward of death. The Osrhoenians then returning to their duty, Maximin entered Germany, where his success was great, as his conduct was that of a brave soldier, and an able, though not always a prudent commander. He boasted of having laid waste the enemy's country for four hundred miles round, and destroyed nearly an hundred and fifty of their villages. From Germany he marched into Illyricum, and early in the next spring he led his troops into the countries of the Dacians and Sarmatians, and by several victories reduced them to submit to his own terms of peace. Vast were his schemes of conquest, but his cruelty and avarice raised such disturbances at home as prevented their execution. He feigned plots, that he might condemn the accused, and seize their estates; nor was the want of proof any safety to them. Having reduced to beggary the richest families in Rome, he began to strip the temples and publick buildings, and to seize the money allotted to the maintenance or diversions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and disposed them to a general revolt; which first broke out in Africa in the ensuing year: there the emperour's receiver having been cut to pieces for his extortions, those concerned in his destruction, as their only means of safety, openly revolted, and with the consent of the people, but much against his own, proclaimed Gordianus, at that time pro-consul of Africa, emperour: he was a man universally beloved for his virtues, but more than eighty years of age. No sooner had he been compelled to assume the purple, than he took his son of the same name, and then his lieutenant, for his partner in the empire. The senate, on receiving a communication from Gordian of what had passed, hesitated not to acknowledge both him and his son, and declare Maximin, who had

also raised his son to be his partner in the throne, with the latter, a publick enemy; and passed a decree, sentencing to death all his friends and the ministers of his cruelty. On this the populace began a merciless massacre, in which fell many innocent, by the hands of their enemies or their debtors; and Sabinus the governour of Rome, while striving to put a stop to these disorders, had his brains dashed out by one of the mob. The senate now endeavoured to excite the same spirit of insurrection, against Maximin, in the provinces, as prevailed in the capital; and their efforts were in general so successfull, that a dreadfull slaughter was made of his officers and friends. When Maximin received the decree of the senate, his fury was such, that he behaved more like a wild beast than a man. He beat his head against the wall, drew his sword, fell upon those who stood about him, and would have killed his own son, for having refused to live at Rome. But when he returned to himself, he, after some days deliberation, acquainted his army with the state of affairs, and promised to distribute among them the estates of the senators and of the African rebels; and having ended his speech, he began his march for Italy. In Africa, in the mean time, by the exertions of Maximin's governour of Mauritania, a senator, named Capelianus, the younger Gordian was defeated and slain; on which the elder strangled himself.

Maximus and Balbinus chosen emperours by the senate, who are compelled by the populace to make young Gordian Cæsar.

On this news the senate, conscious that no mercy was to be expected from Maximin, elected two emperours, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, and Decimus Cælius Balbinus. The former, though of low birth, was a man of extraordinary merit, having raised himself to the first employments of the state; and so well established his character, that the senate solemnly protested, when they declared him emperour, that they knew no person in the whole empire better qualified for sustaining the dignity of a prince. Balbinus was of an illustrious family; had been twice consul and governour of several provinces; but was more qualified for civil than military employments: yet universally beloved. But these new emperours were not acceptable to the populace, who rose and declared, that they would have a prince of the Gordian family: on which the senate, now equally despised by the army and the people, were obliged to send

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for young Gordian, then only twelve years old, and declare him Cæsar: appeased with which, the multitude dispersed, and the two emperours entered on the discharge of their functions. To Maximus the military duties were assigned: but scarcely had he left Rome to oppose Maximin, than, by the absurd violence of two senators, a fray was begun between the citizens and the prætorian guards, in the course of which great carnage took place on both sides, and a large part of the city was burnt. In attempting to appease the tumult, the emperour Balbinus was wounded in the head; but at length, by shewing young Gordian to the people in his purple robes, assuaged at once the fury of both parties; and the people retired to their houses, and the soldiers to their camp.

Maximin and his son murdered by their own soldiers. Maximus and Balbinus suffer the same, from the prætorian guards. A. D. 237.

The next year, Maximin advancing into Italy, and finding the country laid waste, experienced much discontent in his troops, which his severity only exasperated; and afterwards meeting with a most vigorous resistance at Aquileia, which cooled the ardour of his soldiers, he, enraged at their backwardness, publickly executed several of their officers. This only added to their discontent at their other sufferings; and at the same time hearing that the whole empire was arming against Maximin, a portion of his troops suddenly took the resolution of putting an end to the cause of so many calamities, and went at noon-day to his tent, slew both him and his son, and sent their heads to Rome: thus ended the tyranny of the two Maximins, after it had lasted three years. The army then presented themselves unarmed before the gates of Aquileia, informing the besieged of the death of the tyrant; who, after they had adored the images of the new emperours and Cæsar, set for that purpose on the walls, supplied them with provisions, for they were nearly famished. The news of the death of Maximin was received at Rome with the joy that might have been expected; and the two emperours, being now more firmly seated on the throne, conducted themselves with such wisdom, equity, and moderation, as to gain the affection and esteem of both senate and people. But when, on the empire being invaded by the Carpi in one place, by the Goths in another, and threatened by the Persians in a third, they had agreed on the commands they should take; the prætorian guards, enraged

at having the appointment of emperours taken from them, mutinied, and murdering both Maximus and Balbinus, carried young Gordian into their camp, and there proclaimed him emperour.

A. D. 238. Gordian's family and character. Revolt and reduction of Sabinianus. Gordian marries: sets off for the East: in his way repels the Daci and Sarmatians; and afterwards drives the Persian monarch into his own dominions. Misitheus dies: is succeeded in his commands by Julius Philippus; who deposes, and then murders Gordian.

M. Antonius Gordianus was the son of Junius Balbus, and the sister of Gordian the younger; of about thirteen years of age, when he came to the empire; of a lively temper and sweet disposition; inclined to study, and well instructed in most branches of polite literature; but from inexperience he fell under the sway of one Maurus, and other freed-men and eunuchs, who abusing the confidence he reposed in them, soon drove all good men from the court, raised unworthy persons to the first stations, and did all the mischief of which wicked and avaricious ministers are capable. The following year a revolt took place in Africa, which was soon quelled, and Sabinianus its author given up. In the next, Gordian married Furia Sabina Tranquillina, the daughter of Misitheus. By the advice of his father-in-law, whom he had chosen on account of his wisdom and other great qualities, and appointed captain of the guards, Gordian banished from the court Maurus, and all the other freed-men and eunuchs. In the same year happened an earthquake, by which a great many cities were overturned, and a vast multitude destroyed; and thus was the work of death continued, though that by the sword was suspended. In the ensuing year tidings arrived at Rome, that Sapor, the successor of Artaxerxes, had reduced all Mesopotamia, and committed most dreadfull ravages in Syria. On this Gordian resolved himself to march against so formidable an enemy; and taking his route at the head of a numerous army through Mæsia, he there defeated the Goths and Sarmatians, obliged them to relinquish their conquests, and return to their respective countries. But in the progress of his march, he was worsted by the Alani; yet those barbarians withdrew, and Gordian without further molestation arrived safe in Asia. Here, by the wise counsels of Misitheus, he overcame the Persians in several battles, recovered the cities of Nisibis and Carrhæ, and obliged Sapor with his mighty host to retire with shame into his own country; in which he pursued him as far as Ctesiphon. But the next year Gordian lost his faithfull counsellor, whose death, it was said, was occasioned by Julius

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Philippus, who succeeded him as captain of the guards, and commander under the emperour of all the forces in the East, not being at all suspected by Gordian. After the traitor had attained this eminence, he made use of his authority to wean the affections of the troops from the emperour; and so succeeded in his artifices, that he first obtained to be received as partner in the empire, and then getting sole possession of the throne, put Gordian to death, in the twentieth year of his age and sixth of his reign.

A. D. 244.

Philip declares his son Cæsar: concludes a peace with the Persians: returns to Rome, and gains the favour of his subjects: marches against the Carpi, and defeats them. Two emperours set up, and slain: Decius proclaimed emperour. A battle between Philip and him: the former slain.

Philip, who thus nefariously deposed and murdered the amiable Gordian, was by birth an Arabian of Bostra. As to whether he were a Christian or not, such a brother is not worth being contended for. On being acknowledged emperour by the army after Gordian's death, he declared his son, named likewise Philip, Cæsar, though but seven years old, and even associated him with himself in the empire. He then informed the senate of the death of Gordian (which he falsely ascribed to a natural disease), and of his own election; and being desirous of returning to Rome, he immediately concluded a peace with the Persian, and led back his army to Syria. From thence he set out for Rome, where he soon gained by his mild administration the affection of both the senate and people; who were before justly averse to him. The following year, he left the city to oppose the Carpi, who had laid waste great part of Mæsia. These Philip defeated in two battles, obliged them to repass the Danube, and to sue for peace. After granting which, he returned to Rome. On the twenty-first of April, in the two hundred and forty-seventh year of the Christian æra, began the thousandth year of Rome, which was celebrated in that city by extraordinary rejoicings. One symptom of Christianity the emperour did this year give, in forbidding unnatural practices. The eastern provinces having their patience exhausted, partly by the weight of taxes, and partly by the haughtiness of Priscus their governour, openly revolted, and proclaimed one Papianus emperour; but he was killed, and the disturbances quelled. The provinces of Mæsia and Pannonia, too, set up one P. Carvilius Marinus; but he also was soon slain by the persons who had raised him. Yet Philip recalled his father-in-law, Severianus, from his command in these provinces, and obliged

Decius, much against his will, to accept the government of them. But no sooner did he appear there, than the soldiers proclaimed him emperour, and compelled him to accept the sovereignty. Philip, on hearing this, marched as expeditiously as possible to surprize him. Decius being apprized of his approach, a battle ensued, in which were slain a great number of Philip's men, while the rest were driven to Verona, where he himself was killed; and no sooner was his death known at Rome, than the prætorian guards put his son to death. Philip had reigned five years and some months: under him Christianity was publickly preached, and increased more than it had done under any other prince; all the inhabitants of the city and territory of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, being converted to it, and the idols with their altars and temples every where overturned, and in their room churches erected. A. D. 250.

Decius acknowledged emperour: persecutes the Christians. The Goths invade the empire, and are repelled by the son of Decius; but return, and defeat him. The emperour himself marches against them; at first with success, but at length both himself and his son fall in battle against them.

On the death of Philip and his son, Decius was acknowledged emperour by the then three estates of Rome, the soldiery, the senate, and the people. He was a native of lower Pannonia, descended, it is said, of an illustrious family, and of high character himself. As soon as raised to the sovereignty, he declared his eldest son Cæsar. In the very beginning of his reign, too, he raised a more sanguinary persecution against the Christians than they had ever suffered. They were driven from their habitations, stripped of their estates, dragged to execution, and put to the most exquisite torture. This drove great numbers to the deserts for shelter; among whom was the celebrated hermit Paul, who, retiring into those of Egypt, there gave rise to the order of Anchorets. The violence of this persecution was abated by the imperial attention being diverted from the Christians to an invasion of the Goths, under their king Cniva; against whom Decius sent a numerous army under his eldest son, who defeated them with great slaughter, and obliged the survivors to retire beyond Mount Hæmus, which parts Mæsia from Thrace. But this loss being soon recruited, the barbarians returned, and cut in pieces the whole of the young prince's army; obliging him to seek safety in flight. Cniva then reduced Philippopolis in Thrace, and put all the inhabitants, to the number of an hundred thousand, to the sword; ravaged Thrace, and great part of Macedon; where Lucius Priscus then

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commanding, joined the enemy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperour. On this, Decius himself left Rome, overthrew the Goths in several battles, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire from the Roman dominions. Priscus was by the senate declared a publick enemy, and slain; but where, or by whom, is not specified. While in Thrace, the emperour ordered the office of censor, which had, since the reign of Domitian, been quite laid aside, to be re-established; and the senate unanimously named Valerian, afterwards emperour, for it. Decius again advancing against the Goths, both his son and himself fell in battle with them; the latter having reigned two years and some months.

A. D. 252.

Gallus advanced to the empire, and slain by his own troops. Æmilianus proclaimed emperour, and slain in the same manner. Valerian chosen emperour.

The Goths, after the death of Decius, made dreadfull havock of his discouraged army; those which escaped fled to the legions commanded by Gallus, who so insinuated himself into the favour of the soldiery, that they proclaimed him emperour; and their election was confirmed by the senate. But in the space of eighteen months, this new emperour, having made an ignominious peace with the Goths, renewed the persecution of the Christians, seen all the provinces of the empire, and Rome itself, swept by a most desolating pestilence; and his brief reign marked by a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in every part of the empire; Mæsia and Pannonia invaded by the Goths, and other barbarous tribes (among whom are first mentioned the Burgundi, or Burgundiones, as dwelling on the banks of the Danube); Asia over-run by the Scythians, and Syria by the Persians; was, with his son, slain by his own troops, when about to engage Æmilianus; who, having been successful in his command in Mæsia, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperour; and was advancing to Rome to vindicate his claim to the title. This new sovereign, though acknowledged by the senate, was, in the course of three or four months, put to death by his own army, when they understood that the troops which Valerian commanded had chosen him for emperour. In the short reign of Æmilianus, mention is first made of the officer styled *comes domesticorum*. The province of the *domestici* is said to have been to guard the person of the sovereign; they ranked before the prætorian guards; consisted, previously to the time of Justinian, of three thousand five hundred;

A. D. 253.

and were divided into several bands of horse and foot, termed *scholæ;* and commanded by a person of great distinction, styled *comes domesticorum;* for at this time the word *comes* was already a title of dignity.

The election of Valerian was joyfully confirmed by the senate, and the title of Cæsar conferred on his son Gallienus. Valerian was of one of the most illustrious families in Rome, had with great reputation filled the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military; and for his integrity, prudence, and extraordinary accomplishments, been universally deemed worthy of the empire before he attained it. He began his reign so as to gain the affections of both senate and people; diminishing the taxes, and enacting many excellent laws for the suppression of those disorders which then prevailed all over the empire. He is said by one writer to have taken Gallienus for his partner in the empire, in the very first year of his reign, because it was on all sides invaded by the barbarians. The Germans and Franks (the last of which now forced themselves into notice by their restless ambition, a characteristick which they have never lost) committed great devastations in Gaul; the Goths and Carpi invaded Mæsia, Thrace, and Macedon; and the Persians over-ran Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. Aurelian, tribune of a legion quartered in Mentz, fell on the Franks while ravaging the country, killed seven hundred, took three hundred, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty and retire.* The following year, a great victory was gained in Germany by Gallienus; and the next, he defeated, it is said, three hundred thousand Alemanni near Milan, overcame the Heruli, a Gothic nation, and successfully made war on the Franks. In Gaul, Posthumius, an experienced and brave commander, gained great advantages over the German tribes that had invaded that province. The next year commenced a persecution

The election of Valerian confirmed by the senate. The empire attacked on all sides: the barbarians every where repelled. Valerian himself marches against the Persians, and is taken prisoner by them.

* The country of the Franks, now first mentioned in history, was, according to the description of it, that of the present Westphalia, Hesse, and some adjacent states. The people were a motley multitude of various German nations; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of Franks.

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against the Christians, no less violent than that of Decius, and raged for three years; and is in ecclesiastical history generally denominated the eighth. The same year, the command of the troops in Illyricum and Thrace being given to Aurelian, he drove the Goths out of those provinces, took a number of prisoners hardly credible, and pursuing them into their own country, laid it waste, and returned laden with booty: Probus, at the same time, had great success against the Sarmatians and Quadi. Valerian now left Rome to oppose the Persian invasion of Mesopotamia and Syria; in which last province even Antioch, the capital, had been reduced by them. While the emperour was thus engaged, the Borani, a Scythian tribe, surprized and plundered the cities of Pytus in Bosporus, and Trapezus in Pontus; and advancing further into Asia, plundered several other cities, and returned with a vast booty unmolested to their own country. The following year, Valerian having recovered Antioch, advanced into Mesopotamia; and there being, by the treachery of Macrianus, induced to engage Sapor, the Persian king, at a disadvantageous post, lost the best of his troops, and was himself taken prisoner: when Sapor carried him in triumph into Persia, and insulted him in the grossest manner, making him his foot-stool whenever he mounted his horse. He was taken in the seventieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign; and in his captivity he died, his son Gallienus taking no steps to obtain his release.*

A. D. 259.

The barbarians pour their forces into the empire, and are repelled. Ingenuus proclaimed emperour; but defeated by Gallienus, and slain.

The news of the defeat of the Roman army, and the captivity of Valerian, no sooner reached the barbarians at war with Rome, than, pouring incredible multitudes into the empire, they menaced its destruction. The Goths and Scythians anew ravaged Pontus and Asia; the Alemanni and Franks through Rhœtia entered Italy, and put all to fire and sword, as far as Ravenna. The Quadi and Sar-

* It has been said, that this unhappy prince lived eight years in his captivity; and that after his death his body was by Sapor's order flayed, and his skin dressed, dyed red, and exposed in a temple; where, to the ignominy of the Roman name, it was shewn to all foreign princes and embassadors, as a monument of the power of the Persian monarch.

matians seized on great part of Dacia and Pannonia; and other barbarous tribes broke into Spain, and made themselves masters of Tarraco, and other important places. The Alemanni and Franks were, by Galbinus himself, expelled from Italy: the Quadi and their associates were, by Regillianus, who commanded there, driven back in Dacia and Pannonia. But while he was pursuing them in Mœsia, Ingenuus, who was much beloved by the soldiers and the people, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour; but, on the arrival of Gallienus, who immediately marched into Illyricum, he was defeated, and lost his life with his new dignity. And Gallienus used his victory with cruelty hardly to be described: his orders were, *tear, kill, and cut to pieces without mercy;* and they were executed. These cruelties provoked the proclamation of another emperour, Q. Nonius Regillianus; but he, too, was quickly murdered by those who had raised him. The same year, M. Cassius Labienus Posthumius revolted in Gaul: he was of low birth, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and deemed one of the best generals in the empire; and was acknowledged, not in Gaul only, but in Spain and Britain; and reigned seven years. In this time, he drove the Germans out of Gaul, restored to that harrassed province tranquillity, and governed with such equity as to gain universal esteem. During these disturbances in the west, Sapor over-ran most of the eastern provinces, again took Antioch, and levelled with the ground all its publick buildings; and in Cappadocia having made himself master of Cæsarea, he destroyed all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand. While Sapor was perpetrating his relentless ravages,* the Roman troops, who had dispersed on Valerian's defeat, rallying, chose for their leader Balista, who had been captain of his guards; and under him, flying from place to place, gained several advantages over the Persians, and slew great numbers of them. In these exertions Balista was seconded by Odenatus, who was a native of Palmyra, and an Arab prince, scarcely known till the captivity of

Cruelty of Gallienus: proclamation and death of Regillianus. Labienus revolts in Gaul. Victories of Balista and Odenatus over the Persians; and other transactions in the East.

* One instance only of this man's sanguinary disposition, the reader will think sufficient to be specified; he filled up, it is said, deep vallies with dead bodies, and took pride in passing over them on horseback, from one hill to another.

Valerian; when receiving, in return for the submission he tendered to the Persian monarch, only menaces and injurious language, he determined to pursue the Persians with fire and sword. He consequently joined Balista with all his forces, and was a principal assistant in one exploit of the latter, taking captive the wives of Sapor. This loss raising in the breast of the Persian dread of greater, induced him to retreat towards the Euphrates; but, at a short distance from Palmyra, Odenatus attacked his rear, made great havock of it, and drove the rest over the river in that confusion, that Sapor was glad to compound with the Roman garrison of Edessa for a return to Persia, by giving up to them all the Syrian money he had amassed in plundering so many cities. After this success, Odenatus assumed the title of king of Palmyra, which he likewise gave to his eldest son Herod, and that of queen to his wife Zenobia; while by Gallienus he was appointed commander in chief of all the Roman forces in the East. With this commission he the next year entered Mesopotamia, and recovered the cities of Nisibis and Charræ: then advancing into the heart of the Persian dominions, he totally defeated a great host of Persians, and compelled Sapor to shelter himself and his children within the walls of Ctesiphon. Under these, the Persian lords flying to the defence of the capital, many battles were fought, in which Odenatus was victorious; yet he obtained neither of the great objects of his pursuit, the delivery of Valerian and the capture of Sapor. It is intimated, that Odenatus was obliged to raise the siege of Ctesiphon in consequence of the revolt of Macrianus. This was an individual of great courage and military experience, who had raised himself from the ranks to the highest posts in the army; he, having gained Balista, was by his means acknowledged emperour by most of the troops who had served under Valerian; nor is it specified where he was chosen emperour, or how long he reigned. During his usurpation, however, those sanguinary scenes of civil discord seemed to have occurred at Alexandria, which left in that city fewer inhabitants, from the age of fourteen to eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy. P. Valerius Valens, pro-consul of Achaia, when he heard that Macrianus had assumed the imperial title, did the same. To suppress this rival, Macrianus sent Piso with

a competent force, who, instead of attacking Valens, turned aside into Thrace, and there himself assumed the imperial title; but was soon murdered by some soldiers sent by Valens, as was Valens himself a few days after by his own men. About the same time that Macrianus assumed the purple in the East, Manius Acilius Aureolus was forced by the army he commanded in Illyricum, to take on him the sovereignty; for the soldiers abhorred Gallienus, and would obey only emperours raised by themselves. This was a native of Dacia, of mean descent, but had eminently distinguished himself under Gallienus; who being unable to suppress him, was at length obliged to come to an accommodation with him. The Scythians now breaking into Bithynia, laid waste the whole country, levelled with the ground several cities, and plundered Nicomedia. And that no part of the empire might be exempt from the menaced calamities, the island of Sicily was cruelly harrassed by a band of robbers, whose devastations were dreadfull, and who kindled a kind of servile war, that was difficultly suppressed with much bloodshed. The following year the awfull visitations of Him, Whose call to repentance the inhabitants of the empire had rejected, were increased too by other calamities; a violent earthquake, in which great numbers of people with their habitations were swallowed up, took place; the sea broke in on the land, and drowned whole cities; the plague raged with great violence in Greece, Egypt, and especially at Rome, where for some time it swept off five thousand persons a day. And without effect were the books of the Sibyl consulted, and Jupiter invoked; for there was not any to answer, nor any that regarded. Nay, fresh incursions of barbarians took place, of Goths in Greece, of Scythians in Asia: but Macrianus arriving in Greece, on his march to Italy obliged the barbarians to retire into their own country. At the same time another party of Goths committed dreadfull ravages in Asia, burning several cities, and plundering the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and repassing the Hellespont, laid waste all Thrace in their return to their own country. Macrianus having settled the affairs of Syria after he had repeatedly defeated the Persians, left Balista with his younger son Quietus, to guard that province; and with his elder, Macrianus set out for the West.

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Macrianus and his sons slain: other pretenders to the empire arise. Gallienus takes Odenatus as his associate in the empire. Great irruptions of barbarians: Odenatus slain. Various competitors for empire in Gaul.

With Gallienus, already established on the throne, and Aureolus, his own fellow-competitor for it, had Macrianus now to contend; but even the last proved too much for him, defeating him on the borders of Illyricum; when both Macrianus and his son being slain, their whole army submitted to Aureolus, and were incorporated in his troops. After which, his younger son, Quietus, was soon cut off in Asia: but, in his place, Balista assumed the title of emperour. About the same time, too, Æmilianus, commander of the legions in Egypt, proclaimed himself emperour at Alexandria; when tranquillity was immediately restored to that distracted city. This year Gallienus, having agreed with Aureolus, marched with him into Gaul against Posthumius. This war continuing some years, Gallienus remained in Gaul only till the next, when he went towards the East; and on his way being admitted into the city of Byzantium, on particular conditions, he, without any regard to them, caused the garrison and all the inhabitants to be put to the sword. From this glorious exploit the emperour returned, and celebrated the tenth year of his reign with a kind of triumph.* This year was started as another emperour by his soldiers, P. Semp. Saturninus, renowned for his victories over the barbarians, but was for his severity put to death by the soldiers who had raised him. Towards the end of the same year, Æmilianus was defeated in Egypt, taken, and by the emperour's order strangled in prison. The following year, Gallienus, with the general approbation, took Odenatus for his partner in the empire; and Balista was at length slain. Gallienus now marched a second time against Posthumius in Gaul: but the latter still maintained possession of great part of that country; and on being hardly pressed by Gallienus, he chose a colleague, named M. Aurel. Piauvonius Victorinus. The next year, the Isaurians revolting in Asia

* In this were led feigned captives, dressed like Goths, Sarmatians, Franks, and Persians. Among those who personated the latter, some individuals of humour mixing, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dress, and seemed to betray great surprize. Being at length asked, what they wanted? "We are looking," said they, "for the emperour's father;" which so incensed Gallienus, that he commanded them to be immediately burnt alive.

Minor, chose for their leader C. Annius Trebellianus, who, assuming the title of Augustus, after reigning some time in Isauria and Cilicia, was defeated and killed. The Isaurians still refused to submit to the cruel Gallienus, and maintained themselves as a free people until the time of Constantine, yet disgracing that name by the perpetration of dreadfull ravages in Asia Minor and Syria. Neither was Africa without its emperour; where T. Corn. Celsus was raised to that dignity, but slain the seventh day after his election. Among the other losses of Rome during this destructive reign, may be reckoned that of the whole province of Dacia, seized by the Goths and other northern nations. In the following year, while Odenatus was gaining new triumphs in Persia, the Goths passing by the Euxine into Asia, over-ran with their usual ferocity Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Troas, Cappadocia, and Galatia. The next, Odenatus left Persia to hasten to the relief of Asia; and all authors agree, that about this time that great man was slain, together with his son Herod; but where or how is not agreed. He left behind him three sons by Zenobia, who, as they were very young, governed in their name. Zenobia did not maintain the same good understanding with Gallienus that her husband did; for this very year she defeated, and obliged to return to Rome, Heraclianus, whom the emperour had sent to command against the Persians instead of Odenatus. Towards the end of the year, one L. Ælianus having assumed the title of emperour at Mentz, was soon vanquished by Posthumius; who himself, together with his son, were quickly after murdered. Spur. Serv. Lollianus, too, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour; and reigned in that part of Gaul which lies on the Rhine, while Posthumius's associate Victorinus held the rest; but was soon slain by his own soldiers, incited by Victorinus; who thus becoming sole master of all Gaul, was soon mortally wounded by one, whose wife he had debauched. Ere he died, he named his infant son for his successor; but the Gauls murdered the poor child, and set up one M. Aurelius Marius; who, the third day of his reign, was assassinated by a soldier. Upon his fall the troops proclaimed Publ. Pivesus, or Pesuvius Tetricus, emperour, then governour of Aquitaine; who was acknowledged in both Britain and Spain.

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Ravages of the Heruli; and their defeat. Death of Gallienus: Claudius elected emperour.

While the Goths were again ravaging Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, the Heruli, under the conduct of Naulobat, passing down the Euxine Sea with five hundred vessels, landed at Byzantium and Chrysopolis, now Scutari; and though defeated at the last place, crossed the Bosporus, plundered part of Asia, and of the islands in the Archipelago; and thence sailing to Greece, besieged and burnt Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, and laid waste all Achaia; but were in the end defeated with greater slaughter by the Athenians, commanded by Dexippus the historian: yet in their retreat, Bœotia, Acarnania, Epirus, Thrace, suffered dreadfully from them. Gallienus being just returned from Gaul, hastened into Illyricum; and falling suddenly on the barbarians there, totally overthrew them, and took their leader prisoner: and Marcianus, who was left to pursue the war with them, having destroyed great numbers of them, obliged the rest to quit their booty, and abandon the Roman dominions. While Gallienus was engaged in Illyricum, Aureolus led the troops under his command towards Rome; of which Gallienus receiving intelligence, and suspecting his design, left Illyricum, and reaching Italy in a few days, came up with and defeated him; and immediately invested Milan, whither he had fled for shelter. During the siege, however, Gallienus was killed, with his son of the same name; and the soldiers receiving from Marcianus, out of the treasures which Gallienus then had with him, twenty pieces of gold a man, declared him a tyrant, and quietly took the oaths to Claudius, proposed to them as the man in the whole empire best qualified to govern it. Thus died a wretch, whose cruelty was such, that he is reported to have sometimes ordered three or four thousand of his soldiers to be put to death in one day.

A. D. 268.

Aureolus taken and slain. Claudius has great success against the barbarians: is cut off by the plague.

The news of Claudius's election reaching Rome, the senate delayed not to confirm it. He had no children, but two brothers, Quintillus who succeeded him, and Crispus the father of Claudia, who married Eutropius, and bare to him Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. No sooner was his election confirmed by the senate, than he attacked Aureolus, and took him prisoner; and the soldiers killed him without his orders. The troops that had served under him then acknowledged Claudius; whose attention was immediately claimed

by an host of Germans, who had entered Italy, but whom the new emperour defeated, slaying a vast number of them, and compelling the rest to retire to their own country: after which he returned to Rome, and applied himself with great prudence and justice to the redress of grievances, and the suppression of the abuses and disorders of the last reign. But hence he was again, early in the next year, called to oppose an invasion of Goths and other northern nations, to the amount of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, besides women and children. On these he fell with a very disproportionate number of forces, and those ill provided, in the Upper Mæsia, as they were retiring loaded with the plunder of the country which they had most mercilessly ravaged; and, after an obstinate contest, slew or took captive three hundred thousand of the enemy, and destroyed their fleet of two thousand vessels. While Claudius was thus engaged, Zenobia having vanquished the Roman forces in Egypt, gained possession of that province; and when, in the following year, he was about to march against this enterprizing queen, he was cut off by the plague, which then made dreadfull havock in his army, having reigned but two years and a month. A. D. 270.

Quintillus succeeding his brother Claudius but a few days, Aurelian declared emperour: his great success against the barbarians and Zenobia: recovers the eastern provinces, Egypt, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. After making several usefull regulations at Rome, he is assassinated in Thrace.

When the decease of Claudius was known at Rome, the senate and people proclaimed his brother Quintillus emperour, but he survived the receipt of this honour but seventeen days; either being slain by his own mutinous troops, or falling by his own hand, on hearing that Aurelian had been declared emperour by the army in Pannonia; but on his death the senate readily confirmed the election of Aurelian, who had meritoriously raised himself from the ranks to the command of the cavalry. On his election he repaired to Rome, but was quickly obliged to leave it to oppose another invasion of the Goths; who after a very obstinate engagement repassed the Danube, and sued for peace, which Aurelian readily granted them, because his presence was acquired to oppose a swarm of barbarians who menaced Italy itself. These he met in Vindelicia, put to flight, and cut off great numbers of them. The retreat of the rest being intercepted, and Aurelian refusing to listen to any terms they offered, they in despair pushed for Italy, and had advanced to Placentia ere he came up with them, when they utterly

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defeated him, and pursued their march in the hope of reaching Rome. But Aurelian rallying his troops, and most rapidly assembling reinforcements, in the course of three consequent battles cut them all off to a man. This body of invaders slain, news arrived of another of Vandals having passed the Danube; but these retreating before Aurelian, he, by the slaughter he made of them in his pursuit, obliged them to sue for peace, and give him hostages of the first distinction. On his return to Rome, he manifested so much severity not only against the disturbers of the publick peace, but against all who were accused, as much estranged from him the minds of both senate and people. With the approbation of the former, however, he undertook the repair of the walls of the city, and so extended them, too, that they became near fifty miles in compass. The following year Aurelian marched against Zenobia, which most accomplished and extraordinary female did for some years govern in the name of the sons of Odenatus, and with the title of queen of the East, discharging all the duties of an excellent prince and experienced commander; and had at this time extended her sway, not only over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, but great part of Asia, if not, too, Bithynia. In his march to the East through Thrace, Aurelian put to flight several barbarous clans that had made irruptions into it. He even passed the Danube, and slew a Gothic prince, named Caunabaud, and five thousand of his men. When he had passed the Bosporus, Bithynia immediately submitted. But the inhabitants of Tyana, in Cappadocia, shutting their gates against him, repelled all his assaults; till one of them betraying the town, of all the persons in it he was the only one that Aurelian permitted his troops to put to the sword.* From hence Aurelian leading his troops to Antioch, defeated those of Zenobia in the neighbourhood of that city; but not without great loss on his own side. Zenobia

* Aurelian, it seems, provoked at the resistance of the citizens, had sworn, he would not leave a dog alive in the place. When he commanded his soldiers to do no injury to the inhabitants, they reminded him of this vow. On which he replied, "they might, if they pleased, kill all the dogs, so they spared the inhabitants." With this humour of the emperour the soldiers were so pleased, that they remained content without plundering the place.

having retired to Emesa, thither the emperour followed her, and gained another victory: when, the queen retreating to Palmyra, Aurelian laid siege to that city; and having defeated a body of Persians that came to its relief, and bought over the Armenians and Saracens who appeared for the same purpose, Zenobia resolved to go herself into Persia to solicit succours; but, ere she had crossed the Euphrates, was overtaken by the Romans, and carried captive to Aurelian, in whose presence she behaved with great dignity and perfect intrepidity. After this, the gates of Palmyra were soon opened to the Romans: when the emperour carried with him to Emesa the captive queen; but caused many persons of distinction to be executed for supporting her, among whom was the celebrated Longinus. On the fame of this victory, the most distant nations sought by embassies and presents to gain the friendship of the conquerour of Zenobia, among whom even the Seres are mentioned. Having settled in peace the provinces which he had thus recovered, Aurelian returned into Europe with his illustrious captive; but, ere he had passed Thrace, he received advice that the inhabitants of Palmyra had revolted; on which hastening back, he took the city by surprize, and put all the inhabitants without exception to the sword. Yet, ere he quitted the East, news reached him that one Firmus, or Firmius, had in Egypt assumed the title of Augustus: against him Aurelian marched with his usual expedition and success; and having taken the usurper prisoner, caused him to be publickly executed.* Hence returning to Europe, he found Tetricus, who still held the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, tired out with continual mutinies of his troops, ready to cede to him the command of both the countries and the soldiers. However, one battle was fought, in which, Tetricus voluntarily yielding, his forces, destitute of a leader, were cut to pieces, and Gaul was re-united to the empire. On his return to Rome, Aurelian exhibited the most magni-

* This pretender to empire was a merchant of very great wealth, who traded with the Saracens, the Blemyes, a people of Æthiopia, and the inhabitants of India; and was wont to boast, that with his gains upon paper and glue only, he could maintain an army.

CHAPTER I

ficent triumph the city had ever seen; and afterwards gave to Zenobia, who walked at it, lands in the neighbourhood of Tibur, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank; whose descendants still lived in great splendour at Rome in the fourth century. With the same generosity Aurelian dealt with his other captives. He then turned his attention to the civil administration, and made regulations, both moral and political, of great advantage. Among the last, he increased the commercial facilities of Rome, by building wharfs along the banks of the Tiber, and deepening the channel of that river. Some disturbances in Gaul occasioned Aurelian to repair again to that province to restore its tranquillity, whence he passed into Vindelicia, and obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that side, to repass the Danube. But finding Dacia in the hands of the barbarians, he thought it prudent to relinquish it to them, withdrawing the Roman troops from the few forts they still held beyond the Danube; and to the inhabitants whom the barbarians had expelled, giving part of Mæsia and Dardania for a settlement. Thus forming a new province, which comprehended, it is supposed, the most distant parts of Bulgaria and Servia, and the metropolis of which was Sardica, now known in this part of Europe by the name of Sofia, but by its inhabitants called Triadizza. In A. D. 275 Thrace, whither the emperour next advanced, he was assassinated by a band of the chief officers of his army, excited to the nefarious deed by a freed-man of his, named Mnestheus, who dreading the emperour's vengeance for some extortion, devised this way of escaping, and effected it by a forgery. Aurelian had reigned full five years: nor did his death remain unpunished; since the officers who had killed him, quickly discovering the imposition practised on them, threw Mnestheus to the wild beasts. Aurelian's death was much lamented by the senate, and more by the people: though it is observed that he was the first emperour who ventured to wear a diadem.

All the chief officers having been concerned in the death of Aurelian, the army referred the choice of an emperour to the senate, and that body being unwilling to take it on themselves, referred it back again to the army; so that the empire remained near eight months

without an head. At length some barbarians having broken into Gaul, and others threatening Illyricum, the senate named Tacitus, who was universally approved of as emperour. He was a learned man, mild in temper, averse to pomp, and an admirer of primitive manners. He began his reign with the suppression of abuses prevalent in Rome. But scarcely was he settled in the empire, when incredible multitudes of barbarians advanced through Colchis; to oppose these he immediately left Rome for Asia, where he defeated, and obliged them to return to their own country. But the following year this emperour died, it is doubtfull whether by disease or violence, in Asia. On his decease, Florianus his brother caused himself to be proclaimed emperour: but the legions quartered in Syria and Egypt declared for Probus, then commander of all the forces in the East. When these rivals drew near each other, the forces of Florianus put to death their own leader, and joined Probus. No sooner was this known, than all the other armies proclaimed Probus, and the senate confirmed their election; for all considered him as every way qualified for the station. As soon as his election was confirmed, he returned to Europe; and in the ensuing spring repaired to Gaul; where, it is said, that in many successfull battles he slew near four hundred thousand of the German tribes, who had committed dreadfull ravages in that province, and obliged the rest to repass the Rhine. Over which river he pursued them, driving them beyond the Elb and the Necker; and, to secure the subjection of the country, built many forts between those rivers and the Rhine; yet did not deem it prudent to reduce Germany, which he then might have done, to a Roman province. He next directed his march to Illyricum and Thrace; from the first of which the Sarmatians fled on his approach; and in the last, deputies from all the Gothic nations met him to sue for peace. Europe thus tranquillized, Probus proceeded to Asia, reduced Isauria, which had revolted; defeated the Blemyes, who had seized Caphtos and Ptolemais in Egypt; and his victory over this fierce people terrified Varranes the second, then king of Persia, to accept of the terms of peace which he chose to dictate. As he returned to Rome through Thrace, he allotted lands in that province to an hundred thousand of the Bastarnæ, a Scythian tribe, as well as to

dies. Florianus causes himself to be proclaimed; but, on the approach of Probus, is put to death by his own troops. Probus chosen emperour; his successfull reign. A. D. 275.

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some of the Gepidæ, Juthungi, and Vandals. When, for a short time, peace reigned throughout the empire; but was soon disturbed by the restless Egyptians and turbulent soldiers, who forced Sext. Julius Saturninus to assume the purple; but he was quickly defeated, and put to the sword by the forces of Probus. After this, two usurpers arose in Gaul, Proculus and Bonosus. But the former, after some successfull battles with the Alemanni, was, by the Franks who had promised him assistance, betrayed into the hands of Probus; and the last, after having supported several engagements with the emperour, strangled himself, to avoid being taken.

Probus murdered by his own soldiers. Carus elected emperour: defeats the barbarians: marches into Persia; and in the midst of victory, dies. A. D. 282.

The empire now enjoying profound tranquillity, to preserve his troops from idleness, Probus employed them in planting vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, and Mæsia. But setting great numbers of them to dig a canal from Sirmium, his native city, to the sea, the soldiers became incensed against him; and suspecting, from some words he was said to have dropt, that he meant to disband them, they resolved on his destruction; and falling upon him on a march in Illyricum, slew him, with many wounds, in the fifty-first year of his age and the seventh of his reign. He fell greatly lamented by not only the Romans, but even the barbarians, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and justice; and he doubtlessly was one of the best and greatest princes that ever reigned at Rome. On the death of Probus, Carus, then captain of the prætorian guards, was by the army unanimously raised to the empire, as in every respect well qualified to succeed him; and this nomination, with some backwardness on account of the vicious and cruel temper of the new emperour's son Carinus, was confirmed by the senate. No sooner was Carus raised to the empire, than he conferred the title of Cæsar on his two sons Carinus and Numerianus; of which the last was as virtuously inclined as the other was vicious. On the news of the death of Probus, the Sarmatians ravaged Illyricum and Thrace. Against these Carus marching, in a general engagement slew sixteen thousand, and took twenty thousand prisoners, driving the rest into their own country; whither he was prevented from pursuing them, by tidings of the Persians being on the point of invading the Eastern provinces. Committing, therefore, the Western to the care of

Carinus, he with Numerianus passed into Mesopotamia, whence the Persians retreated on his approach; and following them into their own country, he took the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Neither does it seem improbable that, the Persians then being divided by a civil war, he would, as he intended, entirely have ruined that empire, had he not been prevented by his death, which took place in a very mysterious manner, early in the second year of his reign.

Numerianus proclaimed emperour, and assassinated. Dioclesian chosen emperour. Carinus slain. Dioclesian acknowledged at Rome; is successfull against the barbarians: takes Maximian for his colleague: victories of him and Dioclesian over the barbarians: successfull revolt of Carausius. Various commotions occasion the appointment of two Cæsars.

The second son of Carus, Numerianus, was immediately saluted emperour by the whole army; his elder brother having been by his father raised to the throne, ere he left Europe. But Arrius Aper, the captain of the guards, who aimed at the empire for himself, quickly murdered him; on the knowledge of which the army unanimously proclaimed Dioclesian emperour. He was of mean birth, had entered early into the army, and gradually raised himself to the highest posts. At the death of Numerianus he commanded the domestici; and was proclaimed emperour at Chalcedon, on the seventeenth of September two hundred and eighty-four, which forms the commencement of a new æra, termed that of Dioclesian, or the Æra of the Martyrs, which obtained in the Church for many ages, and is still in use among the Copts, the Abissinians, and some other African nations; and which last appellation is the more observable, because it marks the coincidence of this reign with the close of that prophetick period which was prefigured as intervening between two of persecution.* Carinus was not inattentive to the progress of his rival, but fought with him several battles in Illyricum; and in a general engagement in Upper Mæsia, defeated him; but, in the pursuit, was slain by some of his own men, excited to this traiterous act by a tribune, whose wife the profligate emperour had seduced; though a different account is by another writer given of his death. On this, however, Dioclesian, freed from a rival, proceeded to Rome; which, after establishing his authority there, he left for Germany, where he in person gained several advantages over the Germans; while in Britain his generals repressed the attempts of the natives to throw off their yoke. Dioclesian in the following year took for his colleague in the empire

* Revelation, 6, v. 9—11.

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Maximian, a Pannonian of mean parentage, but esteemed, from his exploits, one of the best commanders of his time. The disturbances excited in Gaul by Ælianus and Amandus, who, heading a number of vagabonds, both caused themselves to be proclaimed emperours, are said to have induced Dioclesian to take this step. Maximian, after his assumption, hastened into Gaul, and there defeated the rebels. In the mean time Dioclesian's preparations for attacking him, induced Varranes, king of Persia, to restore what he had taken from the Romans, rather than engage in a war with them. The following year Maximian overcame several barbarian tribes by whom he was attacked in Gaul. It was now, too, that Carausius, a native of Gaul, having, by Maximian's orders, built a fleet at Boulogne, and with it gained great advantages over the Franks and Saxons (who thus early began to infest the seas with piracies), and on land made great carnage among the German nations who had invaded Gaul, but kept for himself the booty which he recovered from them, dreading Maximian's wrath, passed over to Britain with his fleet, and there assumed the imperial title. Maximian having destroyed the greater part of another invading body of barbarians, soon after passed the Rhine into Germany, ravaged the country, and returned with numerous captives and a large booty. Two of the kings of the Franks, Atec and Genobaud, were induced, by the terrour of his name, to submit to hold their kingdoms of him. Dioclesian, too, entering Germany through Rhætia, is said now to have extended the bounds of the empire to the springs of the Danube. A fleet of Maximian's having been defeated, and in great part destroyed by that of Carausius, (so soon commenced the naval triumphs of Britain) Maximian concluded a treaty with him, by which the government of Britain was ceded to him; and he held it, in the whole, for six or seven years. In the same year, the province of Dacia, which the Sarmatians had seized, was recovered to the empire by a complete victory, which Dioclesian obtained over that people and some other barbarous tribes. The next year this emperour, having in the East gained considerable advantages over the Saracens, returned to Italy; and meeting Maximian at Milan, held with him several private conferences, the subject of which did not then transpire. The empire

having, for a year, enjoyed tranquillity, through the internal broils that prevailed among their neighbours, the next year the Persians burst into Mesopotamia, the Quinquegentiani over-ran Africa, M. Aur. Julianus caused himself to be proclaimed emperour in Italy, and L. Epidius Achilleus assumed the same title in Egypt. The dangers which thus menaced the empire, induced the two emperours to name each of them a Cæsar, who should be considered as successor to the empire, and assist in its present defence: Dioclesian chose Maximinus Galerius; and Maximian, Constantius Chlorus; and, the better to cement this new union, the two Cæsars were obliged to put away their wives, and marry; Constantius, Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian, and Galerius, Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian. The Cæsars were invested with the pro-consular and tribunitial power, and honoured with the titles that had hitherto been peculiar to the sovereign. After this, the empire was divided into four parts; of which Dioclesian chose for himself the countries beyond the Ægean Sea; Thrace and Illyricum were allotted to Galerius; Italy, Africa, and the adjacent islands, to Maximian; Gaul, Britain, Spain, with Mauritania Tingitana, to Constantius. Each governed his own provinces with absolute sway; though each was also considered as having imperial authority throughout the whole. This multiplication of princes caused a vast increase of attendants and of troops; and hence arose a much greater expenditure, and a consequent addition of burdens on the people; so that those in several provinces were reduced to penury, and the lands left untilled; and thus was the empire greatly weakened, and Italy itself reduced at length to a deplorable condition.

Character of Galerius. Death of Julianus; and that of Carausius. The Carpi reduced by Galerius; and Britain recovered by Constantius; who peoples part of Gaul with Franks. Egypt recovered by

Galerius was a man of obscure family, altogether illiterate, but had by his signal valour and conduct raised himself from the ranks to the chief military posts; though fierce and savage in his temper and behaviour. As soon as created Cæsar, he marched against the barbarians about the Danube and Illyricum; but against these did nothing remarkable for a considerable time. But by grubbing a large tract of wood in Lower Pannonia, and draining off a lake into the Danube, he gained a new province between the Danube and the Draw, then by him called from his wife Veleria, but afterwards

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Dioclesian; the Moors subdued by Maximian; and the Persians overcome by Galerius. Tenth persecution. Dioclesian resigns the empire; Maximian does the same. Constantius and Galerius declared emperours; and Severus and Maximin created Cæsars. Constantine escapes from Galerius to Constantius, who dies at York.

known by the name of Pannonia Secunda. In the mean time Maximian, in Africa, reduced Julianus to such despair that he stabbed himself. While Constantius, in Gaul, reduced Gessoriacum, the present town of Boulogne. And the following year Carausius, in Britain, was murdered by his prime minister and bosom friend Allectus, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperour. Constantius's fleet not yet being ready for his attack on Britain, he cleared Batavia of the intrusive Franks, and transplanted them and their families into other parts of the empire; and so secured the frontiers of the empire on his side against other barbarians, as Maximian did on his, that it long enjoyed tranquillity. But Constantius paid particular attention to the city of Augusto-dunum, now Autun, which he endeavoured to raise, both in population and splendour, above all the other cities of Gaul. Two years after this the Carpi were completely reduced by Galerius, and afterwards were transplanted, chiefly into Pannonia. After he had spent three years in preparations, Constantius sailed for Britain, and his different squadrons arriving without interruption from the British fleet, through favour of a fog, the treacherous usurper Allectus was defeated and slain; and thus was Britain again united to the empire. After settling affairs on this island, Constantius returned to Gaul, and transplanting great numbers of Franks into that province, peopled with them the countries of Amiens, Beauvois, Troies, and Langres. At this time Dioclesian recovered Egypt from Achilleus, and by the cession of a portion of country to them, endeavoured, but not with very good success, to engage the Nubians not only to cease from invading the Roman diminions, but to defend them against the Blemyes and other barbarous tribes. In the ensuing year Maximian went into Africa, and entirely subdued the rebellious Moors. While on the eastern side of the empire Narsus, king of Persia, having, after reducing Armenia, entered Mesopotamia, Galerius hastened to oppose him with a much inferior force, and was defeated. But raising another army, he most completely routed the Persians, and compelled them to accept from him the terms of peace, by which the river Tigris was made the common boundary of the two empires, and the crown of Iberia put in the disposal of the Roman emperour.

The fourth year after this, was signalized by a victory gained by Constantius over the Alemanni, when sixty thousand of them fell; and the next year a dearth occurred, which was, it is said, by the injudicious measures of Dioclesian, increased to a famine. It was in the following year, that of three hundred and three, that, after much consultation between Dioclesian and Galerius, the tenth and last general persecution of the Christians commenced; at the close of which, notice will be taken of the link which the prediction of it forms in the prophetick chain. A short time after issuing the first edicts against the followers of Christ, two fires broke out, within a few days of each other, in the palace of Nicomedia, where Dioclesian and Galerius then were, which struck the former of these with terrour, and was by the craft of the other laid to the account of the Christians, that he might more highly incense Dioclesian against them. About the same time took place in Syria a short-lived insurrection of soldiers, who compelled one Eugenius to assume the purple; but this he wore one day only; being, the night after he entered Antioch, put to death, with all his men, by the inhabitants. In return for which service Dioclesian most unjustly and cruelly ordered the chief magistrates, both of that city and Seleucia, to be publickly executed without even a trial. When, on his return to Rome, Dioclesian found that the people very freely rallied the œconomy he shewed in the sports which he exhibited, he felt so hurt at it, that he left the city for Ravenna during very bad weather; when he was seized with a lingering distemper, which so greatly debilitated him, that, either from his own sense of his inefficiency, or induced to it by the menaces of Galerius, within a year and an half from that time he resigned his sovereignty. Yet another reason for this step assigned by one author is deserving of notice, that he was led to retirement by dread of the misfortunes which then threatened the empire. Whatever was the inducement, however, the same step was on the same day taken by Maximian, and Constantius and Galerius were declared emperours; and two new Cæsars had already been appointed at the suggestion of Galerius, Severus, and Daia or Daza, to whom Dioclesian had a little before given the name of Maximin. Dioclesian, after his

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resignation, retired to a country-seat near Salona, where the city of Spalatra was afterwards built, and where he is said to have found much satisfaction in the tranquillity of retreat. The empire was now divided between the new emperours; and Constantine the son of Constantius, who was then resident in the provinces that fell to the share of Galerius, and whose great qualities excited the jealousy of this emperour, was not permitted by him to depart; but, under pretence of particular affection, retained, and put upon every perilous achievement. But in the following year Constantine, having obtained a warrant from Galerius for the necessary horses and carriages, withdrew privately, and took such measures for securing himself from pursuit, that he safely reached his father, and attended him into Britain. Here Constantius having vanquished the Picts, a people now first mentioned in history, and supposed to have migrated from Scandinavia into Caledonia, quickly after died at York.

A. D. 306.

Constantius succeeded by his son Constantine. Severus made emperour by Galerius: Maxentius assumes the purple, and Maximian resumes it; takes captive and puts to death Severus; marries his daughter Fausta to Constantine. Licinius declared emperour.

Constantius bequeathed the empire to his son Constantine, who declined accepting it without the consent of the other princes. But the soldiers, by whom he was much beloved, proclaimed him emperour, the day of his father's decease. But Galerius gave him only the title of Cæsar, and created Severus emperour; whose provinces of Africa and Italy he himself governed with tyranny so oppressive as to cause great disturbances, and especially in Rome. Of these Maxentius, the reputed son of Maximian, taking advantage, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour by the soldiery and people. Galerius, on receiving advice of this, enjoined Severus to hasten to Rome and suppress the usurper. Maxentius on his side applied to his father Maximian, who suffered himself to be declared emperour a second time by the senate and people of Rome. In the mean time the Franks, forgetfull of their oaths, had, on the departure of Constantius for Britain, committed dreadfull ravages in Gaul. Against these Constantine marching, overcame them in a pitched battle; and having taken prisoners two of their kings, cruelly exposed them to be devoured by wild beasts; a mode of execution which he afterwards caused to be repeated on many other captives whom he took on the other side of the Rhine. Severus, in consequence of the orders of

Galerius, leading his army towards Rome, was abandoned by it; and retreating to Ravenna, was there besieged by Maximian, and, on his capitulation, treacherously put to death by him. To fortify himself against Galerius, Maximian repaired to Constantine in Gaul, and there allied himself to him, by giving him his daughter Fausta in marriage. While he was here, Galerius made a fruitless march into Italy; on whose retreat Maximian, not being able to prevail on Constantine to venture on a war with Galerius, returned to Rome, and there having in vain endeavoured to depose his own son Maxentius, he repaired to Galerius, in hope of an opportunity of depriving him of his life and his dominions; but failing in this, as well as in prevailing on Dioclesian to remount the throne, he was obliged to authorize the promotion of Licinius, whom Galerius created emperour. This new prince was a native of New Dacia, of mean family, extremely illiterate, violent, cruel, and debauched; but a brave and experienced officer. And thus had the empire at this time six princes; Maximian, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Constantine and Maxentius.

Maximian, after repeated attempts against Constantine, is put to death. Galerius dies. Maxentius's conduct in Italy: he prepares to attack Constantine: this last prevents him; and in his march into Italy embraces Christianity: defeats Maxentius; who is drowned: enters Rome; and disbands the prætorian guards.

In the following year, Maximian repaired again to Constantine with the most nefarious purposes; and though most honourably received, took the opportunity of Constantine's first absence to seduce his troops; and resuming the purple, which he had again pretended to lay aside, seized on the treasures in his palace. But when Constantine unexpectedly returned, he fled to Marseilles; where being taken, and delivered to Constantine, he obliged him again to resign the empire; but spared his life, and even treated him with kindness. Yet, two years after, this ungratefull wretch determined to assassinate his benefactor; and having prevailed on Fausta, his own daughter and Constantine's wife, to promise to leave the emperour's bedchamber door open, he murdered an eunuch that had been purposely put into the bed. For Fausta having revealed her father's request to Constantine, he, very unjustly it should seem, exposed this man to the dagger which was intended for himself; and having thus ascertained the reality of Maximian's guilt, he permitted him to choose in what manner he should be put to death; and he preferred that of being hanged. This year Constantine defeated, with great slaughter,

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the Alemanni, and several other German tribes. In the year ensuing, Galerius having for many months suffered under an ulcerous disorder of peculiar virulence and torment, and sought in vain to his idols for relief, began to fear that his sufferings proceeded from Divine vengeance for his persecution of the Christians, and immediately by an edict put a stop to it; and within little more than a month after, he died. On his decease, Maximin and Licinius, after some hostile demonstrations, agreed to a division of his territories; the former taking those in Asia, and the latter Thrace. In the mean time, Maxentius, who reigned at Rome, reduced by his generals Africa, where Alexander had assumed the title of emperour; and having taken his rival prisoner, had him immediately strangled. On this success, Maxentius behaved with the severest cruelty to the inhabitants of the province; and laid in ashes the city of Carthage, then one of the handsomest and most flourishing in the world. Nor did Rome and Italy suffer less from this lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than Africa. His lust spared not the most illustrious women, nor his avarice the greatest men; and he permitted in his soldiers the same licenciousness which he practised himself; so that Rome was reduced to a most deplorable condition, and many of its inhabitants daily died from want. Maxentius himself, elated with his success in Egypt, conceived the purpose of securing the whole empire to himself by the destruction of the other princes, and resolved to begin with Constantine; and though this last wrote to dissuade him from commencing a civil war, under pretence of revenging the death of his father he publickly declared his hostile intentions. On which Constantine, leaving on the banks of the Rhine a strong body of troops, began his march for Italy; in the progress of which is placed the extraordinary occurrence of his being induced, by the sight of a cross of light in the air, to assume that as his ensign; and, in consequence of a further vision, to become a convert to the Christian religion. However this conversion was effected, the whole imperial family followed the example; and Constantine himself caused a banner to be carried at the head of his army with the cross upon it, and that motto which he said he had seen in the cross that appeared in the sky, "Hoc signo vinces." The next year he crossed the Alps,

and advancing, with but little and ineffectual opposition, as far as Verona, he there, after an obstinate engagement, defeated the army of Maxentius; and all the places between the Alps and Rome now submitting, he proceeded into the neighbourhood of that city. Here, after some time, Maxentius, misled by a report that the Sybilline books announced that the great enemy of Rome was doomed to perish that very day, quitted the city, and offered Constantine battle, who gladly accepting the challenge, Maxentius was defeated, and drowned in retreating across the Tiber. On the following day Constantine entered Rome, attended by the senate, and received with general acclamations. The victory thus obtained, was not followed with the sanguinary vengeance so usual on similar occasions: Constantine pardoned his greatest enemies, refused the people's importunities to put to death the chief ministers of the deceased tyrant; and though he immediately disarmed all his troops, yet he restored them to their former condition, and employed them against the barbarians. But the too-powerfull corps of prætorian guards he very wisely disbanded, utterly demolishing their camp. A. D. 312.

Constantine's conduct at Rome. State of the dominions of Maximin. Licinius marries the daughter of Constantine: the favour of this emperour to the Christians. War of Maximin with Licinius: death of the former.

Constantine restored the senate to its former dignity, recalled the exiles, and remitted all the penalties imposed by Maxentius; and issued an edict, in the name of Licinius and himself, to put a stop to the persecution of the Christians; an event which seems to close the prophetick period noticed in the ninth and two subsequent verses of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Revelation.* While the war between Constantine and Maxentius was proceeding, the dominions of Maximin suffered most severely by pestilence, famine, and war; into the last of which the people of Armenia Major were impelled, by the attempts of Maximin to force them to a renunciation of Christianity. Constantine while at Rome, where Licinius repaired

* About the end of this year, 312, is supposed to have begun the reckoning by indictions, or a cycle of fifteen years. The most rational account of its origin seems to be, that Constantine having reduced the term of the Roman military service to fifteen years, he was obliged every fifteen years to announce, *indicere*, an extraordinary tax, for paying those who were discharged; and hence this new cycle, the years of which were numbered as the first, second, third, &c. indiction.

to him, married his sister Constantia to that prince. To these nuptials Dioclesian was invited; but declining such a journey, it is said the two emperours, in resentment, sent to him such menaces, that the terrour with which they inspired him accelerated his death, which soon after took place. Constantine was soon obliged to return to Gaul by the hostile preparations of the Franks; and having, by a stratagem, defeated these, he took such vengeance on them as was by no means fitted to adorn the new faith which he professed, nor at all reconcileable with the character for humanity and generosity which so many writers give him. He this year bestowed great immunities on the clergy, and gave large sums to be distributed among the indigent Christians, and interested himself much in the peace of the Church. Maximin, who had taken great offence at Licinius for connecting himself so closely with Constantine, seized the opportunity of the latter being engaged in Gaul to attack the former; but his attempt ended only in his own defeat; which was so complete, that he deemed it requisite to divest himself of his imperial attire, and flee in the disguise of a slave. As far, however, in Asia as Cappadocia, he resumed the purple; and Licinius pursuing his victory (which was gained in Thrace) arrived at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and there by an edict put a stop to the persecution of the Christians in that part of the empire. Maximin still retreating, and hopeless of final escape, endeavoured to end his life by poison; but this failing of the wished-for effect, produced a distemper, under which he suffered such inexpressible torments, that the Christians thought that they could be ascribed solely to the Divine vengeance on a most virulent persecutor of the worshippers of The One True God. And it is asserted, that he himself drew the same conclusion; and therefore published an edict still more favourable to them than that which Constantine and Licinius had forced from him the year before. He died, however, without having received any diminution of his torments.

Treatment of Maximin's family. An ecclesiastical council assembled by Constantine.

On the decease of Maximin, Licinius became master of all the Eastern provinces; the whole empire being now divided between Constantine and him. These surviving princes not only declared Maximin a publick enemy, and treated him as such in other respects,

but added the cruelty of publickly executing his children and relations, and throwing his wife into the Orontes at Antioch. Neither has it been left unremarked, that the families of the three great persecutors, Dioclesian, Galerius, and Maximin, were by degrees utterly exterminated. Constantine's neglect of the secular games this year was far from pleasing to his pagan subjects. The following year, Constantine ordered a council to meet of all the bishops in the West, at Arles, in Gaul, for the repression of the Donatists. But ere they assembled, he left that country, to prosecute a war which had broken out between himself and Licinius; the event of which was the cession to the former of a part of the dominions of the last. The next year, the punishment of crucifixion was abolished in Constantine's dominions. He in that, too, published laws for the preservation of the lives of children, and the protection of agriculture: and to these he soon added a law, which facilitated the manumission of slaves. Thus did the empire feel the benefit of the amelioration of the faith of its ruler. In the three hundred and seventeenth year of our æra, Constantine and Licinius agreed on the appointment of three Cæsars; two, Crispus and Constantine, the sons of Constantine, and the other, Licinius or Licinianus, that of Licinius by the sister of Constantine. This emperour continued to make many beneficial alterations in the code of Roman laws, and to assimilate them more to the doctrines of Christianity; he forbad married men to keep concubines, and prohibited all manner of work on the first day of the week. In the year three hundred and twenty-two, the Sarmatians, the Carpi, and the Goths, were defeated in several battles on the Danube. The Goths, notwithstanding their defeat, perpetrated the next year dreadfull devastations in Thrace and Mæsia; when Constantine having defeated, pursued them into the territories of Licinius, who, dissatisfied with the late partition of the empire, readily embraced this plea for breaking with Constantine. In the war which consequently ensued, Licinius, who had announced, that, in case of the victory remaining with him, he would extirpate the Christians, was defeated, first near Adrianople by Constantine, and his fleet was vanquished by the Cæsar Crispus; and this leading to an accommodation, which proved only short-lived, another engage-

War between him and Licinius. Three new Cæsars created. Constantine gains some victories over the barbarians; and on a renewal of the war with Licinius, the last is again defeated; and at length entirely vanquished, and slain.

A. D. 315.

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ment took place between the two emperours, in which Licinius was again defeated; and though by his wife's intercession assured of his life if he attempted no further disturbances, he was soon after put to death: some say on the demand of the soldiery; while one author asserts, that he was detected in preparing again for war. The son of Licinius was degraded from the dignity of Cæsar, and two years after put to death. Not long after the death of the elder Licinius, Constantine raised his own third son Constans to the dignity of Cæsar.

A. D. 325.

Constantine's efforts to eradicate idolatry, and his favours to the Church. The Council of Nice. Crispus put to death unjustly; Fausta so as justly. Dedication of Constantinople, and the removal of the seat of empire thither.

Constantine, now master of the Eastern provinces, made it his study to promote in them the worship of The True God, and abolish idolatry, as he had done in the West. He not only ordered every thing to be restored both to the churches and individuals, of which they had been deprived during the persecutions, but forbad the sacrificing to idols, the consecration of any new ones, and the consulting, either publickly or in private, the soothsayers, oracles, &c. He ordered the churches which had been demolished, to be rebuilt at his own expence; and soon after published an edict, drawn up by himself, addressed to all the people of the empire, exhorting them to renounce their ancient superstition, and worship One God, The Creatour of the Universe, placing all their hopes in Jesus Christ. He ordered the idol temples, wherever it could be done without bloodshed or tumult, to be shut up, and their treasures, ornaments, and images to be taken away; while the lands and revenues belonging to them were applied to pious uses. Under this ordinance, the Pythian and Smynthian Apollo, the tripod of Delphos, the muses of Helicon, the famous Pan, consecrated by all the states of Greece after the Persian war, and whatever the deluded Gentiles had for many ages adored, were publickly dragged through the streets, and either dashed in pieces, or made use of as master-pieces of art to adorn publick edifices. Thus, let the reader well remark, was brought to pass the predicted triumph of the doctrine of the Gospel over the false deities of the nations,* and thus again demonstrated the truth of Him, Who had enabled His disciples to foretell the over-

* The accurate prophetick delineation of this triumph the reader will find under the sixth seal in Rev. 6, 12—17.

throw of the whole system of heathen worship, and the destruction of those who had persecuted the preachers and professors of eternal truth. In the year three hundred and twenty-five, the divisions caused in the church by the doctrine of Arius, a presbyter of the church of Alexandria, induced Constantine to assemble the celebrated council of Nice, in Bithynia; when almost the whole of that declaration of Christian faith, called the Nicene Creed, was drawn up and approved by all the assembled prelates, with a very few dissentient voices, as containing the doctrine which their several churches had holden, as having been taught by the Apostles, and handed down from them by uninterrupted tradition. This year the emperour prohibited the combats of gladiators, and changed the punishment of criminals from fighting in the Arena to working in the mines. The ensuing year was marked by the execution of Crispus, the emperour's eldest son, who was falsely accused by his stepmother, the empress Fausta, of soliciting her to incest; or, by some accounts, of aspiring to the empire. Manifest it is that his father credited the accusation, though the falsity of it was quickly proved, and Fausta herself suffocated with the steam of an hot bath. About the year three hundred and twenty-seven or twenty-eight, the empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have discovered the cross as well as the sepulchre of The Saviour, which induced her son afterwards to erect at Jerusalem the famous church of the Resurrection. For two years subsequent to the decease of Helena, which now took place, Constantine seems to have been much occupied in operations against the Goths on the Danube. But, in the year three hundred and thirty, he solemnly consecrated either to the God of Martyrs, which seems the most probable, or to the Virgin Mary, the new city which he had built in Thrace, and now denominated Constantinople. This intended new metropolis of the world Constantine had spared neither cost or labour to render both handsome and commodious; many were the salutary laws enacted for the security of the inhabitants, and great the privileges granted to them. By these means it quickly became one of the most populous cities of the empire; and the common people were enticed thither, even from Rome itself, by the emperour's largesses, and the great quantities of

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corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them. From his new city Constantine banished all idols, and gave it all the rights and immunities enjoyed by Rome. He established in it a senate and other magistrates, with power and authority equal to those of the senate of the western metropolis; and in the year three hundred and thirty he removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople; thus giving to the Roman power a fatal blow from which it never recovered, and preparing the way for those several degrees of declensions by which it sunk, and the grand characteristicks of which are so admirably marked in the eighth chapter of the book of the Revelation.

Constantine defeats the Goths, and reduces the Sarmatians: makes Constans Cæsar. The Sarmatians expelled from their own country by their slaves, and received by Constantine: copies of the holy Scriptures made by his order. Division of the empire among the Cæsars. Constantine's last illness, and death.

Two years after Constantine had fixed his court at Constantinople, at the request of the Sarmatians the emperour assisting them against the Goths, gained over these last a memorable victory, by which the barbarians were compelled to sue for peace, and among their hostages give even the son of their king: and great numbers of them are said to have now embraced the Christian religion, which had been preached among them about seventy years before. The people whom he had assisted, however, returned this favour of Constantine by ravaging the provinces of Mæsia and Thrace; but the emperour quickly forced them to submit to what terms he pleased. In the year three hundred and thirty-three, Constantine made his youngest son Constans, Cæsar; and Syria, Cilicia, and Thrace, were afflicted with a most destructive pestilence and famine; during which calamity Constantine manifested much compassionate generosity. Now, too, he was flattered with the arrival of embassadors from the Blemyes, Indians, Æthiopians, and Persians, with rich presents and offers of friendship. The Goths breaking into the country of the Sarmatians anew, and defeating them with great slaughter, this people armed their slaves, and thus gained a complete victory over the Goths; but the victorious slaves then turned against their masters, and expelled them from their country. The Sarmatians fled for refuge to Constantine, in number three hundred thousand, who incorporating in his legions such as were fit for service, gave settlements to the rest in Thrace, Sythia, Macedon, and Italy. It was in this year that the emperour desired Eusebius, bishop of

Cæsarea, to cause fifty copies of the holy Scriptures to be transcribed, and sent him for the use of the churches in Constantinople. The next year Constantine assembling two ecclesiastical councils, one at Tyre the other at Jerusalem, the former on false charges deposed Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and the last admitted to the communion of the church Arius and his followers. The emperour, too, misled by some Arians who had obtained his ear, banished without examination Athanasius, when he appealed to him; and sent into exile three other bishops, for their zealous opposition to the blasphemous tenets of the heresiarch. Constantine now raised his nephew Dalmatius to the dignity of Cæsar, and appointed Annibalianus, his brother, king of Pontus; and quickly after he divided the government of the empire among them; assigning to Constantine, his eldest son, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to Constantius, the second, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and to Constans, the youngest, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. To his nephew Dalmatius he gave Thrace, Macedon, and Achaia; and to Annibalianus his other nephew, besides Pontus, Armenia Minor, and Cappadocia. About this time, one Calocerus of Cyprus caused himself to be proclaimed emperour there, and made himself master of the island; but was soon taken prisoner by Dalmatius, and cruelly burnt alive. About two years after this, the Persians began hostilities, on account of the five provinces ceded to Galerius; but, terrified at the vigorous preparations of Constantine, they made proposals for accommodation; and no war ensued. And now the emperour was seized with his last A. D. 337. illness, and expired in a castle in Bithynia, in the sixty-fourth year of his age; having been previously baptized; for until that time had he deferred participation in that rite. The death of Constantine appears to have been a subject of unfeigned sorrow to his subjects in general; and his body was, according to his own directions, buried in the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople. Several were the regulations in the government of the empire first introduced by Constantine. He appointed two additional prefects, or captains of the guards, assigning to the care of each a division containing several dioceses or districts: the four great divisions were the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul. The prefects had under them various officers, as

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pro-consuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, correctors, and presidents. After this division of the empire, the prefects, who were originally military, became altogether civil officers; and the command of the troops was given to two *magistri militiæ*. The number of these was soon increased, and they became at least five; one called *præsentalis*, one for Thrace, one for the East, and one for Illyricum, and one for Gaul. Afterwards, too, they were distinguished by the titles of *comites*, or counts. The patricians were superior in rank to both the *magistri militiæ* and prefects; but Constantine, who instituted this new dignity, annexed no power to it, bestowing it only as a title of honour. Still the consuls retained precedency of even the patricians. When the title of count was no longer restrained to those who accompanied the emperour or followed the court, those who bare it were divided into three ranks according to their employments, and termed *comes domesticus primi ordinis, secundi ordinis*, &c. The title of *nobilissimus*, or most noble, is not mentioned before the time of Constantine, who gave it to his two brothers. The succeeding princes bestowed it on their sons, before they were raised to the dignity of Cæsar.

Constantine is succeeded by his three sons: Constantius vanquishes the Armenians, but continues at war with the Persians all his reign.

After the decease of Constantine, his three sons were proclaimed emperours both by the armies and the senate; nor was it long after their accession, that the soldiery, under the colour of preventing disturbances, put to death all Constantine's male relations, except his three sons, and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius. Constantius, the son of Constantine, is by some historians said to have permitted, rather than commanded this massacre, while by others he is positively accused of having been the author of it. The three brothers themselves however retained the dominions which their father had assigned to them in his life-time, and confirmed by his will; Constantine, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; Constans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantius was immediately engaged in a war with the Persians and Armenians; the latter he compelled to receive the king whom they had driven out; but the war with the former continued throughout his reign with varying fortune, the emperour himself appearing to have been no great general.

Two years after the reduction of the Armenians, Constantine, coveting part of the dominions of his brother Constans, invaded them, but very justly perished in his unrighteous attempt. By his death Constans remained sole master of the Western provinces; Constantius voluntarily ceding to him the whole share of their deceased brother. The next year, many cities in the East were overthrown by a violent earthquake; and in the West, the Franks manifested their turbulent and restless temper by their irruption into and great ravages in Gaul; to oppose which, Constans marched against them. Now a law was enacted, in the name of both emperours, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of idolatrous worship. This year, too, Constantius built and fortified the city of Amida on the Mesopotamian side of the Tigris. Constans in the next year, having either so reduced or appeased the Franks that they submitted to such princes of their own nation as he appointed, went into Britain to oppose the Scots, but what he achieved does not appear. The next two years were marked principally by earthquakes, in one of which twelve cities in Campania were overturned. Two years after this, Constans took up so warmly the cause of the orthodox bishops, who had been exiled through the intrigues of the Arians, that Constantius consented to their return. The former emperour at the same time restored tranquillity to the churches of Africa, by the suppression of the Donatists. Great part of the city of Berytus being overturned by an earthquake, the unconverted inhabitants of it flocked to the churches to be baptized; but the lives of these converts did not adorn the faith they professed to embrace.

Insurrection of Magnentius, and murder of Constans. Veteranio assumes the purple, and is deposed. Gallus made Cæsar. Magnentius defeated; and at length driven to destroy himself. Ill conduct of Gallus.

The indolence of Constans bringing on him the contempt of his army, Magnentius, a native of Germany, and commander of some troops stationed on the Rhine, having drawn to his party Marcellinus, the receiver of the revenues in Gaul, and some other officers, assumed the purple at Autun, and caused Constans, who fled on the report of the insurrection, to be pursued and murdered. The usurper, after this, soon became master not only of all the countries beyond the Alps, but of Italy, Sicily, and Africa. This revolt, and the death of Constans, were no sooner known in Illyricum, than the general of the infantry in Pannonia, named Veteranio, caused him-

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self to be saluted Augustus; which title, it is said, Constantius confirmed to him. A third pretender to the empire also appeared in Nepotianus, a nephew of Constantine the Great, who seized on the city of Rome; but was defeated and slain by the troops of Magnentius, commanded by Marcellinus, when he had worn the purple only twenty-eight days. Marcellinus put to death not only all his adherents, but, under the plea of preventing future disturbances, all such as were at all related to Constantine. The usurper himself arriving at Rome, was there guilty of the most tyrannical oppression in exacting money to support the war; and Veteranio making for some time a common cause with him, they endeavoured to bring Constantius, now advancing against them, to an accommodation; but this he refusing, came so rapidly on Veteranio, that the latter accepted the offer of a separate treaty, and joined him with all his forces; yet was quickly after deposed by the soldiery. While with his increased forces Constantius was preparing to march against his remaining rival, on advice of the hostile preparations of the Persians, he created Gallus, the son of his uncle Julius Constantius, Cæsar; allotting him for his share of the empire, the East, and Thrace, with Constantinople itself; and sending him to oppose the Persians; which he did successfully. To harrass Magnentius, Constantius, too, took the desperate step of encouraging the Franks and Saxons to invade Gaul, where their ravages were dreadfull. The rivals now met in Pannonia, where, after some inferior operations, a battle was fought; in which, though Magnentius was defeated, the loss on both sides was so great as materially to weaken the empire: the fatal engagement is known by the name of the battle of Mursa. Ineffectual was the resistance made by Magnentius after this defeat; he was, without much trouble, driven from Italy; Africa, Sicily, and Spain declared for Constantius. An insurrection of the Jews in Palæstine, probably excited by the former, was quelled by Gallus. In the midst of this contest for empire, Constantius married again a Macedonian lady, named Eusebia, who obtained great influence over her imperial consort, and part of whose conduct was most nefarious. The year after his nuptials, Magnentius having received another defeat, and being apprehensive of his own troops delivering him up to Constantius,

slew himself; having first, with his own hand, put to death his mother, his brother, and such of his relations and friends as were with him. The manner in which Constantius behaved on the extinction of this revolt is variously represented; but there appears too much reason to think, that he did not use his more strongly established power with all that forbearance and forgiveness which his panegyrists describe. It was now that the emperour, in a council he assembled at Arles, betrayed the hatred he had contracted against the bishops who defended the Confession of Faith made by the council of Nice. Various were the evils that disturbed the empire this year: Gaul was ravaged by barbarians and disbanded troops: the scarcity of provisions caused an insurrection at Rome: in Asia, Lycaonia and Pamphylia were over-run by the Isaurian banditti, and the Saracens committed horrid depredations in Mesopotamia. But the severest sufferings of the inhabitants of the East arose from the arrogant oppression of Gallus, who, elated with his early exaltation, abandoned himself to arrogance and violence. His natural cruelty was encouraged by his wife Constantina, an ambitious and restless woman; and so suspicious was his temper, that he rested not until he had condemned whoever was accused; and through the multitude of informers which arose on his manifesting such a disposition, the cities and provinces were filled with blood, and no one, however innocent, was sure of living and enjoying his estate a whole day.

A. D. 353.

Constantius sends for Gallus and his wife: the latter dies, and the former is put to death. An irruption of the Germans repelled. Revolt of Sylvanus, who is slain.

The Alemanni having repeatedly made inroads into Gaul, Constantius marched against them; but ere he passed the Rhine, they sued for peace, and obtained it. The conduct of Gallus in the East induced the emperour to commission Domitian, whom he had named prefect of that part of the empire, to conduct him to his presence; but in the discharge of this order, so coarse was the behaviour of Domitian, that he was murdered by the guards of Gallus. These and other enormities of Gallus being reported to the emperour, accompanied with insinuations of his aiming at the empire itself, led Constantius to resolve on his destruction. For this purpose, both Gallus and his wife Constantina, the emperour's sister, were invited into Italy, in her journey whither the latter died; and the former was by the order of Constantius put to death at Flanona, now

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Fianone, in Dalmatia. The punishment of those who partook in his crimes being committed purposely to merciless men, none were spared but those who could ransom themselves with large sums. Julian, the brother of Gallus, though not concerned in his crimes, was thrown into prison; and but for the empress Eusebia, would have been put to death. Constantius now sole master of the empire, assumed some of those blasphemous titles which prophecy had declared should prevail among the Roman sovereigns,* and stiled himself Eternal, and the Lord of the Universe. The next year Constantius published a law exempting bishops from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates, and enacting that they should be judged by bishops. The Germans having made irruptions on the side of the Brigantine Lake, now that of Constance, were driven back by the imperial forces. The tranquillity which Constantius thus acquired was soon interrupted by a revolt, occasioned by the nefarious intrigues of some courtiers; who, by preferring false accusations against Sylvanus, a leading man among the Franks, who commanded in Gaul, impelled him to assume the purple, in hope of by that means securing himself from the vengeance of Constantius. Against him Ursicinus, who had been general of the horse in the East, being sent, circumvented and treacherously slew him.

Various irruptions of barbarians. Julian created Cæsar: is sent to Gaul, and behaves gallantly there. Constantius violent for Arianism. Julian's success against the Germans and Franks.

No sooner was the death of this brave man, who had signalized himself against the barbarians on the borders of Gaul, known among them, than Franks, Alemans, and Saxons, burst most furiously into that province, and pillaged more than forty cities, levelling that of Cologne with the ground. The Quadi and Sarmatians at the same time broke into Pannonia; while the Persians over-ran Mesopotamia and Armenia. Constantius, aware of the danger of the empire, determined to raise his cozen Julian, the brother of Gallus, to the dignity of Cæsar. He consequently commanded him to lay aside the philosopher's cloak, which he had assumed; and the army having assented to the promotion, he put on him the purple robe, and saluted him with the title of Cæsar. He then appointed him governour of Gaul, and in a few days gave him his sister Helena in

* Dan. xi. 36, &c.

marriage; but at the same time treated him with the greatest mistrust; investing one Marcellus with the command of the army in his province. Julian having passed the winter at Vienne, ere he left it, had advice of Autun being besieged by the barbarians; but, ere he could reach the place, they had retired; yet he pursued them with an handfull of men, put to flight large bodies of them, killed great numbers, and took some prisoners. At length he reached Cologne, recovered its site from the hands of the enemy, and repaired the fortifications, and rebuilt the houses. In the mean time, the emperour advancing from Milan, where he usually resided, into the country of the Germans, forced them to sue for peace, which he readily granted, and then returned to Milan; as Julian, who had advanced to Basle in his support, retired to the city of Sens for winter-quarters. Constantius this year, in his zeal for Arianism, drove Athanasius from the see of Alexandria; and banished Hilary, bishop of Poictiers; and Rhodanes, of Toulouse: and at the same time he made idolatrous worship of any kind subject to the penalty of death. While Julian lay at Sens, the barbarians in great numbers laid siege to that place; but from the bravery of the resistance were compelled to raise it; even though Marcellus, who was in the neighbourhood, stirred not to its relief, Soon after this, Constantius declared Julian commander of all the forces in Gaul. Constantius never having seen Rome, this year repaired to that capital; and having surveyed it, he observed, it is said, that fame, which far exceeded truth in other things, came short of it in relation to Rome. The emperour, desirous of making some addition to the ornaments of Rome, ordered the obelisk which his father had brought from Heliopolis in Egypt as far as Alexandria, to be conveyed to the Circus Maximus, where it was with great difficulty erected the next year. This was the same which was again set on its base by Sixtus the fifth. Constantius's stay at Rome was shortened by news of irruptions of barbarians; who seem, however, quickly to have withdrawn. Hostilities with the Persians not being terminated, Ursicinus was sent back to his former command in the East. The emperour, determined to put an end to the ravages of the barbarians in Gaul, sent Barbatio with an army to second the efforts of Julian; but that treacherous wretch endeavoured only to counteract them;

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yet the young Cæsar performed great achievements; and at length, in a battle near Argentoratum, or Strasburgh, he totally defeated a much more numerous army of the Germans, took captive one of their kings, and entirely drove the Germans out of Gaul. He then advanced into their country, and began to rebuild the fort which Trajan had erected there: alarmed at which, the Germans sued again for peace; but obtained only a truce for ten months, and that on condition of provisioning the fort built to curb themselves. After this, returning to Gaul, and forcing a body of Franks to surrender, Julian took up his winter-quarters at Paris, about this time first mentioned in history, and only a castle situate on an island in the Seine.

Some irruptions of the barbarians repelled: Constantius subdues the Limigantes, and restores the Sarmatians to their country. Success of Julian. Nicomedia overturned by an earthquake. Constantius persecutes the pagans. Amida taken by the Persians. Julian's army proclaim him emperour. Constantius marches into Mesopotamia: returns to Antioch. Julian successfull in Germany. Great solar eclipse.

Some futile negociations for peace passed during the next year with the Persian monarch; while in the West the Quadi and Sarmatians broke into Pannonia and Mæsia, and the Juthunges, a German nation, into Rhætia. The last Barbatio repelled, and Constantius himself obliged the others to sue for the peace which he granted them. His next achievement was the total reduction of the Limigantes, or the slaves who had expelled the Sarmatians from their lands. These, or rather the remnant of them, after a great slaughter, he compelled to remove to a more distant region, and restored to the Sarmatians their ancient country. In the meantime Julian had a most successfull campaign against the Franks and the Alemans: one tribe of the former he obliged either to settle on lands which he gave them in Gaul, or to enlist in his troops; another he obliged to retire beyond the Rhine, and even there submit to the terms which he prescribed: and the latter he compelled to sue for peace, which he accorded them, on conditions both honourable and advantageous to the Romans. This year, a fearfull earthquake damaged in Asia, Pontus, and Macedon, an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of Nicomedia, overturning at once all the houses, and burying all the inhabitants to a man. The next year, Julian pursued his advantages in Germany; while Constantius, having put to death Barbatio and his wife, on account of a letter intercepted between them, and slain the Limigantes, who, gaining admission to his presence, treacherously attempted to assassinate him, instituted in Palæstine a persecution against the idolaters, which was very cruelly

carried on, manifesting in its supporters a spirit far from Christian. The Persian monarch, under the counsel of a renegade Roman, invaded Mesopotamia, and took, after a protracted siege, the city of Amida; and the next year, pursuing his conquests, Constantius, while advancing against him, received advice that Julian had been declared emperour at Paris; where, on Constantius having ordered him to send his choicest troops into the East, these, unwilling to leave a country in which alone many of them had engaged to serve, and a commander who had gained their affections, compelled him to assume A. D. 360. the purple. Information of this was conveyed to Constantius, both in a letter from Julian himself, and in one from the army. In the former, Julian expressed himself most respectfully; but in a private letter, which he at the same time sent, he grossly insulted and abused Constantius. This instance of hypocrisy, recorded by one of his own fervent admirers, renders credible others related by Christian writers. Constantius having, on deliberation, laid aside all intention of marching against Julian, though highly enraged at what had passed, yet refused to acknowledge him for emperour; when he professed himself ready to renounce the title, provided his army would consent to it, well convinced, it should seem, that they would not. In the mean time, Constantius entered Mesopotamia; but did there little more than view the devastation wrought by the Persians, before he was compelled by the season to retire to his winter-quarters in Antioch. Julian, to maintain the reputation he had gained, passed the Rhine, and subdued the Atthuarii, the inhabitants of the present Cleves and Munster, who had made frequent inroads into Gaul; and on his return, put the banks of that river in security as far as Basle. About this time, he lost his wife Helena, the sister of Constantius. On the twenty-fourth of August this year, a great eclipse of the sun occurred, and lasted above two hours.

Julian pre-pares to attack Constantius; and makes his army take an oath of allegiance to him. Death of Constantius.

Julian in the ensuing year, incited by his magicians (for such did this *philosopher* consult), and encouraged by dreams, began preparations to obtain from Constantius by force, that consent which he found would not otherwise be granted him. He still in hypocrisy professed the Christian religion, and publickly assisted at the service of the church, that he might retain the support of the Christian

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soldiery. But when he was ready to commence his march, an incursion into Gaul, on the side of Rhætia, by the Alemans, detained him; yet these he rapidly forced to sue for peace: then finding that Constantius was on his side preparing for war, he at once threw off the mask, and obliged his soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him. Neither was there found more than one honest man who refused to embark in war against his lawfull sovereign, and this was Nebridius, then prefect of Gaul. In the letters by which Julian thought proper to inform several cities of his having assumed the empire, he affirmed, that he was by his gods both animated to make war on Constantius, and assured of success. The war in which Julian had thus embarked, lasted not long, for Constantius having, after marrying at Antioch Maxima Faustina, instead of Eusebia, who had died some time before, advanced into Mesopotamia against the Persians, on the report of their retreat, returned to Antioch, and thence began his march against Julian; but had proceeded no further than Tarsus in Cilicia, ere he was seized with a fever, and at
A. D. 361. Mopsucrene, on the borders of that province, breathed his last, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign since his father's decease. No sooner did Julian receive advice of this event, than he advanced to Constantinople, and there attended the funeral obsequies of Constantius, who was interred in the church of the Apostles there.

Julian's accession and character; he reforms the court; encourages superstition, removes to Antioch. Various publick calamities.

Julian, who was now universally acknowledged emperour, was of parts particularly quick, but of no superior judgment; of great courage, yet a slave to superstition; naturally of a sweet temper, but of enormous vanity; whence may be easily accounted for his eager efforts to become the restorer of the ancient dæmonolatry. His education had been carefully attended to, and particular pains taken to infuse into him a detestation of polytheism and idolatry. He continued a Christian until he was twenty; but then, through the impression made on his mind by a pagan philosopher of Ephesus, named Maximus, he renounced the truth, and embraced the exploded absurdities of heathenism. He hesitated not, however, with the grossest hypocrisy to put on the appearance of a zealous Christian, and even assume the monastick habit, and perform the office of a reader in the church, while he privately adored the feigned deities of

paganism. That such an one should fall under judicial infatuation, cannot be deemed wonderfull. When, on his determining for hostile measures against Constantius, he had made himself master of Illyricum, he dropt his mask, opened the idol temples, offered the ancient sacrifices, and exhorted all persons to restore to its ancient lustre the religion of their ancestors. One of Julian's first cares was to enquire into the conduct of the deceased emperour's ministers; under which pretext, while much justice was done, no small injustice was at the same time perpetrated by this hypocritical emperour. He next made, however, a great reform in the imperial household, so reducing the enormous train of officers, as to enable him, from the diminution of expense, to abate one-fifth of the taxes throughout the empire. He recalled, too, all the orthodox bishops from exile; but, it has been remarked, only with the design of fomenting the divisions in the church. The encouragement given them by Julian, drew to his court swarms of philosophers, magicians, and diviners of all denominations; and these were entertained at a great expense, and raised to honourable employments, though many of them had in the late reign been branded as notorious impostors. To the multitude of these jugglers was added, by this temperate emperour, a troop of infamous women, consecrated, it may be presumed, by the *indefatigable devotion* of Julian, to Venus.* Julian, after having enriched his native city, Constantinople, with many privileges, formed a large harbour for shelter from the south wind, and built a stately library, at length set out for Antioch, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy; and during his stay there, he decided causes with great impartiality, and punished the guilty with his usual moderation; yet sentenced to death two of the late emperour's officers, solely because they had adhered to him with steady zeal. At this time, the empire was afflicted by various calamities: most of the cities of Palæstine, Lybia, Sicily, and Greece, were overturned by earthquakes: the sea in various places broke in upon the land, destroying whole cities; particularly at Alexandria incredible number of people were overwhelmed by it. A general drought also took

* See Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

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place, and occasioned a famine as extensive; which was followed by a dreadfull plague; and both continued till the death of Julian, destroying both men and cattle. Julian, to remedy the dearth at Antioch, fixed the price of provisions, by which step he increased it beyond measure.

Julian prepares for war against the Persians: marches through Mesopotamia into Assyria: after ravaging the country, and beating a body of the enemy, begins to retreat; and, betrayed by his guides, burns his fleet: defeats the Persian army: in the progress of his retreat, is wounded, and dies.

The citizens of Antioch, irritated by the apostacy of Julian, took the liberty of lampooning him, which he returned likewise by satyrical writing; threatening also to withdraw from their city. Yet, here he pursued the preparations for the war which he had determined to wage against the Persians; nor could either their offers of peace, or the advice of most of his officers and courtiers, prevail on him to desist from his projected expedition. The offers of assistance made him by the allies of the Romans, he rejected; and those of the Saracens especially, in a manner so disgusting to that high-spirited people, that they joined the Persians. His progress towards the scene of action, was marked by symptoms of his attachment to polytheism; and at Carrhœ, particularly, he performed some secret rites in the temple of the moon; and when ordering Arsaces, king of Armenia, who was a Christian, to act in concert with his generals, he not only employed language the most insolent in other respects, but added, it is said, "and the God whom you adore, will not be able to screen you from my indignation." While in Mesopotamia, and yet in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, his fleet, consisting of seven hundred gallies and four hundred ships of burden, commanded by count Lucillianus and the tribune Constantianus, came up that river. To compell his soldiers to act with resolution, he had the bridge over the Abora, which stream divided the Persian from the Roman dominions, broken down; and to encourage them, he distributed among them a largess, amounting to an hundred and thirty pieces of silver a man. Having entered Assyria, he both ravaged the country and very unwisely destroyed all the Persian magazines in it. Near Ctesiphon he defeated a body of Persians, taking their camp; but would not venture to attack that city. Having here rejected new proposals for peace offered by the Persian monarch, and resolved, contrary to the advice of his officers, to advance further into Persia, after having commenced his march for

that purpose, he suddenly changed his mind, and, without making any attempt on Ctesiphon, began to retreat, by a road different from that by which he had advanced. His guides in this being employed only to mislead him, persuaded him to set fire to his fleet, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy; and were by torture brought to confess the truth, only when all but twelve vessels were burnt. As he continued to retire through regions laid waste by the enemy, and at the same time being harrassed by desultory attacks, his army became, through their sufferings, quite dispirited; yet, on the Persian army, commanded by the king in person, coming up with them, they put it to the rout with great slaughter. Still the distress of the Romans continued; nor did the enemy cease to harrass them, killing great numbers with their arrows; and at last, Julian himself, hastening without his armour to repell one of these sudden attacks, received a wound in his liver, of which he that night died; having reigned not quite twenty months since the death of Constantius, and in the thirty-second year of his age.* A. D. 363.

Jovian chosen emperour: makes peace with the Persians: in his return to Constantinople, he is found dead in his bed.

No sooner was the death of Julian known, than the chief officers of the army assembling, chose for his successor Jovian, the son of Verronianus; who had but lately retired from the post of *comes domesticorum*, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his time. The new sovereign was of a majestick person and agreeable aspect, in temper mild and generous; an excellent commander, and a pious and zealous Christian. In a most critical situation was the Roman army when Jovian succeeded to the command of it; but he repulsed the Persians with great slaughter; and from the famine, which menaced more certain destruction, he was enabled to rescue his soldiers by the enemy making proposals for a peace; which was concluded after negociations, protracted through four days of extreme suffering by hunger to the Romans. The terms, as might be

* Though the conciseness of this Abridgment does not admit of an enlarged statement of the defeat of Julian's impious attempt to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, yet an occurrence so demonstrative of the Divine authority of the Gospel, ought not to be passed without notice; and therefore the reader is here apprized, that he may see the incontrovertible testimonies of the fact, in the Treatise of the learned Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, entitled 'Julian.'

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presumed, were unfavourable to the last, but in no point so shamefull as in binding them to abandon their faithfull ally, the king of Armenia. This truce, rather than peace, was for twenty-nine or thirty years; and all the five provinces of the Tigris taken by Dioclesian, with several castles and the cities of Nisibis and Singara, were by it ceded to the Persians. This truce concluded, Jovian pursued his retreat, and in passing through Nisibis, delivered it, according to the treaty, to the Persians. When arrived at Antioch, he revoked all the laws enacted by Julian against the Christians, and endeavoured to restore their religion to its former pre-eminence. He reinstated, too, the orthodox bishops who had been expelled, and to the much-persecuted Athanasius he manifested great favour: but coldly received the sectarian leaders, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention. From Antioch this emperour set out for Constantinople, but in a town on the borders of Galatia and Bithynia, named Dadastana, he was found dead in his bed: but whence his death proceeded, was neither known, nor much enquired into. His body however was conveyed to Constantinople, and interred with the usual solemnity, in the church of the Apostles.

Valentinian chosen emperour: takes his brother Valens as his colleague: divides the empire between them. A general irruption of the barbarians. The emperour, on recovery from an illness, declares Gratian joint emperour.

After an interregnum of nine days, the choice of the chief officers of the empire was fixed on Valentinian, for successor to Jovian. This emperour elect was the son of Gratianus, who had gradually raised himself to the dignity of count of Africa. He was a Christian who entered early into a military life, and had given remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and skill. Under Julian he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards called Joviani, and Jovian preferred him to the command of the second company of the scutarii, or shield-men of the guard. When Jovian died, he was at Amyra; and met the army at Nice, where he was saluted emperour, and adorned with the diadem and purple robe. On his arrival at Nicomedia, whither he immediately marched, he made his brother Valens, *præfectus stabuli*, or master of the horse; and when he reached Constantinople, declared him his colleague in the empire. This being now menaced with a general invasion by the barbarous nations, Valentinian divided the provinces between himself and his

brother; committing to Valens the government of the East, that is, all Asia, with Egypt and Thrace; and reserving to himself the West, containing Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. After which Valentinian repaired to Milan, and Valens to Constantinople. In the mean time, the barbarians burst into the empire on every side; the Germans into Gaul and Rhœtia; the Sarmatians and the Quadi into Pannonia; the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti into Britain; and the Austurians, with other Moorish nations, into Africa. Which last province, however, suffered more from the nefarious conduct of Romanus, who had been sent to protect it, than from its external enemies; nor was all the wickedness of this most iniquitous officer laid open during the present reign. The Germans, offended at the ungracious reception given their embassy of congratulation, by Ursacius, the *magister officiorum*, took up arms and broke into Gaul, but retired on the emperour's approach. The next year they repeated their incursion, by passing the Rhine on the ice, and defeated the Romans in a pitched battle. This defeat was soon revenged by Jovinus, general of the troops in Gaul; who, in several partial, and one general engagement, cut off almost the whole body of them. After this, Valentinian so strengthened his frontier on the Rhine, by the erection of additional forts, as to prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire on that side, during the remainder of his reign. An illness which next year seized the emperour having occasioned much intriguing about a successor, Valentinian, on his recovery, declared his son Gratian his colleague in the empire, though then only about eight years old. A. D. 367.

Ravages of the barbarians in Britain repressed by Theodosius. Those of the Franks and Saxons in Gaul the same. Success of Valentinian against the Alemans: the severity of his justice. Irruption of the Saxons revenged by

While on the continent, the city of Mentz was taken and plundered by the Alemans, in Britain, the Roman territories were invaded by the Picts, Scots, and other northern nations; who slew the count of the maritime tract, and a duke named Fullofaudes. Valentinian, when more fully apprized of the miserable state of affairs in the island, committed the whole management of this war to Theodosius, the father of the emperour of that name; who, advancing from London against the enemy, obliged them to quit the booty which they had taken, slew great numbers of them, and recovered a whole province which they had seized. To this, comprizing the southern parts of Scotland, Valentinian gave the name of Valentia. Theodosius,

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treachery. Cruelty of Maximinus. Revolt and death of Firmus.

on his return from Britain, repulsed with great slaughter the Franks and Saxons, who had broken into Gaul. Valentinian now began to betray that cruel severity of disposition which he had hitherto concealed, ordering an individual of the name of Diocles to be burnt alive for inconsiderable faults. The following year the emperour entering, with his son Gratian, the country of the Alemans, after committing great ravages, attacked their army, most advantageously posted, at Solicinium, supposed to be the present Sultz on the Neckar, when far the greater part of them were slain. Valentinian ordering additional fortresses to be built on the Rhine, the Germans having in vain deprecated the erection of one in particular, fell on the soldiers there employed, and slew them and the two dukes by whom they were commanded. Several persons in authority were now put to death, for receiving bribes and oppressing the people; and the emperour manifested his justice particularly in severely punishing his own high chamberlain for depriving a widow of her estate. He this year, too, built the bridge over the Tiber, now called that of St. Bartholomew: now, too, the Saxons, who dwelt in marshes almost inaccessible on the coast of the ocean, landing in great numbers on the Roman territories, committed sad ravages: but having defeated one Roman commander, they were in their turn compelled by another to sue for permission to return unmolested home. But after this had been granted, and their best men selected to serve in the Roman armies, they were treacherously attacked, and fell to a man bravely defending themselves. Accusations of magical practices made against certain individuals at Rome, this year, gave commencement to a scene of dreadfull persecution and cruelty, carried on by Maximinus, the *præfectus annonæ*, and another officer; to whom Valentinian had iniquitously granted the power of examination by torture. Firmus, the son of a Moorish prince, having revolted in Africa, and assumed the purple, a considerable body of Moors flocked to his standard, with which he ravaged the provinces of Africa and Mauritania. Against him Valentinian sent Theodosius, who, after some considerable contest with the tribes that supported him, at last prevailed to have him seized by a Moorish prince: but while in his custody, Firmus strangled himself; on which all his partizans submitted.

The Quadi justly irritated not only at seeing forts built by the Romans in their territory, but by a most treacherous murder of one of their kings by Marcellianus, duke of Valeria, son of the cruel Maximinus above-mentioned, passed the Danube with their neighbours the Sarmatians, laid the country waste for a great space, and carried off a very large booty. Meeting, too, two Roman legions, they slew nearly all of both. When the Sarmatians entering Upper Mæsia, were with incredible slaughter repulsed by Theodosius, then very young, and duke of Mæsia, but afterwards emperour. On this they sued for, and obtained a peace; which, as long as their dread of the Roman arms continued, they observed. Valentinian, desirous of leaving Gaul, concluded, too, a treaty with Macrianus king of the Alemans: the year after which, he marched into Illyricum, to revenge the ravages committed by the Quadi and Sarmatians; and passing the Danube, destroyed all in the enemy's country with fire and sword. Having returned from this expedition, ere he had determined in what place, on the banks of the Danube, to take his winter-quarters, the embassadors of the Quadi came to sue for peace; but while he was speaking to them, and threatening to extirpate their nation, he fell to the ground in a fit, which was succeeded by convulsions, under which he expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twelfth of his reign.

Irruption of the Quadi and Sarmatians; the last defeated by Theodosius. Valentinian goes into Illyricum, and having made an expedition beyond the Danube, after his return from it, dies.

A. D. 375.

What passed in the East under Valens, while his brother reigned in the West, must now be noticed. In the year after the division of the provinces, he set out for Syria, to be in readiness to oppose the apprehended attempts of the Persians. While he was yet in Cappadocia, a dreadfull earthquake, felt in most provinces of the empire, overturned several cities in Sicily, Palæstine, and particularly in Crete; and news was brought that Procopius, who had concealed himself since the death of Julian, had been proclaimed emperour at Constantinople. Terrified at these tidings, Valens was prevented from abdicating only by the persuasion of his friends. Yet Procopius, after some success against the imperial forces, was abandoned by some of his own officers; and at length, by two others, delivered bound to Valens, by whose order his head was taken off. After the death of Procopius, Marcellus, governour of the city of Nice, in

Transactions in the East. Revolt of Procopius, and the suppression of it. Marcellus assumes the purple, and is put to death. Valens is successfull against the Goths and the Persians: his cruel persecutions under the charge of magick. Arsaces of Armenia assassinated. Peace concluded with the Persians.

Bithynia, who was related to him, assumed the purple; but was very quickly put to death by a party of chosen men, which Valens sent to suppress him. The next year, Valens dispatched a detachment of troops, which intercepted and took captive three thousand Goths, who had advanced to the assistance of Procopius, and begun to retire on his fall. The Goths applied for the release of these prisoners, on the plea that they had marched to the assistance of one whom they conceived to be a rightfull emperour. Valens not only rejected their request, but vigorously prepared for attacking them in their own territories; and, passing the Danube, spent the following summer in ravaging them without opposition. This year, the Isaurians again broke out from their own country, the chief city of which was Germanicopolis; and, over-running the neighbouring regions, amassed vast booty; but in their retreat were surrounded by the inhabitants, who obliged them to surrender their spoil, yet spared their lives, on their promise to refrain from future excursions. Valens' purpose to pass the Danube and repeat his ravages the next year, was foiled by the continued swelling of that river; but the following, having crossed it on a bridge of boats, he advanced far into the enemy's country; and, at a considerable distance from the Danube, gained a great victory over the Greuthungi, a warlike nation, in consequence of which they sued for peace; nor did they obtain it, but on terms highly honourable to the Romans. The succeeding year was marked by a cruel persecution of the Catholick Christians by this emperour, who had at his baptism been induced to swear to support the cause of Arianism. The Persian monarch, having treacherously murdered Arsaces king of Armenia, and driven out from Iberia Sauromates, whom the Romans had set over that kingdom, Valens, desirous to avoid the charge of having broken the peace between the two empires, winked for some time at the Persian encroachments; but at length was provoked to send assistance to the Armenians, and an army to restore Sauromates; and in another year, an engagement took place between the Persians and the Romans, in which the last were victorious; after which a truce was concluded. Theodorus, second secretary of the emperour, having been convicted of magical practices, and conspiring to take away the emperour's life, not only

he was put to death, but a multitude of innocent persons were, on that occasion, inhumanly examined by torture, and either executed or exiled. The persecution was extended to the pagan philosophers, who were at that time generally addicted to magick. Festus, the historian, pro-consul of Asia, distinguished himself by putting to death with the utmost inhumanity, without distinction of age or sex, both those who were convicted and those who were only suspected of using any kind of charm or inchantment: and these cruel measures were pursued by Valens for three years. In the present, the emperour added to his other atrocities the murder of Paras, king of Armenia, who, on some disadvantageous accounts of his conduct being transmitted to Valens, was sent for by the latter; but, hearing it was intended to arrest him, escaped into Armenia, and was there, by direction of the emperour, murdered by an hired assassin. Informed of the death of this monarch, Sapor, king of Persia, sent proposals of peace; and Valens being threatened with an attack by the Goths, after protracted negociations concluded a peace with him.

We are now in the history of Valens arrived at the year in which his brother died. Valentinian left two sons, Gratian, declared emperour seven years before, and Valentinian, born in three hundred and seventy-one. The former of these being at a great distance from the army at the time of his father's decease, to prevent any mutiny among the troops, and be better prepared for any attack from the enemy, it was resolved in a council of all the chief civil and military officers, that the last should be proclaimed emperour. Gratian, on being informed of it, though he complained of their taking a step so important without his participation, yet confirmed the election, and during his life treated Valentinian more like a son than a brother. Valens likewise having assented to the election, the Western provinces were divided between the two brothers; yet Gratian governed them all to his death. The next year, Gratian being informed of the nefarious cruelties perpetrated by Maximinus in Italy and Gaul, caused him to be publickly executed, with Simplicius and Dorypho-rianus, who had been successively vicars of Rome, and guilty of similar crimes. Just were these executions; but most disgracefull to Gratian was the death of the renowned count Theodosius, who

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had so greatly signalized himself both in Britain and Africa. His condemnation is said to have been procured by the malicious suggestions of some envious persons of the court, and he was put to death at Carthage; and his son, who had so bravely defended Mæsia, was obliged to retire into Spain, his native country. While these things passed in the West, the Hunns, emigrating from the East, broke into the country of the Alans, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, and having compelled them to enter into alliance with them, they fell, thus reinforced, on the Goths, with violence so terrifick, that Ermanaric, the king of this latter people, though a martial prince, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid the calamities menaced. And the whole nation retiring different ways before these powerfull invaders, one large body thought of taking refuge in the Roman dominions. These, to the number of two hundred thousand men, approaching the Danube, with their families, begged by their embassadors most submissively of Valens, then at Antioch, admission into Thrace, promising to serve in the Roman armies whenever required. After much deliberation in his council, Valens consented to their request; and they, abandoning the country which they had holden for an hundred and fifty years, passed the Danube, losing many in their passage, from the height of the waters. These, and the following circumstances relating to the Goths, not only claim the reader's attention, on account of their own particularity and the effect which they produced on the empire, but are further interesting, as marking a particular link in the chain of prophecy, and closing the period immediately previous to the commencement of the sounding of those seven trumpets, by which, in the book of the Revelation, are marked the several stages through which the fourth great kingdom predicted by Daniel should come to its final destruction.* For that period, during which, after the publick establishment of Christianity, the sincerity of its professors was put to the test by the prevalence of heresy, that those whose faith was perfect might be made manifest, having been represented by the sealing of the servants of God,† and

* See Dan. c. ii. & vii. and compare with Rev. viii. 6, &c. † See Rev. vii.

the mischievous consequences of the misbehaviour of those who served at the altar plainly intimated, the great disturbances and violent changes that then took place, are prefigured by voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.*

The Goths, provoked to hostilities, ravage Thrace; and, after some success against the Romans, receive a great defeat from Frigerid; but afterwards proceed in their ravages, and gain the battle of Adrianople; in which Valens falls.

In the following year, the Goths, who were, from the interested views of count Lupicinus and duke Maximus, the commanders in Thrace, detained in the vicinity of the Danube, became, through want of provisions and other provocations, turbulent; when Lupicinus ordered them to advance towards the capital of Lower Mæsia, and charged the Roman soldiers who guarded the banks of the river to drive them on, and see that they did no mischief; thus affording an opportunity to another multitude of the same nation, who had been denied permission to enter the Roman territories, to pass the Danube, and follow at some distance the first body of their countrymen. These last, by the injudicious and treacherous conduct of Lupicinus, were soon provoked to declare themselves enemies; and under the conduct of their chiefs, Fritigern and Ablavivus, defeated that commander. After which victory another body of their countrymen, who had, but on what account does not appear, been previously admitted into the empire, and were then encamped near Adrianople, being incensed at an order to pass the Hellespont without being supplied with provisions, and at the attacks of the country people, joined Fritigern, and with him ravaged all Thrace, their forces being daily increased by Gothic slaves from all quarters, as well as by Romans reduced to desperation by the oppression they underwent. Valens, on receiving at Antioch advice of these dangerous commotions, having dispatched an embassador to the Persian court to conclude a peace there on the best terms he could, ordered two generals to lead the legions which were in Armenia against the Goths. But these were worsted in an engagement with them; and though reinforced, the barbarians being so too by great numbers of Hunns and Alans who joined them, were obliged to retreat and leave

* For the peculiar justice of these emblems, and the accuracy with which what they signify came to pass, the reader is referred to the Commentary on the Revelation before mentioned.

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Thrace at their mercy. Here they cut in pieces a Roman legion, and proceeding towards Illyricum, a part of them under the command of one of their chiefs, named Farnobius, met with Frigerid, Gratian's commander in Illyricum, who, by his sovereign's orders, had advanced into Thrace to the assistance of Valens, and after an obstinate battle, their leader being slain, they were nearly all put to the sword, and those that survived were sent as captives into Italy. This year, a dreadfull pestilence swept off multitudes from most of the Western provinces. In the next, the Goths continuing their ravages, advanced even to Constantinople, and kept it for some time blocked up. Valens came now from Antioch to head his army, and after some partial successes by his generals, determined to give the enemy battle, ere Gratian, who was marching to his assistance, should arrive to partake in the honour of the day; and accordingly the battle of Adrianople was fought, in which two-thirds of the Roman army were slain, and the other saved by a precipitate flight. A. D. 378. Valens himself perishing either in or soon after the battle; having lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen.

Gratian's success against the Germans; marches to Constantinople: recalls young Theodosius, and gives him the command of an army, with which this last defeats the Sarmatians. Gratian's favour to the Catholicks; takes Theodosius as a partner in the empire. First mention of the Lombards. Theodosius succeeds against the Goths. Gratian concludes a treaty with them, which they quickly

Gratian would have arrived to the assistance of his uncle ere the fatal engagement, had not a tribe of the Germans, on hearing that he had ordered some of his troops to remove from Gaul, passed the Rhine on the ice, to the number of forty thousand men; these he was obliged first to encounter, and in one battle thirty thousand of them were slain, with their king. Gratian after this passed the Rhine into the enemy's country, and soon obliged them to submit to his terms, one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the Roman armies. Tranquillity thus far secured behind him, Gratian marched towards Valens; but on the news of his defeat, he retreated for a short time to Sirmium, to deliberate on the most prudent mode of proceeding, and then marched to Constantinople, which city, as well as Adrianople, the Goths in vain attempted to take. In the mean time he called young Theodosius from his retirement, and on his waiting on him in Illyricum, received him with the strongest marks of esteem. He soon gave him the command of a considerable army against the Sarmatians, then in full march to join the Goths, and Theodosius slew the greater part

of them, and drove the rest beyond the Danube. After this Gratian restored to their sees the orthodox bishops banished by Valens, and gave liberty of conscience to Christians of all denominations, three sects only excepted. Being only in the twentieth year of his age, he thought himself unequal to the charge of the whole empire, then surrounded with dangers, and resolved to take for his associate in the empire Theodosius, a man of very extraordinary accomplishments, and no less admired for his piety than for his prudence, military experience and great exploits; and declared him, to the general satisfaction of both the soldiery and the people, emperour with the usual solemnity: he then committed to his care the provinces which had been governed by Valens. This year the Lombards, properly so called, are said to have left their native country Scandinavia, and in search of new settlements attacked, and vanquished the Vandals, a German nation. Theodosius leaving Sirmium soon after his promotion, repaired to Thessalonica, the capital of East Illyricum: when his preparations for war were completed he took the field, and by his success against the Goths, compelled them either to submit, which many did, or evacuate Thrace, which was thus restored to its former tranquillity. In the following year the sickness of Theodosius obliged Gratian to quit Gaul, and hasten into Illyricum to obviate the attempts of the barbarians against Thrace, and he concluded a treaty with the Goths beyond the Danube, which Theodosius on his recovery confirmed. During this illness Theodosius was baptized, and soon after published a law for the repression of heresy, with several others for the correction of existing abuses, and the reformation of manners. In breach of the treaty so lately concluded, scarcely had Gratian left Illyricum, than the Goths, under Fritigern and others, passed the Danube, and carried fire and sword through Thrace to Macedon; when Theodosius advanced against them, and gained a complete victory. After which, proceeding to Constantinople, he ejected the Arians from the churches of that city, and reinstated the orthodox clergy. The same measure he in the next year executed in all the provinces of the empire. Athanaric, the most powerfull of all the Gothic princes, having, on being driven from home by a faction, come to Constantinople, was received

break; but are defeated by Theodosius, to whom they at length submit.

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in a very friendly manner by Theodosius; whose generous reception of him, and the honourable funeral which he gave him on his decease, which occurred within a few days, made such an impression on the Gothic tribes, that the following year they proffered a conditional submission to the emperour; who consented to their settling in Thrace and Mæsia, at that time almost depopulated. In the mean time, the Scyri and Carpodacœ having, with the Hunns, broken into the empire, Theodosius utterly defeated, and obliged them to repass the Danube.

Rebellion of Maximus: assassination of Gratian: Maximus takes his own son as his colleague in the empire. The Picts and Scots ravage Britain: Maximus acknowledged by Theodosius; who declares his own son Arcadius, emperour. Peace concluded with the Persians.

In the year three hundred and eighty-two such were the attacks of the barbarians on his dominions, that Gratian was obliged to raise fresh supplies, both of men and money; though he quickly repulsed those who burst into Italy. He this year both removed the altar of victory, which Julian had replaced in the senate, and deprived the pagan pontifs and vestal virgins of their privileges and their lands. Theodosius, in the East, enacted some laws against heretics less justifiable, making it a capital offence to differ from other Christians in the day of the celebration of Easter. The next year Gratian, after publishing several good laws, was called into France by the usurpation of Magnus Clemens Maximus; who, either voluntarily or compelled to it by the army in Britain, there assumed the purple, and passing over into Gaul, was there joined by the greater part of the troops of Gratian, who, thus deserted, fled to Lions, and was there assassinated in the twenty-fifth of his age, having reigned since his father's death seven years and nine months. No sooner was Maximus informed of the death of Gratian, than he took his own son, Flavius Victor, for his colleague in the power which he had usurped, though only an infant. The usurper fixed his seat at Treves, and seems to have become master of all the provinces, which in the division of the western country Gratian reserved for himself. The only two favourites of Gratian which Maximus put to death, were Menobaudes and Balio, who had performed great services for the state. The absence of the troops which Maximus took with him from Britain, exposed the country to very dreadfull ravages from the Picts and Scots; nor were ever after sufficient Roman forces sent over to restrain their incursions, which continued unrepressed until

the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. The Britons who followed Maximus into Gaul, are supposed to have settled by the appointment of Maximus in Armorica, from them denominated Britannia, now Bretagne: yet it is not certain that any British colony came into this region until the Anglo-Saxons conquered Britain. Theodosius, who, on advice of the death of Gratian, prepared to march against the usurper, on further consideration, and fuller information concerning his intentions, acknowledged him for his colleague in the empire: for at this time the troops of the former had sufficient employment in the East, against, it is supposed, both the Saracens, who were now defeated by them, and a tribe of the Hunns, who, breaking into Mesopotamia, are said even to have laid siege to Edessa. In the very beginning of this year, Theodosius declared his son Arcadius, then about six years old, emperour; and in all matters of importance Valentinian the second, then at most thirteen years old, who held the western provinces of Illyricum, with Italy and Africa, had recourse to Theodosius. In the following year a famine, attended with a shocking pestilence, raged in most of the cities of Syria: and the same year Theodosius endeavoured utterly to extirpate idolatry, enacting laws against all the practices of it. Sapor, the third king of Persia, who had succeeded his father Artaxer or Ardshir, the immediate successor of the renowned Sapor the second, now sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius to solicit a peace; which was accordingly concluded between the Persians and the Romans, in consequence of which tranquillity was restored in the East. While the Persian embassadors were at Constantinople, a second son was born to the emperour, whom his father named Honorius. The Sarmatians having made an irruption into the dominions of Valentinian, were driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of many prisoners; who, with a most anti-christrian spirit, were all sent to Rome to be massacred in the shews, or destroyed by wild beasts.

In the year three hundred and eighty-five a dangerous conspiracy against Theodosius was detected, but by his lenity the criminals were pardoned: the next year the emperour obtained a victory over the Greuthongi, a barbarous tribe who threatened to pass the Danube. Theodosius, in the year three hundred and eighty-seven,

A conspiracy against Theodosius. An insurrection at Antioch: Maximus expels Valentinian from Italy:

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Theodosius marches against the former, who is slain, together with his son. To Valentinian are given all the dominions of Gratian. Insurrection of the Arians in Constantinople. Impartial justice of Theodosius: his journey to Rome. Disturbances at Alexandria. Total prohibition of pagan worship.

having, to recruit his exhausted exchequer, laid on his people an extraordinary tax, an insurrection attended with acts of the grossest insult took place in the city of Antioch, to which the emperour had hitherto given great marks of his favour; but, as most popular tumults may be, was rapidly repressed by a decided interference of the military, and afterwards punished with severity by the governour. The emperour's indignation excited still more rigorous measures; and it was only by the intercession of the bishop and an hermit that first the purposed punishment of total destruction to the city and its inhabitants was suspended, and then a full pardon obtained for all. During these occurrences in the immediate dominions of Theodosius, Maximus drove Valentinian out of Italy, and regardless of the representations of Theodosius, got himself acknowledged for emperour, both in Rome and Africa. Thus compelled to recur to arms, Theodosius marched for Italy, defeated two of the usurper's armies on his way, and when he arrived at Aquileia, got possession of Maximus himself, who was quickly put to death; a fate which too overtook his son, whom he had declared Augustus. The glory of the war thus ended was much augmented by the clemency exhibited by Theodosius on its close, when he published a general amnesty, and took under his protection the wife and daughters of Maximus. On Valentinian he, besides restoring what Maximus had taken from him, bestowed the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Britain, which had been previously holden by Gratian. A report of the emperour and his army having been cut off, reaching Constantinople, the Arians rose in the night, and set fire to the house of Nectarius the orthodox bishop of that city, who perished in the flames, and committed several other disorders, but were pardoned by the emperour as well as by his son. The former being informed that the Christians at Callinicum, in Mesopotamia, had burnt a synagogue of the Jews and a temple of the pagans, condemned the bishop of the place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, but was persuaded to revoke the order he had given to punish all concerned in those riots with the greatest severity. It was this year that Theodosius made a journey to Rome, to which has been ascribed the conversion of the senate and people of that city to Christianity; in

which the example exhibited by the emperour is said to have had the greatest influence. Several of the most illustrious Romans now embraced the faith. The idols, we are told, were every where pulled down, and their temples deserted; but the whole city, it is added, crowded to the tombs of the martyrs; thus preparing the way for something little better than the exchange only of the objects of their idolatrous worship. Valentinian now marching into Gaul, received hostages from two chiefs of the Franks, named Marcomir and Sunno. But the circumstance which chiefly marked this year, was the demolition of the celebrated temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and all the other temples in that city and all Egypt, by order or consent of Theodosius; first occasioned by some bloody contests between the Christians and the pagans; soon after which a law was enacted, prohibiting throughout the empire any kind of sacrifice to idols.

Theodosius, two years after this, leaving the management of the West entirely to Valentinian, then in the twentieth year of his age, passed into Macedon, where he is said to have discovered the retreats of, and completely vanquished the barbarians who infested that country with their ravages, and on his arrival at Constantinople, to have renewed his efforts to suppress in that metropolis both idolatry and Arianism. His departure from the West encouraged the pagans of Rome to beg of Valentinian to restore to their priests and temples their former privileges; but this young emperour firmly withstood their solicitations. Soon after which, when about to oppose the barbarians who menaced Italy, he was murdered, it is said, by the A. D. 392. treachery of Argobastes, a Frank, then high in command. Valentinian removed, Argobastes placed one Eugenius, who had been a teacher of grammar and rhetoric, and was esteemed for his eloquence, on the throne, who easily became master of all the Western provinces, but Africa. Short, however, was his reign; for Theodosius, after some disturbances in his court raised by the unprincipled ambition of Rufinus, the emperour's partiality to whom rendered him blind to his crimes, and procured him the post of prefect of the East, determined, though Eugenius had proposed to enter into an alliance with him, to march against that puppet of Argobastes. In the meantime, he declared his own second son Honorius, Augustus; and Argobastes

gained considerable advantages in a war with the Franks; on the conclusion of which, Eugenius was, by the repeated solicitations of the Roman senate, prevailed on to restore in the metropolis of his empire the pagan religion and temples to their former lustre. The next year, Theodosius having forced the passes of the Alps, was met on his descent by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army; and a battle took place, at first to the advantage of the latter; but Theodosius renewing the combat the next day, his enemy's troops were defeated, and not only either fled or surrendered themselves, but dragged Eugenius into the presence of the emperour, and there decapitated him. When Argobastes, the principal exciter of the usurpation, despairing of pardon, laid violent hands on himself. In this battle, Alaric the Goth, who afterwards became so famous, commanded a body of auxiliaries in the army of Theodosius. A few days after the victory, Theodosius declared his son Honorius, whom he had sent for from Constantinople, emperour of the West; assigning to him Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and West Illyricum; appointing Stilicho, who had married the emperour's neice Serena, his first general and prime minister. Theodosius having restored tranquillity in the West, was, in the following year, seized with a dropsy, brought on by the fatigues which he had undergone, of which he soon died; having previously bequeathed the Eastern portion of the empire to his eldest son Arcadius, and the Western to his younger Honorius; and having reigned sixteen years, all but two days.

A. D. 395.

Characters of Rufinus and Stilicho. Arcadius marries. Rufinus excites the barbarians to burst into the empire.

Theodosius thinking his two sons, of whom the eldest was but eighteen, too young to govern by themselves, committed Arcadius to the care of Rufinus, and, as has been before mentioned, Honorius to that of Stilicho. Rufinus, who was a native of Gascony, had recommended himself to Theodosius by his uncommon address and extraordinary qualities, and had been raised by him successively to the post of *magister officiorum*, to the consulate, and to be prefect of the East. His character is variously spoken of: ambition and insincerity seemed to have been numbered among his faults. Stilicho was by family a Vandal, and rose by degrees in the army to be general of both horse and foot, termed by the Romans *magister utriusque militiæ*. His character, too, is of a mixed nature. The young

emperours took up their abode with their guardians, rather than their ministers, each in his respective dominions; Honorius at Milan, and Arcadius at Constantinople. Rufinus aspired at the sovereignty; but, in the first measure which he had in contemplation for the acquisition of it, the marriage of his daughter to Arcadius, he was foiled, by that prince's taking to wife Eudoxia, daughter of the celebrated commander Bauto, the Frank; a woman who soon gained an absolute sway over the weak Arcadius. Thus disappointed, and dreading the arms of Stilicho, who, under the plea of having been appointed by Theodosius guardian to both his sons, was preparing to dispossess him of his authority by force of arms, he resolved to involve the empire in confusion, hoping to profit by the disturbance. With this view, he by emissaries privately excited the Hunns, who penetrated even to Antioch, commencing by their merciless ravages that scene of destruction which is described in the eighth chapter of the Revelation; where that suspension of the inflictions about to fall on the Roman empire, which was, through the prayers of the saints, obtained during the days of Theodosius, being terminated, the first trumpet is represented as the signal for desolating armies ravaging the devoted domain;* a consummation which was immediately forwarded by Rufinus encouraging, by a supply of large sums of money, the renowned Alaric to assemble an incredible number of his countrymen the Goths, as well as other barbarians, and ravage all Thrace, Pannonia, Macedon, and Thessaly; and Thermopylæ being purposely left unguarded, the whole country of Greece between Dalmatia, the Adriatic Gulf, and the Euxine Sea, was turned into a desert, and parties of the barbarians advanced even to the gates of Constantinople.

* The several stages through which the fourth great kingdom of Daniel should be brought to final destruction, being marked by seven trumpets, there is perhaps a reference to this in the phrase which St. Paul was led to employ, when he termed that which shall sound, when the "kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of The Lord and His Christ," the *last* trump; and it is hoped, the reader will pay something more than cursory attention to the specifick occurrences by which has been marked, in manner the most accurate, the gradual approach of the grand consummation of this world's history.

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Stilicho marches against the barbarians, and contrives to have Rufinus slain, but returns to Italy; and the next year, though he defeats, does not destroy the Goths. Alaric taken into the service of Arcadius. Eutropius acts most tyrannically.

During these transactions in the East, Stilicho renewed the ancient alliances of the Roman people with the Franks and other German nations. Marcomir, one of the chiefs of the former, who was afterwards banished into Tuscany for endeavouring to disturb this peace, is thought to have been the father of Faramond, the supposed first king of France. These treaties concluded, Stilicho marched into Thessaly, where the barbarians prepared to receive him by uniting their troops; and Rufinus, to prevent his defeating them, persuaded Arcadius to demand all the troops of the Eastern empire which were in his army. These however being sent, were, on their arrival near Constantinople, met by the emperour, attended by Rufinus, who expected to be proclaimed emperour, too, by some of the principal officers whom he had gained. But the commander-in-chief Gainas, a Goth, being previously instructed by Stilicho, made a signal to his men, at which they fell upon Rufinus, and put him to death, to the great satisfaction of the people of Constantinople, by whom he was abhorred for his rapacity. Yet little were they relieved by his *fall*; since the eunuch Eutropius, who succeeded to his offices and his power, exhibited the same odious qualities; and, obtaining complete influence over the weak Arcadius, practised tyranny the most rapacious, and hesitated not at the commission of crimes the most enormous. Stilicho unable, after the Eastern troops were taken from him, to face the Goths, returned to Italy: but the next year, going by sea into Peloponnesus, after cutting off great numbers of the barbarians in various engagements, he compelled the rest to retreat to a mountain in Arcadia, where he might have reduced them by famine; but, either in obedience to orders from Arcadius, or through his own negligence, he suffered them to escape; and Alaric their leader was soon after appointed by Arcadius, or rather by Eutropius, commander of the troops in East Illyricum. Though Stilicho retired from Greece at the command of Arcadius, suggested by Eutropius, at the instance of the same nefarious favourite, he was, by a decree of the senate of Constantinople, declared a publick enemy, and all his property in the East was confiscated. After this, Eutropius proceeded to drive from court all whose authority or credit gave him any jealousy. This year dreadfull earthquakes occurred in the East,

and an extraordinary phœnomenon, of a fiery appearance, so terrified the inhabitants of Constantinople, that they and their sovereign abandoned the city, under a presumption that it was about to be destroyed :—no slight symptom of a consciousness of their own guilt. A difference, recorded to have taken place this year, between St. Ambrose and Stilicho, proves that the claim of the clergy to the right of affording an asylum to criminals in their churches, was already pushed to a most unjustifiable height.

Revolt of Gildo quickly repressed: ravages of the barbarians in Britain. Death of Varanes IV., king of Persia. The fall and execution of Eutropius. Sway and injustice of the empress Eudoxia. Ravages of Tribigild and Gainas: the last promoted in the imperial service; but, foiled in his attempts to gain possession of Constantinople, is at length slain.

It appearing favourable to the interested views of Eutropius, that differences should take placé between the two brothers, he prevailed on Gildo, governour of Africa, to revolt from Honorius, and oblige most of the cities of Africa, with Carthage itself, to acknowledge Arcadius. For this Gildo was, by the senate of Rome, declared a publick enemy, and preparations for war against him were set on foot. These, in the following year, Stilicho pursued with the utmost vigour; and when in doubt whom to trust with the command of so important an expedition, Mascezel, the brother of Gildo, a Christian of extraordinary piety, whom his brother would have murdered for not joining him in the rebellion, arrived in Italy, and suggested to him the best means of suppressing it. To him, therefore, Stilicho committed the conduct of a fleet and army, with which, proceeding to Africa, he defeated Gildo; who, being disappointed in an attempt he made to escape by sea, and taken and imprisoned, strangled himself. All Africa now submitted to Honorius; but the glory which Mascezel thus acquired excited the jealousy of Stilicho; who, after having received him on his return to Italy with demonstrations of great friendship, soon after most basely had him drowned. By the defeat of Gildo, harmony was restored between the imperial brothers; but their ministers agreed in nothing, but in plundering the unhappy subjects of their respective masters. Stilicho however is said to have sent some succour to the Britons against the Picts, Scots, and Saxons; the attempts of the last of which nation were now so continual, that an especial officer was appointed to guard the coast opposite their country, under the title of count of the Saxon coast. In the East, violent earthquakes shook the cities of Constantinople and Chalcedon, while the sea inundated whole countries. The elevation of the

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eunuch Eutropius to the consulate by Arcadius, excited the indignation of many; nor would Stilicho permit him to be acknowledged in the West. During this consulship, however, died Varanes the fourth, king of Persia; who, during his whole reign, had lived in friendship with the Romans. He was slain, but wherefore is not known, by his own subjects; and was succeeded by his brother Isdegerdes, who continued to maintain a friendly correspondence with the Romans. Eutropius having risen to the dignity of consul, had made his last step; for ere the year was expired, whatever might be the cause of his fall, for on that point historians by no means agree, Arcadius was prevailed on to disgrace and banish him; after which he was, through the efforts of Gainas, who commanded the Goths when Rufinus was put to death, brought to trial on several charges, condemned, and beheaded at Chalcedon. This year was marked in the East and the West by a genenal demolition of heathen temples, with the exception of those which were granted to the bishops to be converted into churches. The fall of Eutropius was productive of no publick advantage, through the absolute ascendancy over Arcadius gained by the empress Eudoxia; who being constantly surrounded by women, eunuchs, and informers, was prompted to the most extravagant acts of violence and injustice. Tribigild, a Goth, having, it has been suggested, at the instigation of Gainas in his enmity to Eutropius, committed shocking ravages in part of Asia Minor; Gainas, who had advanced, under pretence of opposing him, with a body of troops into Phrygia, concluded a peace with him, and then uniting their forces, they both agreed to plunder Sardis in Lydia; but being prevented by the swelling of the intermediate rivers, they again separated, Tribigild marching towards Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and Gainas towards Chalcedon, permitting their troops to plunder the countries through which they passed. Constantinople being thrown by their approach into the deepest consternation, deputies were dispatched from Arcadius to offer Gainas whatever he might demand; and he requiring three very eminent men, whom he deemed capable of thwarting his designs, to be delivered up to him, they were so; but quickly escaping from the exile to which he condemned them, returned to

the imperial court. Gainas in the mean time demanded and obtained a conference with Arcadius, in which it was agreed that the former and Tribigild should, on laying down their arms, be at liberty to return to Constantinople; and that to the command which Gainus already had of all the Goths in the imperial service, should be added that of the Roman horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an authority almost unbounded. Tribigild soon after perished in Thrace, and Gainas having formed a design of first seizing the wealth of the bankers of Constantinople, and then setting fire to the palace; being foiled in this atrocious scheme, withdrew from that city, leaving in it the greater part of his Goths; and having previously removed from thence all the Roman troops, gave private orders to fall on the inhabitants, and make a signal to him that he might return. But in this, too, he was frustrated, and his Goths all massacred. After which he openly made war on the state, and ravaged all Thrace, but was unable to gain possession of a single city in it; and at length having been defeated with great loss in an attempt to pass the Hellespont, on returning to Thrace was either there by the Romans, or, having passed the Danube on the other side of that river, by the Hunns, put to the sword with all his men.

Irruption of the Goths into Italy. Theodosius the son of Arcadius born. A second invasion of Italy by Alaric: he is forced by Stilicho to retire. Death of Eudoxia: ravages of the Isaurians. Ravenna becomes the seat of the western empire. Rhadagaisus breaking into Italy, is slain; and his whole host destroyed.

While Gainus was exciting the above-mentioned disturbances in the East, Italy and the other Western provinces were alarmed by a sudden irruption of barbarians, led by Alaric the Goth, and Rhadagaisus king of the Hunns. The former of these had passed the Danube with his countrymen, when expelled by the Hunns in three hundred and seventy-six; aud in three hundred and eighty-two having, with the other Goths, submitted to Theodosius, received a settlement in Thrace. Not having been preferred to his satisfaction, Rufinus easily prevailed on him to revolt and plunder Greece, in three hundred and ninety-five; and afterwards Arcadius entering into a treaty with him, appointed him general of the Roman troops in East Illyricum. The Goths, who were subject to the empire, are said to have made him their chief, with the title of king of the Visigoths; and being discontented that Arcadius and Honorius had not sent them the usual presents, they this year, under him and the king of the Hunns, entered Italy through Pannonia, and laid the country

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waste on every side. In the next year was born to Arcadius his son Theodosius, who in the following was raised to the imperial dignity. In the autumn of the same year, in the West, Alaric, who seems to have retired from his ravages two years before, entered Italy anew; and there being no army on the spot to oppose him, he ravaged uncontrouled the provinces of Venetia and Liguria: Rome was greatly alarmed, and the emperour removed his residence from Milan to Ravenna. Stilicho having in some measure calmed the fears of Honorius by a bold sally into Rhœtia, quelled the barbarians there in arms, and then undauntedly fighting his way back rejoined the court; and after he had assembled sufficient troops, a battle with Alaric took place on Easter-day, in the year four hundred and three; which was followed by a treaty, under which Alaric repassed the Po; but having retreated as far as Verona, there, in open breach of it, began to plunder the country. Stilicho on this detaching a strong body of troops against him, and guarding all the passes, reduced him to withdraw with the poor remainder of his men in the night-time, and through bye-ways, into Pannonia. In the following year, Arcadius lost his empress Eudoxia, who died of a miscarriage, having previously prevailed on her husband to banish the celebrated Chrysostom. Before her decease, the Hunns broke into Thrace, and having pillaged great part of that country and East Illyricum, retired over the Danube, laden with booty. At the same time, the Isaurian banditti having bribed Arbazacius, who on his being first sent against them, slew great numbers, and could have cut off the rest, fearing no more from him, over-ran the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, and Lower Syria, extending their ravages on one side to the frontiers of Persia, and on the other to the Euxine Sea, and even passing over to the island of Cyprus. Honorius on his return from Rome, whither the entreaties of the senate and people had drawn him, again took up his residence at Ravenna, which from that time became the seat of the Western or proper Roman empire. In the year ensuing, great part of Egypt was ravaged by the Mazichi and Auxoriani, two savage nations dwelling between Cyrene and Tripolis. And Rhadagaisus, at the head of, at the least computation, two hundred thousand

barbarians, all blended under the name of Goths, burst suddenly into Italy, vowing to sacrifice to his gods (for he was a pagan) all the Roman blood he could shed. But this evil-glorying ended in an hundred thousand of his men being cut to pieces in one engagement, and himself and all the rest afterwards falling into the hands of the Romans, by whom he was put to death, and they sold in droves, like beasts, at a crown a head.

Irruptions of the Vandals, &c. into Gaul. Constantine made emperour in Britain. Death of Arcadius. Progress of Constantine, who is acknowledged by Honorius. Disgrace and death of Stilicho. Alaric lays siege to Rome: the inhabitants purchase his retreat.

Stilicho is said in the following year to have invited the barbarians into Gaul, hoping by their assistance to raise his son Eucherius to the empire; and at the end of it the Alans, Vandals, and Suevians, whether so invited or not, did actually break into that province. In attempting to cross the Rhine, however, the Vandals were attacked by the Franks, who put twenty thousand of them to the sword, and would have destroyed them all, had not the Alans and Suevians hastened to their assistance. These three tribes in the ensuing year, while the East enjoyed a profound tranquillity, committed dreadfull ravages in Gaul, where they were joined by the Burgundians and other nations. The cities of Mentz, Worms, Strasburgh and Spires were laid in ashes by them, and they over-ran and pillaged the whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, and between the Rhine and the Ocean. The Romans in Britain, dreading an attack from the barbarians, and having no hope of assistance from Honorius, resolved to [redacted] an emperour at their own head; and having raised and murdered two, they selected, merely for the sake of his name, a soldier called Constantine; who being saluted emperour, immediately led into Gaul all the Roman forces and the flower of the British youth, through which measure the island was exposed to those assailants, who quickly made themselves masters of it. Constantine landing in Gaul, was there joined by the Roman troops, who preferred his service to that of the barbarians; and though, after some success, he met with a reverse, and was even besieged in Valence, in Dauphiny, by one of the generals of Honorius, he was relieved from the pressure of the imperial troops, and compelled the barbarians that had possession of Gaul to submit to him. In May, in the subsequent year, died Arcadius, in the thirty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign after his father's death; and leaving behind

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him one son, named Theodosius, then eight years old, who succeeded him in the empire of the East. Constantine in the West, having reduced all Gaul to his obedience, finding some difficulty in penetrating into Spain, compelled his son Constans, who had embraced a monastick life, to quit his retirement; and creating him Cæsar, sent him with the choice of his army, and an experienced commander, named Geroncius, into Spain, who succeeded in the reduction of that province; in recompence for which, his father on his return created him Augustus. At the same time, Constantine excusing his usurpation, as being compelled by the soldiers to assume the imperial title, solicited Honorius to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. Unable to resist this demand by force, the latter complied with it, and sent him the purple, accompanied with the title of Augustus. At this time, Alaric threatening to invade Italy, by the advice, it has been asserted, of Stilicho, was by the same counsel prevented by a present of four thousand pound weight of gold. Quickly after which one Olympius, who had gained the confidence of Honorius, so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of Stilicho, that he ordered that minister, who had reigned so long uncontrouled, to be put to death; which was followed by the murder of several of his adherents by the soldiery, the divorce of his daughter Thaumantia, whom the emperour had married, and the execution of his son Eucherius. In the administration of affairs Stilicho was succeeded by Olympius, the principal author of his fall. On the news of Stilicho's death, the Roman soldiers quartered in the cities of Italy, from hatred to him, most inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians whom he had taken into his service. Highly provoked at this cruelty, their husbands and fathers revolted to Alaric, who, thus reinforced, proposed to conclude a permanent peace with Honorius, if he would send him sufficient money to pay the arrears of his army. This the emperour refusing, the Gothic king entering Italy, marched directly to Rome, and invested it. Great quickly became the sufferings of the besieged; the pagans among whom are said then to have revived their ancient sacrifices; but so far were these from profiting them, that their difficulties thenceforth increased, and the miserable citizens were compelled to purchase of Alaric a treaty; on the confirmation

of which by Honorius, and the receipt of the money he had demanded, he raised the siege, and withdrew his army into Hetruria.

Character of Anthemius. The Hunns invade Thrace. Alaric renews the war: enters Rome, and makes Attalus emperour. Geroncius in Spain sets up Maximus. Vandals, &c. enter Spain; subdue and divide it. Famine at Rome. Alaric deposes Attalus; takes Rome, and plunders it.

While the Western empire was thus harrassed, the provinces of the East enjoyed a profound peace; for which they were much indebted to Anthemius, the prime minister of Theodosius the second, who is spoken of by all the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous Christian, and a man who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happiness of the people. This year the Hunns and Scyri, a northern tribe, partially disturbed the general tranquillity by an inroad into Thrace; but some of their officers abandoning them, they retired with great precipitation; yet the latter people, being overtaken by the imperial troops, suffered so much, that the nation was almost exterminated. Honorius failing in performing the conditions of the treaty which he had made with Alaric, the last renewed the blockade of Rome, his army being reinforced with forty thousand slaves, who had escaped from that city; and Ataulphus, his brother-in-law, now joined him with a body of Goths and Hunns. About this time, Honorius disgraced his prime minister Olympius, as the author of the present calamities; and in his place put Jovius, the prefect of Italy, who established himself in his authority by some executions, and raising several of his creatures to important posts. On Alaric's return to Rome, the senate sent deputies, among whom was Innocent, the bishop of the city, to press Honorius to execute the articles of the treaty with him; their request, however, was rejected, as were the moderate and repeated offers of alliance which Alaric himself made to the emperour; on which the Gothic king marched to Rome, into which, after a few days resistance, he was admitted; and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperour: who, in return, appointed Alaric commander-in-chief of all his forces, and Ataulphus his *comes domesticorum*. But Attalus failing in his attempt to secure Africa, Rome was soon reduced to great distress for want of corn. In the mean time, Attalus threatening to besiege Honorius in Ravenna, the latter offered to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But Jovius, who was sent with this offer,

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treacherously advised Attalus to reject it, and insist on Honorius contenting himself with life, and the liberty of retiring to an island. Honorius, when he found himself betrayed, would have abandoned Ravenna, but for the advice and seasonable assistance of his nephew Theodosius. While Heraclianus, who commanded for him in Africa, not only completely succeeded against all the troops sent thither by Attalus, but while he distressed Rome for provisions, sent a supply of money to Honorius, with which he paid his soldiers, and in some measure re-established his affairs. Yet in the mean time Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, and caused the people every where to swear allegiance to Attalus. While these transactions took place in Italy, Geroncius, to whom the son of Constantine had committed the government of Spain, revolted, and set up for emperour one Maximus. On the news of which revolt, the Vandals, Suevians, Alans, and other barbarians who remained in Gaul, took arms, and seized several cities. The people thus harrassed, and seeing no hope of relief from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves. The Britons were the first who, falling from the empire, established a new form of government for themselves, and continued free for a few years, until compelled to implore anew the protection of the emperour against the Scots. The maritime people of Gaul formed also, for a short time, a new state. The unexpected vigour of opposition which the Vandals and their allies encountered in Gaul, induced them to pass the Pyrenees, which they did without opposition, and entered Spain in the year four hundred and nine. The way into the peninsula once laid open, the barbarians who had over-run Gaul, poured in swarms into it, and obliged Constans to abandon it; after whose retreat they over-ran the whole country, committing enormous cruelties, and continuing to waste it by fire and sword for two years; being then absolute masters of the country, they divided the Spanish provinces among themselves by lot, and applied to agricultural pursuits. In the division then made, Galicia fell to the Vandals and Suevians; Lusitania and the province of Carthagena to the Alans; Bœtica to the Selingi, who were likewise Vandals, and are thought as such to have given to their lot the name of Wandalusia, afterwards changed into that of

Andalusia. These barbarians religiously observed the oath of alliance which they made to those inhabitants which escaped the general slaughter. In the following year, through the interruption of the communication with Africa, and uncultivated state of the lands of Italy, the famine at Rome so increased, that the inhabitants not only were reduced to feed on chesnuts, but human flesh was publickly sold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their own children. Alaric at this juncture, finding Attalus unequal to the charge of empire, publickly stript him of the badges of sovereignty, and sent them to Honorius. But breaking off his negociations then pending with the last, he restored the purple to Attalus, and in a few days degraded him anew. Then pressing his operations against Rome, which had again shut her gates against him, he, on the twenty-fourth of August four hundred and ten, took that haughty metropolis. In doing this, Alaric endeavoured to prevent all unnecessary effusion of blood, but gave up the whole spoil of the city to his troops: still great was the slaughter that took place, though the sanctuaries of the churches were holden sacred. Much of the remains of pagan idolatry, which the emperours had spared in the exquisite statues of the great masters, were destroyed by the Goths; who, after having plundered the city for either three or six days, at length set fire to it in several places, so that it is represented to have been reduced to little better than an heap of dust and ashes.*

* After relating this event, the Authors of the Universal History observe, "The learned bishop of Meaux wrote a famous treatise, shewing that the taking of Rome by Alaric, may be looked upon as one of the chief mysteries foretold by St. John in his Revelations." The zealous prelate had, no doubt, his reasons for the interpretation he gave; but the facility with which the historians swallowed his misapplication, and the ignorance they betray of the much-superior labours of our countryman Mede on the sacred book, on the very name of which they have run into a vulgar errour, affords an instance of the ease with which misapplications of prophecy are received, through the little acquaintance which Christians have with those writings, which they are most solemnly enjoined to study. True it is, that the destruction of Rome is predicted in the book of the Revelation. But then, in that book, the chronology and geography of which are equally correct, and both admirable for their accuracy, it is particularly specified, that the ten powers among whom the ancient Roman empire was to be divided, should be those who would make her finally

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Decease of Alaric. Ataulphus chosen king of the Goths. Constantine invades Italy, but quickly retires: his son slain. Peace of the East. Constantius sent into Gaul. Fall of Geroncius. Maximus deposed, and Constantine put to death.

Alaric in a very few days retired from Rome into Campania, carrying with him very great riches and a multitude of captives, among whom was the emperour's sister Placidia, whom he treated with high respect. Then ravaging several neighbouring provinces of Italy, being prevented by the wreck of his fleet from passing over into Africa, he was, in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, suddenly seized with an illness, under which he in a few days expired. The Goths, to preserve the remains of their king from insult, turned the course of a river in Calabria; and having interred him with many of the rich spoils of Rome in the bed of it, restored the waters to their natural current: after which they chose Ataulphus for their king. While the barbarians were thus ravaging Italy on one side, Constantine, under plea of assisting Honorius, entered it on the other; but on advice of the merited execution of one of the emperour's generals, who maintained a traiterous correspondence with him, he retired again into Gaul; where his son Constans, being pursued from Spain by Geroncius, was taken prisoner in Vienne, and put to death; and Constantine himself afterwards closely besieged in Arles. During these sufferings of the West, the Eastern empire, under the wise administration of Anthemius, continued to enjoy a profound peace. In the ensuing year, Honorius sent Constantius, an experienced officer of great fidelity and address, to make war on Constantine, whom he now considered as a publick enemy. This able commander, on his arrival in Gaul with a considerable army, was immediately joined by most of the troops of Geroncius, then before Arles; and Geroncius finding himself abandoned, retreated hastily into Spain; where the few soldiers who attended him, offended at his severity, turned their arms against him, and drove him to fall by his own hand. Maximus, whom Geroncius had made emperour, being by his own men brought to Constantius, while he stripped him of the ensigns of sovereignty, he spared his life, as that of an harmless being. Constantius pursuing the siege of Arles, after defeating an army of Franks and other Germans, which an adherent of

desolate, and burn her with fire; and in the days of Alaric those powers existed not; for the Roman empire had not yet fallen.

Constantine had raised, on receiving advice that another army was advancing against him, complied with the terms which the besieged offered, and took possession of the city. In direct breach of those terms, however, Honorius caused Constantine, and a son taken with him, to be put to death. About the time that Constantine had laid down the purple, in hopes of obtaining mercy, at Arles, Jovinus, a man of illustrious family in Gaul, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour at Mundiacum, at the suggestion of the king of the Alans and the prince of the Burgundians. The tranquillity so long enjoyed in the East, was this year disturbed by the Ausurians, a Moorish nation, invading the Pentapolis, and the Saracens committing great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Palæstine, Phœnicia, and Syria. The year following the Goths quitting Italy broke into Gaul, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Ataulphus, though at first uniting with Jovinus, quickly differed from him so much as to enter into a compromise with Honorius, and put the usurper into the hands of the prefect of Gaul, by whom he was put to death. The next year Heraclianus, who had so bravely defended Africa for Honorius, caused himself to be there proclaimed emperour: after which, equipping a most formidable fleet, he landed in Italy; marched towards Rome, but when near that city, being seized with a panick, took to flight, and hastened on board one of his vessels, and returned alone to Carthage. On this his army immediately surrendered, and Honorius proclaiming him a publick enemy, he was by some soldiers slain at Carthage. The Franks this year making an irruption into Gaul, set fire to Treves, and laid waste the neighbouring country; while the Burgundians made themselves masters of the present Alsaçe. Constantius marched against them, but on their requesting permission to settle in Gaul as friends and allies of the Roman people, he persuaded the emperour to grant them part of the country which they had conquered. Hence began the kingdom of the Burgundians, under Gondicarius or Guntiarius; the people of which are spoken of as peaceable, for the most part artificers, willing to labour for support: they embraced Christianity, treating the Gauls who lived under them, not

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as vassals, but as friends. The conditions of the treaty between Ataulphus and Honorius not being complied with by the last, the former recommenced hostilities, advancing to Marseilles, where he was repulsed with considerable loss. Marching thence to Bourdeaux, he was there received as a friend. The next year Ataulphus, after some more unsuccessfull negociations with Honorius, instead of restoring Placidia, married her himself with the highest pomp and solemnity: soon after which he obliged Attalus to resume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperour by the Goths. Yet he wished to conclude a lasting peace with Honorius, with a view of acquiring renown by restoring the Roman empire. But in this he was counteracted by Constantius and his party at court; and on the renewal of the war was obliged to quit Gaul, and retire into Spain. By a law which Honorius published this year, all who infringed the sanctuaries of churches were subjected to the penalties of high treason. In the mean time, in the Eastern empire Pulcheria, sister to Theodosius, was, though only in her sixteenth year, deemed by Anthemius better qualified by her singular abilities for the administration of affairs than himself, and was accordingly declared Augusta, and intrusted with it, the emperour himself being then only fourteen. In the following year Ataulphus was assassinated at Barcelona by one of his own domesticks; nor did his successor Sigeric, who inhumanly murdered six of the deceased king's children, and compelled his widow Placidia to walk as a captive before his chariot, long survive him, being assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election; when Vallia was chosen in his room, having previously caused all his competitors to be murdered. Alexandria in Egypt was this year disturbed by great tumults, commenced, it should appear, by the Jews, but carried by the monks, and others who called themselves Christians, to extremities of most shocking barbarity. By a law of Theodosius, now published, Gamaliel, patriarch of the Jews, was deposed, for having abused his authority; and in him the patriarchs, whose dignity was hereditary, are supposed to have ended, and the nation thenceforth to have been governed by primates chosen by the councils of the provinces.

Vallia forms an alliance with the Romans. Placidia married to Constantius. Settlement of the Franks in Gaul. Kingdom of the Goths in Gaul. Vallia dies: is succeeded by Theodoric. Valentinian born. Elevation of Constantius to the throne; and his death. War with Persia, and peace renewed.

Vallia, king of the Goths in Spain, having by the loss of his fleet been prevented from attempting the reduction of Africa, not only concluded a peace with Honorius, and sent back Placidia, but entered into an alliance with the Romans against the barbarians who had settled in Spain, yet advising the emperour to leave them to their own disputes. Attalus seeing a peace concluded between the Goths and the Romans, endeavoured to escape, but was taken and delivered to Honorius, who confined him to the island of Lipari, having previously had him incapacitated for writing. Honorius, to reward the services of Constantius, the next year gave him his sister Placidia in marriage, though much against her inclination; a measure never to be defended. The Armorici were this year again brought under subjection by Constantius. And about this time the Franks, after having dwelt about two hundred years on the German side of the Rhine, were permitted to settle in Thongria, the territory of the present Tongres, being governed by as many kings as they had cities. But whether Faramond, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, is undecided. In the following year, Vallia in Spain cut off all the Vandal tribe of the Silingi. He compelled also the Alans to flee for protection to Gonderic, king of the Vandals, who had settled in Galicia. To reward these services, Constantius gave Vallia and his Goths Aquitania Secunda, that is the whole tract from Toulouse to the sea; and soon after, the province of Auch and Gascony. Vallia by fixing his residence at Toulouse, made it the capital of the kingdom of the Goths; while he on the other hand ceded to the Romans the countries he had taken from the Vandals and Alans in Spain. He died soon after; and of the only daughter he left was born Ricimer, who completed the ruin of the Western empire. Vallia was succeeded by Theodoric, by some called Theodorus. In the following year, Honorius weakly extended the privileges of asylum to all places within fifty paces of the church; and Placidia was delivered of a son, who was named Valentinian. The barbarians in Spain now began to quarrel among themselves, and the Vandals having gained considerable advantages over the Suevians, were themselves driven by the Romans from Biscay and Galicia into Bœtica. Two years after this, Hono-

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rius raised Constantius to be his colleague in the empire, and gave Placidia the title of Augusta. Theodosius refused to acknowledge the new emperour, but the quarrel which this might have excited was prevented by the death of Constantius, which took place when he had reigned between six and seven months: the emperour Theodosius this year married Eudocia, an Athenian; and in the same, some differences having arisen with the Persians, and Varanes the fifth, who had succeeded his father Isdegerdes in the Persian throne, having been persuaded by the Magi to persecute the Christians in his dominions, and to demand those who had fled to Constantinople; Theodosius declared war against the Persians, and sent an army into their country, which gained a complete victory over that commanded by the Persian general Narses: the subsequent operations of the year proved only to the detriment of both parties. But in the next campaign the Romans met with such success, that the Persian monarch agreed to the terms which Theodosius had proposed, and a peace was concluded for an hundred years; and of which the chief article was, that the exiled Christians should be recalled, their estates restored, and a stop put to the persecution. In the West, Honorius attempted to recover Spain from the barbarians; but when on the brink of success, he lost twenty thousand men in one engagement, by the imprudence of his general Castinus.

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Death of Honorius. Usurpation of John. Character of Aetius. Valentinian declared Cæsar. Capture and death of John. Valentinian declared emperour. Some irruptions of barbarians, and disturbances in Africa, with the loss of the province.

The year four hundred and twenty-three was marked, first by a difference between Honorius and his sister Placidia, so great that she retired with her two children to Constantinople; and secondly, by the death of Honorius, who sunk under a dropsy, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. On advice of whose decease, Theodosius prepared to take possession of his dominions as his nephew, Honorius leaving no issue. But in this he was counteracted by John, the principal secretary of Honorius, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperour. The usurper finding himself acknowledged in Italy, Gaul, and Dalmatia, sent embassadors to Theodosius to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince throwing his envoys into prison, John prepared for war, by sending the celebrated Aetius to gain the assistance of the Hunns. This renowned commander was the son of Gaudentius, a Scythian by birth, who married

an Italian woman, and was raised to the highest employments in the empire. His person and character are spoken of in terms equally high, though his conduct does not justify the last; and on him John pitched to engage the Hunns in his cause. Theodosius having ordered all his forces to the frontiers of Dalmatia, sent with them Placidia and her son Valentinian; manifesting by the honours he bestowed on them, his intention of relinquishing to them the empire of the West. But ere they left Constantinople, he betrothed his daughter Licinia Eudoxia to young Valentinian: at Thessalonica the ensigns peculiar to the Cæsars were presented to Valentinian. The following year, the army of Theodosius advancing, an end was, with very little trouble, put to the usurpation, by the capture and execution of the self-created emperour John. Three days after whose death, Aetius entered Italy with sixty thousand Hunns; and after a bloody but indecisive engagement with the imperial troops, on being informed of the death of the usurper, he accepted the offers of Placidia, and persuaded the Hunns to return into their own country. When Theodosius heard of John's death, he declared Valentinian emperour, and his mother regent during his minority. The Vandals, who had entered Spain this year, ravaged the Balearic islands; and the Goths settled in Gaul, seized on some cities, and even laid siege to Arles; but were compelled to raise it by Aetius. In the East, Thrace was ravaged by the Hunns; but their leader being killed by lightning, and the plague sweeping off great numbers of them, they of themselves withdrew. In the year four hundred and twenty-seven, Theodosius transferred the Goths, who had been in Pannonia fifty years, into Thrace. Placidia, through the nefarious intrigues of Aetius, who was jealous of count Bonifacius, for the honour he had gained in defending the province of Africa against the usurper John, was led to declare that faithfull commander a publick enemy; and he, instigated to resistance by the misrepresentations of Aetius, when he found the empress bent on his ruin, and himself without further assistance incapable of resisting her forces, applied to the Vandals, who had for five years peaceably enjoyed the province of Bœtica, or Andalusia, and were now governed by Genseric, brother to their late king Gonderic. This great instrument of Divine providence is stated

to have been low of stature, and lame; thinking much, and speaking little; of great address, and remarkably brave; but not less ambitious and passionate; experienced in war, and enured to hardships. He renounced the Catholick religion to embrace the doctrine of Arius, which prevailed among the Vandals. He caused all the sons of his brother Gonderic, together with their mother, to be put to death. With this barbarian Bonifacius was driven to conclude a treaty, under which Africa was to be divided between Genseric and himself. The treaty concluded, Genseric embarqued all his Vandals, men, women, and children, for Africa. On their departure, the Romans took a temporary possession of the provinces which they had abandoned; temporary only, because they were driven out by the Suevians, and these by the Goths, who thus settled in that part of Spain. In the year that the Vandals passed into Africa, Aetius having defeated the Franks in Gaul with great slaughter, obliged them to retire with their families beyond the Rhine. At this time the Franks were governed by Clodius, supposed to be the son as well as the successor of Faramond. In the year ensuing, Aetius was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops of the Western empire; and Felix, to whom he succeeded, was soon after killed by the soldiery, incited to mutiny by Aetius, jealous of his fame. The same year this last gained considerable advantages over different barbarous nations; and in the following, he entirely reduced the Norici, and the Vindelici, who had united with them in revolt. Placidia now at length being informed of the real cause of the revolt of Bonifacius, was fully convinced of the treachery of Aetius; but fearing to provoke him at present, only expressed to Bonifacius her regret at the injury done him, and exhorted him to consult with his former zeal the safety of the empire. In compliance with this, he offered the Vandals a very great sum to evacuate Africa. But Genseric not only scoffed at his proffer, but attacking him, slew most of his men; but was unable to take Hippo, whither he retreated. The general council of Ephesus, in which was condemned the doctrine of Nestorius, was this year holden. The next, Bonifacius being strongly reinforced, came to an engagement with Genseric, by whom he was totally defeated; and on the invitation of Placidia retired to

Italy. On his departure, the barbarians over-ran the whole province, committing dreadfull cruelties; nor did any place remain to the Romans but Carthage and Cirtha. Bonifacius being by Placidia advanced to the chief command of her forces instead of Aetius, this traitor assembled the forces under his command to crush his rival; and Bonifacius not hesitating to meet him, received a wound, which after three months put an end to his life. Aetius justly dreading the resentment of Placidia, withdrew to the king of the Hunns, and returned at the head of a large army of barbarians; on which the empress promising not only to pardon, but to reinstate him in his post, he dismissed the barbarians, and was immediately raised to the rank of a patrician. The subsequent year was marked by a fire at Constantinople, which lasting three days, consumed all the publick granaries, with great part of the city. And in the next was discovered a private correspondence, which Honoria, sister to the emperour Valentinian, maintained with Attila, king of the Hunns; to whom she had sent a ring, pressing him to invade Italy, and marry her. In the following year a peace was at length concluded with the Vandals in Africa, to whom was ceded great part of Numidia, all the proconsular province, and likewise Bizacene.

The Burgundians having revolted from the Romans, and plundered Belgic Gaul, Aetius, by a great victory gained over them this year, obliged their king Gondicarius to submit to the conditions he thought fit to impose. But the Burgundian monarch did not long enjoy even this peace; since in the following year he was cut off by the Hunns, with twenty thousand of his men. The Goths in Aquitain under Theodoric extended their dominions, but were obliged to retire from before Narbonne, to which they had laid siege. While these things passed in the West, Theodosius completed the ruin of idolatry in the East, ordering all places consecrated to the worship of idols to be demolished, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the pagan ceremonies in publick or in private. In the year four hundred and thirty-seven, Valentinian and Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius, who had been many years betrothed, were married. The Romans continued in the following year the war with the Goths in Gaul, of whom Aetius slew eight thousand. In the

The Burgundians revolt, and are defeated. Theodosius publishes his code. A peace concluded with the Goths. Carthage taken: Sicily plundered by Genseric. Difference between Theodosius and his empress. Valentinian cedes to the Vandals what they had seized in Africa. Armenia divided between the Romans and Persians. Irruption of

CHAPTER I. SIXTH PERIOD.

Attila into Thrace: his insolence to the emperours. Loss of a Roman army in Spain.

East, Theodosius published a code of all the best and most usefull laws that had been enacted by the lawfull princes his predecessors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was Antiochus, who had been consul. This code was immediately received in the West. The laws which were added to this code by Theodosius and other princes, were termed *novellæ*. In the following year, Litorius having gained great advantages over the Goths in Gaul, laid siege to Toulouse, their capital; and being too sanguine of further success to listen to the overtures of their king Theodoric, was in a sally by him defeated and taken prisoner; soon after which he died. This victory Theodoric, acknowledging it to have been granted by Heaven, used with great moderation, and concluded a peace with the Romans on reasonable terms. By the taking of Carthage this year, Genseric gave an heavy blow to the Western empire: and in the next he made a descent on Sicily, and ravaging the open country with great cruelty, though he did not succeed in the siege of Palermo, he returned to Africa with a vast booty. About this time Aetius removed the Burgundians from the Rhine to settlements in Savoy, and rewarded a faithfull body of Alans with lands on the Loire.* The empress Eudocia's chief favourite Paulinus was this year put to death by the order of Theodosius, as were two ecclesiasticks, for whom she manifested a particular regard. The difference between the imperial pair had arisen so high, that Eudocia had retired to Jerusalem, where she resided until her death. As Genseric, king of the Vandals, was now become very powerfull, Theodosius, for the assistance of Valentinian, fitted out a very powerfull armament for Africa, but the operations of which were prevented by the

* The following account of the chief vices and virtues of the barbarians who at this time infested the empire, may not be unacceptable to the reader; it was given by Suevianus, a writer of the age. "The Goths," says he, "are treacherous, but chaste: the Alans are not so chaste, but less treacherous: the Franks are liars, but kind to strangers: the Saxons are exceedingly cruel, but wonderfully chaste. But though the Saxons are cruel, the Gepidæ are void of humanity, the Hunns lewd and deceitfull, the Alemans drunkards, the Alans lovers of plunder, and the Franks deceitfull and perfidious to such a degree as to look upon false oaths as ornaments of speech."

negociations which Genseric craftily opened for that purpose. While these were pending, the Persians commencing hostilities, obliged Theodosius to recall his forces; by which Valentinian was compelled to conclude a peace with Genseric, ceding to him all the countries which he had seized in Africa. The Persians, however, finding the Romans prepared to repel their attacks, listened to proposals of accommodation, and a peace was concluded, one of the principal articles of which was, that neither the Persians nor the Romans should raise any new fortifications on the frontiers. The same year Arsaces, king of Armenia, died, leaving his kingdom to be divided between his two sons, Tigranes and Arsaces, but gave far the greater part to Tigranes. On which Arsaces appealing to Theodosius, he, with no great appearance of justice, menaced Tigranes with war; at which the latter was so terrified, that, fleeing to the Persian king, he yielded to him his share. Arsaces, on the other hand, dreading the Persian power, put Theodosius in possession of his on certain conditions. Thus ended the kingdom of Armenia. The portion which the Persians obtained was called Pers-Armenia, and Armenia-Persica. That which the Romans had was governed by an officer, entitled count of Armenia. Attila having succeeded to the sovereignty of the Hunns, and having already terrified the Romans into most disgracefull terms of peace, and in consequence of the liberty at which these left him, reduced a large tract of country to the north, resolved to take advantage of the wars in which Theodosius was engaged with the Persians and Vandals; and accordingly with a very formidable army passing the Danube into Thrace, took several cities and strong places. Elated with which success, he demanded of Theodosius all the Hunns that had taken refuge in the Roman dominions. This Theodosius refusing, Attila began to ravage the country with fire and sword, sparing neither age or sex; and such progress did he make, that Theodosius, thinking himself no longer safe at Constantinople, retired into Asia. But a peace being in the course of the year concluded with Attila, the emperour ere the end of it returned to his capital. Attila after this, for a few years continued quiet, only extorting from the Romans whatever he wanted, and insulting the emperours by embassadors; by two of whom they were thus

addressed, "Attila, my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception." In the West, in the year four hundred and forty-five, Vitus being sent into Spain with an army to support the Roman subjects against the Suevians, most of his men being cut off by Rechila, he was obliged to save himself by flight, and leave the inhabitants to the mercy of the barbarians.

The Britons apply in vain to the Romans for assistance. Great plague and earthquakes. Attila invades Thrace, and forces Theodosius to most disgracefull terms of peace. Death of Theodosius. Pulcheria marries Marcianus, who is crowned emperour. Attila invades Gaul; is defeated by Aetius, and driven out of that province; but then invades Italy, and forces Valentinian to a disgracefull treaty: after which he withdraws his forces beyond the Danube.

The next year, the Britons, incapable of any longer resisting the Scots and Picts, applied to Aetius for assistance, but without effect. In the East, a dreadfull plague raged during this and the following year, and violent earthquakes overturned several cities, and great part of the new walls of Constantinople, with fifty-seven towers, and many stately edifices, both in that city and in Antioch and Alexandria. In the last of these two years, Attila, at the head of an army composed of men of many barbarous tribes, broke into Thrace, and without opposition over-ran that province, both Dacias, Mæsia, and part of Scythia; extending his ravages on one side to the Euxine Sea, and on the other to Thermopylæ. Arnigesilus, the governour of Mæsia and Thrace, bravely opposed this torrent, and at first with success; but unhappily falling from his horse, was himself slain, and his army routed. Another battle, with no better success, was fought in the Chersonesus; and consequently Theodosius was obliged in the following year to sue to Attila for peace; when a treaty was concluded, on terms most disgracefull to the Romans, and by which Theodosius became tributary to the king of the Hunns. While these things passed in the East, Rechila, king of the Suevians in Spain, died at Merida, and was succeeded by his son Requiarius, who the next year married the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc. The following year Theodosius submitted to be engaged in the subornation of an embassador from Attila to assassinate his master; but the embassador, false either to one or both parties, discovered the plot to Attila; and the Roman embassador who was sent to him on the occasion, behaved with such address,

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that no evil consequences ensued. In the next year, Theodosius died of a fall from his horse in hunting, in the fiftieth year of his age, and forty-third of his reign. Though Theodosius left behind him Eudoxia his daughter, no sooner was his death publickly known, than

Pulcheria, who bare the title of Augusta, and had shared the sovereignty with him, sent for Marcianus, a man of extraordinary qualifications and high character, offering to raise him to the throne, provided he would not counteract her resolution of perpetual chastity. Marcianus accepted the condition, and her choice being approved of by the senate, he was, with general applause, crowned emperour. He was a native of Thrace or Illyricum, but of a family of no great distinction: he served in the army, at first as a private, but his uncommon abilities brought him into notice. In the following year Attila assembled an army of northern barbarians, amounting, it is said, to five hundred thousand men, with a view of subduing both empires. But Marcianus replying to his embassadors sent to require the tribute, that he had gold for his friends and steel for his enemies, he determined to make war on Valentinian. But while, by his demand of his sister Honoria in marriage, and half his dominions for her portion, he was seeking, in the refusal he expected, a plea for commencing hostilities, he was solicited by Hemeric, son of Genseric, king of the Vandals, to attack Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc. This opportunity of entering Gaul he embraced, and deceiving Valentinian, by declaring that all his military preparations were against Theodoric, he made a rapid march from Scythia to the banks of the Rhine, defeated the Franks, who there endeavoured to stop him, and passing the river without further opposition, entered Gaul. It being believed by some that he only meant to march through the country, several cities opened their gates to him; but when others, suspecting his real design from the violences he suffered his men to commit, shut theirs, he dropt the mask, and stormed and pillaged Tongres, Treves, Strasburgh, Spires, Worms, and Mentz, with all the cities near: then dividing his army into several bodies, he laid waste the country far and near, and at length laid siege to Orleans. But here Aetius being joined by Theodoric against their common enemy, and by several nations of Gaul and Germany, who thought themselves in no less danger than the Romans, fell upon him, when he had assaulted and was plundering the city, slew great numbers of the Hunns, and obliged Attila to repass the Loire, in which a great number of his men were drowned, and retire towards

the Rhine. Aetius following him closely, a battle took place in the plains of Chalons, in which the victory was obstinately disputed, and Theodoric, king of the Goths, fell on the side of the Romans; but Attila retreating to his camp, and not venturing to renew the engagement, Aetius naturally claimed the victory. The slain on both sides are represented to have amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand. Thorismond, the son of Theodoric, would the next day have attacked the Hunns in revenge of his father's death, but accepted the advice of Aetius to return home, and secure his own dominions from internal disturbances. Attila, when he was informed of the separation, quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the Rhine, unmolested by Aetius, and retreated into Pannonia. Here receiving reinforcements from Scythia, he determined on an irruption into Italy, where more booty and less opposition might be expected: pursuant to this resolution, and finding the passes of the Alps unguarded, he entered that country, and by this unexpected irruption excited the utmost consternation even in very distant provinces. Attila advancing to Aquileia, was, by the resolute defence of that place, stopped for three months; when being carried by assault, neither house was left standing, nor captive left alive: several other cities met with the same fate, the barbarians every where raging with fury scarcely conceivable. It is supposed that the foundations of the city of Venice were now laid, the Veneti retiring to the islands on which it stands, to avoid the fury of the Hunns. After ravaging the intermediate country he would have advanced towards Rome, but the superstition of his troops, and the decrease of them from want and disease, with a check received by a party of them from Aetius, induced him to defer his march to that city. Valentinian, deprived of all other resource, sent an embassy to Attila, at the head of which was Leo, bishop of Rome, a prelate famed for piety, eloquence, and learning. By these embassadors a treaty, or rather truce, was concluded, by which Valentinian agreed to pay tribute to the Hunn; who with threats of returning again, unless the princess Honoria and her share of the imperial treasures were sent him, left Italy, and retired beyond the Danube. But, incapable of living at rest, he is said the next year, crossing Rhætia and following the course of the Rhone, to have

unexpectedly entered the present Dauphiny, and attacked the Alans, who had been permitted to settle there: when Thorismond, king of the Visigoths, whose territories were divided from those of the Alans only by the Rhone, sensible that he should be the next object of attack, joined them with all his forces, and gaining a complete victory over Attila, obliged him to return with disgrace to his own country. Attila died soon after, and with him ended the empire of the Hunns; the civil war, which upon his death ensued among his numerous issue, affording the nations he had subdued an opportunity of recovering their ancient liberty. The same year Thorismond was murdered by two of his brothers, Theodoric and Frederic, and succeeded by the former. While these things passed in the West, the council of Chalcedon was in the East holden by Marcian's orders. In the following year, the Saracens, the Nubians, and the Blemmyes, broke into the empire, but were defeated by the imperial troops, and compelled to accept of such terms of peace as Marcian dictated. And in the year of Attila's decease several tribes, formerly subdued by him, obtained permission to settle in Thrace and Illyricum, almost dispeopled by the incursions of the barbarians. Among these, to the Goths commonly called Ostrogoths, to distinguish them from those who had become masters of Spain, and were termed Visigoths, Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sinnish, in Sclavonia, to Vindebona, at present Vienna, in Austria. These Goths were governed by three brothers, Valemir, Theodomir, the father of Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of Italy, and Vidimir. The first settling in the eastern part of the country mentioned, the second in the western, and the last between the other two. These, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged themselves subjects of the Eastern empire, though they claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own subjects, and frequently waged war with each other. This year died the empress Pulcheria: and the succeeding was marked by the death of Aetius; against whom the jealousy of Valentinian was excited by the malicious insinuations of the eunuchs of the court, and whose executioner that weak prince condescended himself to become, by stabbing him, when, in obedience to his orders, he entered his chamber. Immediately on the fall of Aetius, the emperour sent

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to confirm the treaties he had made with several foreign nations: but the dread of that great man being removed, the Alemans passed the Rhine at Basle, the Franks laid waste the territories of Mentz and Rheims, and the Saxons menaced the coast of Armorica. The death of Aetius is said to have been greatly promoted by Petronius Maximus, who wished to remove out of the way the only person who screened Valentinian from the vengeance which he wished to take on him, for a most nefarious act of both fraud and violence on his wife; and the next year Maximus excited the friends of Aetius to revenge his death, and especially two barbarians who had served under, and been particularly distinguished by him, and who readily undertaking the task, attacked the emperour in the Campus Martius, and having first slain his favourite eunuch Heraclius, who bravely defended his master, killed the emperour himself in sight of his whole court. Valentinian had reigned more than twenty-nine years.

A. D. 455.

Maximus ascends the throne: appoints Avitus commander-in-chief: marries Eudoxia, who invites Genseric to rescue her: his arrival at Rome: flight and death of Maximus. Rome plundered by the Vandals.

The day after the death of Valentinian, Maximus, who was grandson to Magnus Clemens Maximus, who usurped the sovereignty in the time of Theodosius the Great, and was by him put to death, and had discharged with great applause the first offices in the state, assumed the purple. Having lived before an easy life, he no sooner felt the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when gained by crime, than he repented of the step he had taken, and, it is said, entertained thoughts of abdicating his new dignity; but being diverted from that step by his friends, he appointed Avitus commander-in-chief of the Roman armies. The usurper, whose wife had died soon after the outrage she is said to have suffered, that he might appear to have some title to the diadem, obliged Eudoxia, the deceased emperour's widow, to marry him, and married her daughter Eudocia to his son Palladius. Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian with sincerity, irritated at being compelled to marry the man who had procured his death, determined at any rate to take vengeance for the double injury; and expecting no assistance from Marcian, sent a messenger to Genseric in Africa, conjuring him to revenge the death of his ally Valentinian, and rescue her from the arms of her husband's murderer. Genseric, who had long wished for an opportunity like this, readily complied with her request, and embarquing

without delay, steered directly for Rome. Such was the consternation which the very sight of his numerous fleet excited, that the chief citizens of Rome, and all persons of distinction, took to flight; and among them Maximus himself. But the populace, incensed at his abandoning instead of protecting them, pursued him with stones, which some of Valentinian's officers observing, attacked him, and a Roman soldier gave him the fatal stroke: after which his corpse, having been treated with great ignominy, was thrown into the Tiber. The reign of the usurper, who fell thus wretchedly, had continued not quite three months. Three days after his death, Genseric entering Rome without opposition, abandoned it to his Vandals, strictly charging them to shed no blood, nor set fire to the city, pursuant to a promise he made to Leo the Great, then bishop of Rome, who had gone out to meet him. The plundering of the city continued for fourteen days; in which time not only private houses, but the publick buildings were stripped of all their costly ornaments, and even the churches of their sacred vessels. A number of captives, scarcely credible, were taken. Genseric himself forced the gates of the imperial palace, and having seized the treasure and rich moveables he there found, he put them, with the empress Eudoxia, her two daughters, Placidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius, the son of Aetius, on board a vessel, and carried them all into captivity. Among the spoils, mention is made of the sacred vessels taken by Titus out of the temple of Jerusalem, and brought to Rome. And thus, in addition to the afflictions brought on the empire by Attila, whose devastations were pre-signified by the emblem of the ravages occasioned by a volcano, was Genseric instrumental in the infliction of further sufferings, which, in the expressive language of prophecy, are described, by the bitterness of wormwood into which the waters were turned, by a burning star (the rapid progress of which was imitated by Genseric in his course) falling from Heaven on them.*

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No sooner had advice of the death of Maximus reached Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, than he pressed Flavius Mæcilius Avitus, who had been appointed by the usurper commander-in-chief

A. D. 456. Avitus assumes the purple, and is acknowledged

* See Rev. viii. v. 8—11, and the Commentary before cited.

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by Marcian. War between the Goths and Suevians, in which the former are victorious. Ricimer defeats Genseric: deposes Avitus. Death of Marcian, and accession of Leo the Thracian. Majorianus made emperour of the West.

of the Roman forces, and was then at Toulouse, to assume the purple, and even had him proclaimed emperour there by the Goths. But Avitus took not the title of emperour until about a month after he was proclaimed at Arles by the Roman army, and all the chief men of Gaul. Thither Theodoric, attended by his brothers, came to congratulate him on his accession to the empire; and at Rome Avitus was received with great demonstrations of joy. Marcian, too, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his colleague. Requiarius, king of the Suevians in Spain, next year taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire to over-run some of the Roman dominions in Spain, and on the interposition of Theodoric threatening to march to Toulouse, the Gothic monarch, provoked at the insult, entered Spain, defeated the Suevians, and pursuing their king untill he had made himself master of his person, put him to death: while those of the Suevians who refused to submit to the Goths, retired to a distant corner of Galicia, and chose for their king one of their own nation, named Maldra. The same year Ricimer, who was on his father's side descended from the royal family of the Suevians, and on his mother's from that of the Goths, and had from his youth served in the Roman armies, utterly defeated Genseric at sea: elated with which success, he returned to Rome, and there revolting with Majorianus, he obliged the senate to declare
A. D. 456. Avitus unworthy of the empire; and meeting him on his return to Italy, he stripped him of all the badges of royalty. Soon after which the dethroned sovereign died, having holden the sceptre scarcely fourteen months. During his short reign, the Burgundians, who had removed from the banks of the Rhine, and ever since dwelt in the mountains of Savoy, seized on part of Gaul, and made themselves masters of the city of Lions. In the beginning of the following
A. D. 457. year died the emperour Marcian, having reigned six years and nearly an half. A few days after his death, Leo was, with the unanimous consent of senate, soldiery, and people, proclaimed emperour, and crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople; affording the first instance of a prince's receiving the crown at the hands of a bishop. The new emperour, from the supposition of his being a native of Thrace, is called Leo the Thracian. He had from his

youth served in the Roman armies. He is highly extolled by the cotemporary writers for his prudence, moderation, justice, and exemplary piety. At the very commencement of his reign great disturbances were excited in Alexandria by the Eutychians, who, on hearing of the death of Marcian, murdered the Catholick bishop, and chose in his room one of their own sect. The tumult was soon quelled, but the authors of it were screened from punishment by Aspar, a patrician, and arian, to whom Leo was in great part indebted for his elevation to the throne. In the West took place an interregnum of three months, during which all things were directed by Ricimer, and at the end of it Majorianus was, on his proposition, proclaimed emperour by the senate, people, and soldiery. His father had served with great reputation under Aetius, and afterwards became treasurer of the empire: his mother was the daughter of Majorianus, who was once general of the Roman horse and foot in Pannonia, and from whom the emperour took the name of Majorianus. He had already given several instances both of military ability and amiable disposition. In the beginning of the next year, Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, being, by some unpleasant tidings from Gaul, called out of Spain, where he had nearly reduced the Suevians in Galicia, and made himself master of Merida, the metropolis of Lusitania, and of several other cities of that country, left behind him a body of forces, who made no distinction between friends and foes; but at length, from the loss they met with before one castle, conceived it most prudent to return into Gaul: while the Suevians carried on a civil war among themselves, and one party of them seized Lisbon, after having been admitted into the place as friends.

Majorianus is successful against the Vandals and Burgundians: defeats Theodoric: prepares for an expedition into Africa: but at length concludes a peace with Gen-

The following year Majorianus repelled a descent of the Vandals in Campania, putting to the sword great numbers of them, among whom was their commander, the brother-in-law of Genseric. After this, entering Gaul, he obliged the Burgundians to evacuate the city of Lions. In Spain, one of the kings of the Suevians dying, his followers submitted to the other, Maldra; so that the whole nation was again united under one head. In the year ensuing, Theodoric having surprized some cities in Gaul belonging to the Romans,

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Majorianus defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which he obtained, on engaging to assist the Romans against the Suevians in Spain, and the Vandals in Africa. In the East, the city of Antioch was almost ruined by an earthquake; in the finest part of it, the new city, scarcely an house was left standing. Majorianus having prepared a large armament for the invasion of Africa, Genseric, alarmed at the accounts he received of these preparations, sent to sue for peace; but his request being rejected, a squadron of his best ships attacked the Roman fleet in the bay of Alicant, and taking most of the ships, returned with them to Africa. This misfortune, occasioned principally by the treachery of some on board the Roman fleet, put a stop to the enterprize; and ere Majorianus could prepare another armament, Genseric made proposals of peace so advantageous to the empire that they were accepted. In the next year, Ricimer thinking himself neglected by Majorianus, and jealous of his high reputation, having by treachery got him into his power, caused him to be put to death, after he had reigned three years and some months, Majorianus thus removed, Ricimer caused Severus, an individual little qualified for empire, to be proclaimed at Ravenna, hoping to reign himself in his name. In the East, Leo refusing to pay to the kings of the Ostrogoths the usual pension, they took arms and ravaged great part of Illyricum, taking several cities. But Anthemius, son-in-law to the late emperour Marcian, having obliged them to retire into Pannonia, they renewed their ancient alliance with the empire; and the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then in the eighth year of his age, was delivered as an hostage to Leo. In the following year, Genseric pleading that Majorianus being dead he was no longer bound by the treaty made with him, by a powerfull fleet pillaged the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and subdued Sardinia. In Gaul, Ægidius, a native of that country, and commander-in-chief of the Roman forces there, determined to revenge on Ricimer and Severus the death of his patron Majorianus. But in the meantime he was obliged to turn his arms against the Visigoths, whom he compelled to raise the siege of Arles. In the same year Marcellinus, who had served with great reputation in the Roman armies, offended at the haughtiness of Ricimer, revolted

seric: Ricimer causes Majorianus to be murdered, and sets Severus on the throne in his room. Incursions of the Ostrogoths repressed. Sardinia taken by Genseric.

A. D. 461.

from Severus, and retiring into Dalmatia, established there a new sovereignty independent of the empire. The inhabitants of Italy seeing themselves menaced on all sides, applied to Leo, the emperour of the East; on whose intercession Marcellinus promised not to molest the Romans. But Genseric demanded as the price of peace, that the effects of Valentinian should be delivered to him; because his son Huneric had married Eudocia, that prince's eldest daughter. However, he sent back to Leo Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, and Placidia, her second daughter; who being soon after married to Olybrius, Genseric threatened to wage everlasting war with the Western empire, unless the brother-in-law of his son was raised to the imperial dignity:—to so low an ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced. The following year Ægidius gained a signal victory over the Visigoths in Gaul: but in Spain these people had better success, for they seem now to have been masters of the whole country, except part of Galicia still holden by the Suevians, and the provinces of Tarraco and Cartagena belonging to the Romans. In the beginning of the following year, Beorgor, king of the Alans, having entered Italy with a considerable army, was by Ricimer cut off with all his men. The same year Ægidius died in Gaul, either by poison or more open murder; upon whose death the Visigoths are said to have made themselves masters of far the greater part of Gaul. Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, held Soissons and its territory for several years; having, it is reported, erected there a petty sovereignty. At the same time Childeric, king of the Burgundians, took Paris; the Franks made themselves masters of the provinces bordering on the Rhine; the Saxons settled at Nantes and Bayeux; the Alemans in the country of the Helvetii; and some of the Britons, driven out by the Angles and Scots, in the territories of Vennes and Treguier, since called Bretagne. When Severus had born the name of emperour almost four years, he died at Rome, with some suspicion of having A. D. 465. been poisoned by Ricimer. The same year, a fire, which raged most furiously six days and nights, reduced to ashes six of the fourteen quarters into which the city of Constantinople was divided.

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Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, murdered; and succeeded by his brother Euric. Anthemius declared emperour of the West. Genseric ravages Peloponnesus. Leo endeavours to revenge the insult, but is betrayed: marries his daughter to Leo the Isaurian. Progress of the barbarians in Gaul. Leo first makes Aspar Cæsar, then puts him to death. Ricimer revolts from Anthemius; causes him to be slain; and proclaims Olybrius emperour. This new sovereign and Ricimer both die. Glycerius assumes the purple. The Ostrogoths attack both empires. Leo makes his son his colleague, then dies. Zeno made colleague of Leo the 2nd: this last dies.

The following year, Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, after a reign of nearly thirteen years, was murdered by his brother Euric, who took possession of his dominions, and was proclaimed in Toulouse. In the East, the Hunns broke into Dacia, but they were defeated; and Dengizic, one of Attila's sons, who commanded them, was slain in the engagement. In the succeeding year, there having been an interregnum in the West ever since the death of Severus, Anthemius, count of the East, a native of Constantinople, descended of an illustrious family, who had married Marciana, the only daughter of the emperour Marcian, was, with the approbation of Ricimer, declared emperour. Soon after his nomination he repaired to Italy, with a great number of chosen troops, and several persons of distinction, among whom was Marcellinus, prince of Dalmatia; and at Rome he was received with great demonstrations of joy: and a few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer. Genseric, to revenge himself on Leo for having preferred Anthemius to the empire rather than Olybrius, ravaged most cruelly by a powerfull fleet, Peloponnesus and the Greek islands. To take vengeance for this insult, Leo the next year dispatched a most potent expedition; the success of which was frustrated by the treachery of Basiliscus, a brother of the empress, to whom was committed the command of the greatest part of the fleet, and of the flower of the troops. Marcellinus, who commanded another portion of the force, having reduced Sardinia, fell by assassination in Sicily. This same year Leo married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, of an illustrious family in Isauria, and immediately raised his son-in-law to the rank of a patrician, and appointed him captain of his guard, and commander-in-chief of all the armies in the East. In the West, Remismond, king of the Suevians, made himself master of Lisbon; and the Goths about the same time surprised Merida, and committed dreadfull ravages in the neighbouring country, sparing neither Romans nor Suevians. Two years after this, Euric, king of the Visigoths, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himself master of Auvergne, Berra, and Gevaudan. At the same time, one Odoacer, who had commanded a body of Saxons under Ægidius, made himself master of Angers; but was

overcome by Chilperic, king of the Franks, who reduced both that city and all the neighbouring country. Neither did the Burgundians fail to take advantage of the enfeebled state of the empire to reduce the city of Lions, and the whole province termed *Lugdunensis prima*. The following year, Leo, who dreaded the power of Aspar, created him Cæsar; but soon after being informed of a plot formed against him by that general and his children, he ordered them to be put to death; but Patricius his eldest, and his third son named Hermeneric, escaped from the hands of the assassins. The year ensuing, Ricimer, dreading the same fate from the emperour Anthemius in the West, openly revolted; and at the head of the barbarians in the Roman service under his command, laid siege to Rome, where the emperour then was; and at length carrying the city by assault, raged with no less fury than Alaric or Genseric, allowing his men to commit all manner of cruelties. Anthemius he caused to be put to death, and A. D. 472. Olybrius to be proclaimed emperour in his room. Neither Ricimer nor Olybrius long survived Anthemius; both dying before the end of the same year. This year, too, occurred an eruption of Vesuvius, which darkened the air even at Constantinople, and covered the streets of it with ashes three inches in depth. The following year Glycerius assumed the imperial title at Ravenna, being supported by Gondibal, nephew to Ricimer. In the very beginning of his reign the Ostrogoths, without the least provocation, resolved to make war on both empires. Videmir broke into Italy, and his brother Theodomir invaded the Eastern empire: but the former dying, his son of the same name, on the receipt of some rich presents from Glycerius, joined the Visigoths in Gaul. Theodomir, too, died on entering the Eastern empire, and was succeeded by his son Theodoric, surnamed the Great. The same year Leo raised his grandson by his daughter Ariadne, married to Zeno, and named also Leo, to the dignity of Cæsar, and even declared him his partner in the empire, though at most six years old. And the next year Leo the elder died, after a A. D. 474. short illness, after having reigned very nearly seventeen years. Soon after his decease, the empress Verina prevailed on the senate and people of Constantinople to permit her son-in-law Zeno to be

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declared colleague to young Leo in the empire. But the young prince did not survive his grandfather more than ten months.

A. D. 474. Glycerius deposed by Julius Nepos, named emperour of the West by Leo. Orestes drives Nepos from the throne, and places Augustulus on it. Zeno driven from the throne of the East, and Basiliscus succeeds to it. Revolt of the barbarians in the West. Odoacer dethrones Augustulus, and assuming the title of king of Italy, puts an end to the empire of the West.

Leo the elder, not approving of the promotion of Glycerius, had, before his death, named to the empire of the West Julius Nepos, a native of Dalmatia, and nephew to Marcellinus, who was murdered in Sicily. Nepos, on his nomination, sailed for Italy without loss of time, surprised Glycerius, took him prisoner, and caused him to be ordained bishop of Salonæ in Dalmatia, after he had born the title of emperour a year and some months. In the mean time the Visigoths, under the conduct of Euric their king, broke into the dominions which the Romans still retained in Gaul. But Euric was prevailed on to conclude a peace with the empire; by which, however, the whole country lying between the Ocean, the Rhone, and the Loire, fell under the power of the Goths. The following year Nepos appointed Orestes, who had first entered into the service of the Hunns, but since gained great reputation in the Roman armies, commander of the Roman forces in Gaul: but he bent his march towards Ravenna, with the design of deposing his benefactor; which the emperour suspecting, fled by sea into Dalmatia, and took refuge with the man he himself had deprived of the empire. Orestes, thus in possession of the sovereign power, did not cause himself to be proclaimed emperour, but a son whom he had, called *Romulus Augustus*, but by most historians *Augustulus*; either in derision, or on account of his youth when raised to the empire. The new prince stiled himself Augustus Romulus Augustus. As he was very young, his father took upon him the administration during his minority. While these particulars occurred in the West, the Saracens committed dreadfull ravages in Mesopotamia, and the Hunns in Thrace; the emperour Zeno, a most debauched prince, being wholly intent on his scandalous pursuits. He concluded, however, a peace with Genseric. The empress Verina, provoked at the very vicious conduct of Zeno, whom she had raised to the throne, now united with her brother Basiliscus in a plot to dethrone him. Of which being apprized, Zeno took to flight, retiring into his native country. On his retreat, Basiliscus was proclaimed emperour by the senate

A. D. 475.

and people, to the great disappointment of Verina, who would have conferred the empire on a favourite of her own, named Patricius. Basiliscus immediately declared his wife Zenonides, Augusta, and his son Marcus, Cæsar. The following year, the barbarians serving in the Roman armies, and who were termed allies, demanded as a reward, the third part of the lands in Italy, pretending that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. Orestes refusing to comply with this insolent demand, they openly revolted, and chose one Odoacer for their leader. Of what particular nation this individual was, is far from ascertained; but he is stated to have been of mean birth, and only a private in the guards of the emperour Augustulus, when he was by the barbarians chosen for their leader. He is said, however, to have been a man of eminent abilities, capable of both commanding an army and governing a state. As the Roman troops were inferior both in number and valour to the barbarians, Orestes took refuge in Pavia: but Odoacer quickly took the place by assault; and after giving it up to be plundered by his soldiers, set it on fire, and reduced most of the houses and two churches to ashes. Orestes being taken prisoner, Odoacer carried him to Placentia, and there had him put to death. From Placentia marching to Ravenna, Odoacer there took the young emperour Augustulus, whom he spared on account of his youth, but stripped him of the ensigns of imperial dignity, and confined him to a castle in Campania, where, by his orders, he was treated with great humanity, and allowed an handsome maintenance for himself and his relations. Rome readily submitted to the conquerour; and he, rejecting every mark of the imperial dignity, caused himself to be A. D. 476. proclaimed king of Italy, and thus put an end to the very name of an empire in the West; five hundred and seven years after the imperial government had been established by the battle of Actium, and twelve hundred and twenty-nine from the foundation of Rome. And thus were fulfilled the emblems of the fourth trumpet of the book of the Revelation, and the governing powers of the third part of the earth were deprived of all their splendour.*

* See Rev. viii. 12.

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Zeno restored: Basiliscus put to death. Further disturbances. Revolt of Leontius. Irruption and retreat of Theodoric, who makes himself master of Italy, and there establishes the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. Zeno's cruelty, and death.

In the mean time in the East, Basiliscus, who had sent two of his generals into Isauria in pursuit of Zeno, having by his cruelty and extortions greatly disgusted his new subjects, the two generals, apprized of what was passing in the metropolis, openly declared for Zeno, and joining him with all their forces, marched for Constantinople. Basiliscus hearing of their revolt, sent a relation of his own, named Harmatius, or Armatus, with a large army against them. But he had no sooner passed the Bosporus, than, on Zeno's promising to give him the command of the troops of his houshold for life, and raise his son, named Basiliscus, to the dignity of Cæsar, and leave him the empire at his death, he joined the dethroned emperour. Thus reinforced, Zeno returned to, and entered Constantinople unopposed; and quickly getting into his power Basiliscus and his family, he soon suffered them to perish by cold and hunger. Zeno rewarded Harmatius as he had promised, but becoming suspicious of him, had him murdered in the palace, deposed his son from the dignity of Cæsar, and made him reader in a church near Constantinople. The emperour did not sit on his recovered throne in peace: first, he was attacked by a numerous army of Goths under Theodoric the son of Triarius, and compelled to appoint their commander general of the Roman horse. Then Marcian, the son of that Anthemius who had been emperour of the West, attacked his palace, claiming the empire in right of his wife, daughter of the emperour Leo. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, too, broke into Macedon and Epirus. With the son and successor of Genseric, however, named Huneric, Zeno entered into an alliance. The year after which, that is, four hundred and eighty-one, Theodoric, by renewing his ravages, compelled the emperour to cede to him part of Lower Dacia and Mæsia, and to name him consul for the ensuing year: in which Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria, caused himself to be proclaimed emperour; and being joined by Illus, the captain of Zeno's guards, who was sent against him, they defeated the emperour's brother Longinus, and took possession of Antioch. Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, being prevailed on to join the commander whom Zeno next dispatched against them, a complete victory was gained over them. But Theodoric being displeased at something, withdrew this year again into

Pannonia; and spending the following in preparation designed against the barbarians, he suddenly broke into Thrace at the head of a numerous army, and advanced to within a small distance of Constantinople, putting all to fire and sword; but then retired, in consequence of a private treaty, by which, as some writers assert, the emperour yielded to him all the provinces of Italy then holden by Odoacer; promising, if he rescued them out of his hands, to acknowledge him king of Italy. However, whatever was their agreement, Theodoric the following year entered Italy at the head of a powerfull army, overcame Odoacer in several battles, and established a new monarchy there. Zeno having the next year put to death or banished several persons of high distinction, and confiscated their estates, under pretence of their having favoured Leontius and Illus in their revolt; in the following, he raged with still greater cruelty, and caused Pelagius, an eminent patrician, to be strangled, because an astrologer had predicted that he was to succeed him. Yet the emperour did not long survive this object of his jealousy, for in the following year he died after a short illness, having reigned seventeen years and a quarter. A. D. 491.

On the decease of Zeno, his brother Longinus laid claim to the empire; but being universally abhorred for his lewdness and his cruelty, Ariadne, Zeno's widow, easily prevailed on the senate to acknowledge Anastasius for emperour; who was no sooner proclaimed, than he married his benefactress. This new emperour was a native of Illyricum, and had not attained even the rank of a senatour: he is said, while a private man, to have given signal instances of his integrity; and no sooner did he begin to reign, than he abolished a most oppressive tax, termed *Chrysargyrum*, which was levied every fifth year on all who sold any thing of however little value. At the same time he drove all informers out of the metropolis, and put a stop to a wretched practice followed by Zeno, of putting all publick offices up to sale. The affections of the people being secured by these and other generous acts, they joined Anastasius against Longinus, the late emperour's brother, who in the following year raised some disturbances in Constantinople. But being seized and sent into his native country Isauria, and with him all his

Anastasius raised to the empire; marries Ariadne, and gains the affections of the people. The Isaurians rebell. The Isaurian rebellion quelled. Insurrection at Constantinople. Various irruptions of barbarians. A war with the Persians, closed by a truce. The long wall built. Anastasius sends a diadem to Clovis, king of the Franks. The Heruli settled in Thrace. Religious dis-

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sentions. Death of Anastasius.

countrymen, whose sway had been great in the late reign, they there openly revolted, seized a strong hold in which Zeno had deposited vast sums and a great quantity of arms, and thus were enabled to raise and arm above an hundred and fifty thousand men. The troops which the emperour dispatched against them, succeeded in forcing them to take refuge in the mountains of Isauria; but a long time passed ere they could be entirely subdued. The following year a tumult was excited in Constantinople, by an oppressive tax which Anastasius, in spite of all his apparent generosity, imposed. And in the same, Theodoric the Goth, having completed the conquest of

A. D. 492.

Italy, caused himself to be proclaimed king of that country. Yet he sent two persons of rank to Anastasius, to apologize for the liberty he had taken, and to request his approbation. Anastasius promised not to molest him in his conquest, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity. The resistance of the Isaurian rebels continued for the three following years; but in the fourth they were completely defeated, and Longinus, the late emperour's brother, was taken and put to death; and in the following year the remaining ringleaders met with the same fate; and the much-reduced inhabitants of Isauria were transplanted into Thrace. In this same year the emperour narrowly escaped being murdered by the populace, on refusing to set at liberty some prisoners who had been engaged in a riot: but when this was prevented by the soldiery, the multitude set fire to the Hippodrome, by which that, the square of Constantine, and several other stately edifices, were consumed. The Saracens and other Arabs now, too, broke into Palæstine and Syria, but were defeated in both provinces, and the island Jotape, in the Red Sea, was recovered to the empire, and the Roman merchants trading to India re-established in it. Two years after this, the Bulgarians broke into Thrace, defeated a body of the imperial troops, and, when they had plundered all the open places in the country, retired beyond the Danube. The same year Neocæsarea, and several other cities in Pontus, were almost ruined by an earthquake; and the second year after was marked by the contentions between the blue and green factions in the circus at Constantinople arising to that height, that above three thousand of the former were slain. In the year ensuing, the Bulga-

rians in Thrace, and the Saracens in Palæstine, again committed dreadfull ravages. In the same, Cabades, king of Persia, enraged at the emperour's refusal to lend him a sum of money, entered Armenia; and having reduced two others, laid siege to the city of Amida; and the inhabitants of it having not only vigourously defended it, but insulted the king from the walls, he persisted in his efforts until he took the place; when the town was pillaged, and most of its people put to the sword. To repel the Persians, Anastasius sent a numerous army, but which being imprudently divided by its commanders into two bodies, they were separately defeated, and Cabades over-ran Mesopotamia without opposition. The following year, the Romans acted offensively against the Persians, and undertook, too, the siege of Amida; which city at length was surrendered by agreement, on the Romans immediately paying to the Persians fifty talents; and not long after, a truce was concluded between the two empires for seven years, though it in fact lasted twenty; Cabades being engaged in a war with the Caduceans, Hunns, and other barbarians. The same year, a Goth, named Mondon, having seized a strong place beyond the Danube called Herta, thence harassed the Roman territories; and when menaced by the emperour's troops, he entered into alliance with Theodoric, one of whose generals marching to his assistance, defeated the imperial forces, and thus occasioned a misunderstanding between Anastasius and Theodoric. In the year five hundred and seven, Anastasius built for the defence of Constantinople and the adjacent country, the famous wall, called the long wall, extending at the distance of two hundred and eighty furlongs from Constantinople to the sea, continuing for four hundred and twenty furlongs, being in breadth twenty feet, and defended by towers at small distances from each other. The next year, Clovis, king of the Franks, having gained a complete victory over Alaric, king of the Visigoths in Languedoc and Aquitain, Anastasius sent embassadors to Clovis to congratulate him on his victory, and present him with the consular ornaments and a diadem. Soon after which, the king of the Franks removed from Tours to Paris, and fixed his A. D. 508. residence in the last city, declaring it the metropolis of his kingdom. In the third year after this, the Heruli passed the Danube; and in

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the following, had lands allotted to them in Thrace, on engaging to serve when required in the Roman armies. In the next year, Anastasius, urged by the Eutychians,* drove the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople from his see, and preferred to it a follower of Eutyches, whence arose great disturbances in that city; and many of the citizens were slain in a tumult between the Catholicks and Eutychians, and several houses burnt. The next year, Vitalianus, one of the emperour's generals, espoused the cause of the orthodox bishops; and appearing at the head of an army, after some military operations compelled the emperour to promise to put an end to the persecution which he had raised against the Catholicks, and abide by the decision of a general council. But when, trusting to this covenant, Vitalianus withdrew, the emperour persecuted the orthodox more severely than before. Two years after this, Macedon and Epirus were ravaged by the northern barbarians, who penetrating as far as Thessaly, returned unmolested beyond the Danube, with vast booty and very great number of captives; and in the following year, Anastasius was found dead in his chamber, having *reigned twenty-seven* years, and not quite three months.

A. D. 518.

Transactions in Britain, from the fall of the Western empire to the death of Anastasius.

Having thus arrived at a proper place to pause in the history of the Eastern empire, the reader may here be requested to turn his attention to those events which have not been noticed as in the mean time occurring in the Western, where the present states of Europe were then, as it were, *in embryo*. When Odoacer assumed the title of king of Italy, Britain had been long abandoned by the Romans; Spain was in the possession of the Goths and Suevians; Africa in that of the Vandals; and the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans, had established several governments in Gaul. Of the distress of the natives of the first of these countries from the attacks of their northern neighbours, and their earnest but fruitless application to Aetius for assistance, and the migration of part of them into Armo-

* The founder of this sect was Eutyches, abbot of a convent in Constantinople; and he maintained, that there was in Christ but one nature, that of the incarnate Word; whence he was charged with denying the existence of the human nature in the Saviour.

rica, mention has already been made. Of those who then remained in their own country, some submitted to the Scots and Picts; some, more resolute, betook themselves to arms, and sallying in parties from the woods, slew great numbers of their enemies, and obliged the rest to retire. The Picts withdrew, probably to the country near the wall; the Scots returned, it is supposed, to Ireland, whence they originally came: when the Britons cultivating anew their lands, which had so long lain fallow, received a return not before experienced. This plenty produced forgetfulness of the Hand which gave it; voluptuousness, irreligion, and immorality, pervaded the land; clergy and laity were throughout corrupt: nor did the report that their oppressors were about to return, avail to bring them to amendment. Neither did a dire contagion, that left scarcely survivors sufficient to interr the dead, produce that desirable effect. No sooner, therefore, had the pestilence ceased, than the enemy returning with incredible fury, put every thing to fire and sword, and reduced the profligate Britons to extreme misery. Vortigern, a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, able neither in the field or the cabinet, was then the chief or the only king in Britain. Obliged by the exigency of the time, he called together the chief men of the nation, to deliberate on the measures requisite to be pursued; and, unhappily for themselves, they all agreed on that of calling to their aid the Saxons, at that time famous for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded even by the Britons themselves. The proposal being accordingly made, the Saxons readily agreed to it; and embarqued about, probably, A. D. 450. fifteen hundred men in three long ships, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, the sons of Witifigil, said to be great-grandson to the renowned Woden. These were joyfully received by both prince and people at Ebbesfleet in the isle of Thanet; the island was allotted them for their habitation; and a league concluded, by which they were bound to defend the Britons against all foreign enemies, and the Britons to allow them maintenance and pay. The Saxons were most probably a colony of Cimbrians who left the Chersonesus to seek new settlements, much about the same time as the Franks and the Suevians, and first took possession of the country between the Rhine and the Elb; and when the Britons applied to

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them, had made themselves masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friseland, but of Holland and Zealand. Between this country and Jutland dwelt a people known by the name of Angles: these, when the Saxons first migrated from the Chersonesus, joined them, and in course of time they became one nation, and are sometimes distinguished by the name of Anglo-Saxons. The Saxons were one of the most warlike nations inhabiting Germany: their provinces were governed by chiefs accountable to the general assembly of the nation; by which assembly in time of war a general was chosen, with extensive powers, but whose authority ceased with the war. Their religion was like that of the Germans in general; and the names of their principal idols are retained in our present names of the days of the week.

The Saxons had not been long in Britain, ere Vortigern employed them to repell an incursion of the Scots and Picts; and in an action fought at Stamford in Lincolnshire, these were utterly routed, and obliged to abandon to the Saxons all the booty they had taken. This success of his new allies Vortigern rewarded with ample possessions in Lincolnshire: and Hengist, pleased with the fertility of Britain, and observing how greatly its inhabitants were enervated, having obtained the consent of Vortigern, invited more of his countrymen to join him, and accordingly seventeen large ships arrived. After which Hengist, exaggerating the dangers which menaced the British king, obtained leave to send for a second reinforcement, which consisting of forty ships, this large body obtained permission to settle in Northumberland. Still more men and ships were sent for, till the numbers of the strangers induced them to demand with menaces larger allowances of provisions. The Britons not acceding to this, but desiring them to return home, the Saxons privately concluded a peace with the Picts and Scots, and then turning their arms against those whom they had been engaged to defend, they mercilessly ravaged the whole land from the eastern to the western sea. Some of the unhappy Britons, who escaped the general massacre, took refuge in the part of the island rendered inaccessible by rocks and mountains, some fled beyond sea into either Holland or Armorica. In Vortigern these calamities wrought no amendment,

and so provoked were his subjects at his wickedness and insensibility to their wrongs, that they deposed him, and raised to the throne his son Vortimer, a brave youth, who contested the dominion of his country with the Saxons valiantly, nor quite unsuccessfully, for the space of six years, when death deprived the Britons of so good a leader. On information of his decease, Hengist, whom he had driven from Britain, returned with a large body of Saxons, and so defeated Vortigern, who had on his son's death been restored to the throne, that the Britons were obliged to abandon Kent, and retire to London: and from this period is generally dated the beginning of the Saxon kingdom of Kent. Vortigern, who seems to have retired from the command, was succeeded in it by Aurelius Ambrosius, said to be of royal descent, but whether Roman or British is undecided; and under him the Britons again defeated their oppressors; when Horsa himself was slain. From this time, the war proceeded with varying success; though so far preponderating in favour of the Saxons, that they at length became masters of the whole country. In these contests Hengist also fell; and king Arthur, of whom so many fables are related, distinguished himself by the indefatigable fortitude with which he opposed the Saxons. They on their part established a second kingdom, called that of the South Saxons; at first comprizing only the present county of Sussex, but extended by Ella before his death to all the provinces south of the Humber; and then a third under Cerdick, denominated the kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending the counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Hants, and Berks, to which Cornwall was afterwards added. After which, in the year five hundred and twenty-seven, a fourth kingdom, called that of the East Saxons, consisting of the present counties of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, was founded by a leader of the name of Erchenwin. The fifth, termed the kingdom of Northumberland, because it comprised all the British provinces north of the Humber, was founded by Ida, in the year five hundred and forty-seven. On the death of this first king, who was himself a new adventurer from Germany, his kingdom was divided into two; that on the south of the Tyne called Deira, and the other, extending to Edinburgh Frith, named Bernicia. But having thus carried the

A. D. 457.

A. D. 491.

CHAPTER I. SIXTH PERIOD.

history of the transactions in Britain many years below the death of Anastasius, it is time to advert to what passed at the same period among the other nations of the West.

Occurrences in Gaul to the death of Anastasius.

Notice has already been taken of the establishment of the seat of the French monarchy at Paris, by Clovis, the son of Childeric. This occurred in the year seven hundred and ten. He having previously greatly extended the dominions of the Franks, received the submission of the people of Armorica, and got possession of all the places holden by the Roman troops; the garrisons of them, when finding themselves surrounded by enemies, entering into his service. This warlike and ambitious prince did not at that time reign over all the tribes of his nation settled in Gaul; the Salians were his particular subjects, but by measures the most nefarious* that can be conceived, as well as by the most barefaced audacity in pursuing them, this detestable wretch at length put out of his way the kings of all the other tribes, and caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign of all the Franks settled in Gaul. Soon after which he died, and his four sons divided his kingdom; Theodoric reigning at Metz, Clodomir at Orleans, Clotharius at Soissons, and Childebert at Paris. This tetrarchy lasted until many years after the death of Anastasius; and the nefarious transactions which took place under it, will hereafter be noticed, as largely as the plan of this Work will permit: at present, the state of Spain at this time demands our attention.

Those in Spain to the same period.

Odoacer having assumed the title of king of Italy, deemed it prudent to form an alliance with Euric, then king of the Visigoths in Spain, to whom, at the time of proposing it, he offered all the places in Gaul, as well as Spain, which were still in the hands of the Romans. This offer Euric readily accepted, and proceeded in four hundred and seventy-seven to reduce the cities to which this gave

* In one of these there is something so characteristick of the mean subtlety of the Frank, that it must not be passed unnoticed. Clovis, to secure a party in the court of the king of Cambray, sent to the leaders of it some bracelets, apparently of gold. After the treachery for which these were given was perpetrated, the traitors having discovered that they were only gilded brass, complained to Clovis of the imposition, when he answered, "You know well what you have done, and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great favour that I permit you to live."

him any ground of claim: after which he turned his thoughts to legislation, and having caused a code of laws to be published by his prime minister Leo, esteemed the best civilian of his age, he died after a reign of eighteen years, in the year four hundred and eighty-four, when he was succeeded by his son Alaric the Second. This prince gave his subjects hopes of lasting peace, by marrying a daughter of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths: but these were overthrown by the differences that arose between Alaric and Clovis king of the Franks, and which at length ended in a war, in which the former was slain. His infant son Amalaric being after this defeat carried into Spain, Gesalaic, a natural son of Alaric, usurped the throne, but was soon forced by one of Theodoric's generals to take refuge in Africa, while that monarch acted as regent for his grandson; and by an Ostrogoth, surnamed Theudis, whom he had appointed, was Spain governed, until after the decease of Anastasius.

Occurrences in Italy.

While the things now stated were passing in the provinces of the West that have been mentioned, the new kingdom of Italy continued not long in the hands of Odoacer. For in the year four hundred and eighty-eight, Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, privately authorized, it is suggested, by the emperour Zeno, marched from Mæsia round the head of the Adriatic Sea into Italy, and being there met by Odoacer, an engagement took place, in which the last was with little difficulty defeated; and being pursued and quickly forced to a second engagement, after a more vigorous resistance he was again put to flight, and obliged to take refuge in Ravenna: on which Theodoric made himself master of several important places in Italy: when Tufa, the commander-in-chief of the forces of Odoacer, came over to him with most of his troops; but quickly betrayed the trust he reposed in him, and returned to his old master; who by this and some other reinforcements was enabled to recover part of the country which he had lost, and at length to besiege Theodoric in Pavia, whither he had retired, and which was then a place of great strength. Hence Theodoric sent into Gaul, and obtained succours from Alaric, king of the Visigoths; by which he was enabled to act again upon the offensive, and give Odoacer a complete defeat, and compell him

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to retire again into Ravenna. Here Theodoric besieged him for three years: during which, however, the former made himself master of all the rest of Italy. At length both parties being wearied with their sufferings, a treaty was concluded, under which Theodoric bound himself by an oath to grant Odoacer his life. But having thus got possession of Ravenna, he in a few days invited Odoacer to a banquet, and slew him with his own hand. At the same time all his servants and relations were put to the sword, except the few who, with his brother Aonulphus, were happy enough to make their escape beyond the Danube. Theodoric caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy, but acknowledged himself to hold that kingdom of the emperour of the East, to whom he sent to apologize for assuming the title, and from whom he accepted the ensigns of royalty, and by whom he suffered even the Roman consuls to be nominated. Theodoric being master of Italy, would next have proceeded to the conquest of Sicily, but the inhabitants were persuaded to submit without bloodshed. The new sovereign having strengthened himself with all the alliances he could, made it his especial study to govern his kingdom with salutary laws. He therefore retained those of Rome, and ordered them to be observed by the Goths as well as by the Romans. He retained, too, the same form of government, the same distribution of provinces, the same magistrates and dignities. The war that broke out between Anastasius and Theodoric has been already mentioned; in this the former sent a fleet to ravage the coasts of Italy; and though those who landed were quickly driven on board their ships, they carried off a considerable booty; and Theodoric, finding that a continuance of hostilities with the emperour would prevent the accomplishment of his designs on Gaul, made proposals for a peace, which were accepted. To this foreign war, however, succeeded some domestick disturbances, caused by the partizans of two candidates for the bishoprick of Rome, on the death of pope Anastasius. To quell these, Theodoric made a journey to that metropolis, from which he was scarcely returned, when he heard that the Bulgarians had surprised the city of Sirmium in Pannonia; which, however, was quickly recovered, and the barbarians driven quite out of the province. To accomplish his projected reduction of

Gaul, Theodoric first allied himself with Clovis, king of the Franks, against the Burgundians, who then were masters of all the passes of the Alps; by which alliance he gained Marseilles, and a considerable addition of territory. Some years after, he joined the Visigoths against the Franks; but, though attended with some success, he found this people too powerfull to wrest from them the country which they had taken from the Visigoths; and therefore concluded a treaty, by which it was ceded to them. Of his acting as regent for his grandson, the king of the Visigoths, notice has already been taken. After arranging the affairs of Spain, he turned his arms against the Alemans, and reduced them to tribute. The character for equity and moderation which Theodoric had established, was sullied in his last days by an unjust condemnation to death of the celebrated Boetius, and his father-in-law Symmachus, on the false accusations of three notorious villains. His repentance, however, for this crying injustice, was deep, and said by some to have contributed to shorten his life; which ended in the thirty-fourth year of his reign and the seventy-second of his age. A. D. 526.

Justin proclaimed emperour: he detects a conspiracy against him. A war with Persia commences. A destructive earthquake. Justin takes Justinian for his associate in the empire, and dies.

This brief review of occurrences in the West, in the forty years immediately subsequent to the fall of the proper Roman empire, will enable the reader to estimate the state of affairs, when, after the death of Anastasius, Justin, then *præfectus prætorio*, was by the soldiers of the houshold proclaimed emperour. He was of an obscure family in Thrace, but having in the army, into which he entered as a common soldier, raised himself by signal proofs of courage and address, he at length became *præfectus prætorio*. But scarcely was he seated in the throne, when a conspiracy was formed against him by several relations of the deceased emperour; but it being detected, the authors of it were publickly executed. In the following year, the orthodox bishops were restored to their sees, and the doctrine of Eutyches was condemned in several synods. Two years after this, Cabades, king of Persia, formally offered to conclude with Justin a lasting peace, on condition of the emperour's adopting his youngest son Caesrhoes; an offer which, on deliberation, was rejected: offended at which, Cabades immediately entered Iberia in his march to the Roman dominions. Gurgenes, the sovereign of that country, applied

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to Justin, who sent some troops to his assistance, under the conduct of Sittus and the celebrated Belisarius, then a youth; but these were defeated by the Persians under Narses and Aratius, two commanders, who soon after revolted from the Persians, and served under Belisarius in Italy. Justin was sufficiently pleased with the conduct of Belisarius, to give him the command of the forces in Daras on the frontiers of Persia. In five hundred and twenty-five, Justin deprived the Arians of all the churches in his dominions. In the same year, the cities of Corinth, Epidamnus, Anazarbus in Cilicia, and Antioch, were almost destroyed by an earthquake; at which calamity the emperour was so affected, that he laid aside his diadem, and appeared for several days in sackcloth; nor did he at the same time omit to restore, at a vast expense, the dilapidated cities. In the year five hundred and twenty-seven, Justin declared his nephew Justinian his partner in the empire: four months after which the emperour died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, having reigned nine years. It is remarkable that this monarch, having been employed when a boy in keeping cattle, could neither write or read.

A. D. 527.

A war with the Persians breaks out, and is concluded by a peace. Insurrection in Constantinople suppressed. Africa recovered to the empire. State of affairs in the kingdom of Italy. Justinian begins a war for the recovery of it. The success of Belisarius, and his recall.

Justinian, now sole emperour, was soon involved in further hostilities with the Persians, by beginning to erect another fort on the frontiers. The war being commenced, he appointed Belisarius general of the East, who soon after gained a considerable victory over the Persians. Similar success attended the Roman arms in Armenia; when the two brothers Narses and Aratius, already mentioned, deserted the Persians, and came over to the Romans, then masters of the greater part of their native country, Pers-Armenia. Justinian's proposals for an accommodation being rejected, the Persians being joined by a very great multitude of Saracens, endeavoured to break into Syria, but the very able conduct of Belisarius prevented them from accomplishing their purpose. The year ensuing, Justinian repeated his proposals for peace, which were, though very reasonable, again rejected by Cabades. But that monarch dying, and Justinian making use of a stratagem to intimidate the Persians, their generals agreed to a truce, which was quickly after converted into a peace; the first condition of which was, that the Roman emperour should pay to Cosrhoes, who had succeeded his father

Cabades, a thousand pound weight of gold. About the same time, the populace of Constantinople having taken great offence at the *præfectus prætorio* and the *questor*, compelled a nephew of the emperour Anastasius, named Hypatius, to assume the purple, and solemnly proclaimed him emperour. Justinian's alarm at the insurrection was such, that the courage of his empress Theodora alone prevented him from having recourse to flight. But the rebels being unable to force their way into the palace, Belisarius happily arrived in the city with a body of troops from the Persian war; and being joined by the governour of Illyricum with a band of Heruli, fell immediately on the unarmed multitude, put above thirty thousand of them to the sword, took prisoners Hypatius and another of the emperour's nephews, named Pompeius, who were both, by the orders of Justinian, beheaded. This insurrection suppressed, the emperour turned his whole attention to what he had long meditated, the war with the Vandals in Africa. The management of this he committed to the great Belisarius, by whose conduct that province was recovered to the empire. The war in which this was accomplished, was succeeded by one against the Goths in Italy. Among these, Theodoric the Great on his death had left his kingdom of Italy and all his other dominions to Athalaric, his grandson by his youngest daughter Amalasuntha. But he, at the time of Theodoric's decease, being no more than ten years old, his mother, highly commended by the writers of the times for both her abilities and amiable qualities, assumed the administration of the kingdom: this she carried on with much prudence and equity, but was opposed by the chiefs of the Goths in the education which she gave her son, they not being yet sufficiently civilized to set any value on the literature with which she endeavoured to have his mind enriched. By the vehemence with which they demanded that the young king should have companions of his own nation given him, she was compelled to dismiss his tutors, and so far yield him up to their direction, that, freed from restraint and seduced by vicious companions, he fell into a course of vice and debauchery, and became alienated from one of the best of mothers. The profligate life of Athalaric having brought on him a lingering distemper, Amalasuntha, apprehensive of the danger in which she

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might, in case of his decease, find herself, from the resentment of the chiefs of the Goths, determined to save herself by delivering Italy into the hands of the emperour. But the measures which she had commenced for this purpose, were all defeated by the death of her son, which took place in the eighth year of his reign. On this, she conceived the purpose of raising to the throne a man, who would, from gratitude for his elevation, permit her to enjoy the supreme power uncontrouled. But very inconsistently with the penetration which she had hitherto manifested, she fixt her choice upon a first cousin of her own, named Theodatus, who, though a man of learning and unacquainted with business, timorous and indolent, in all which respects he was adapted to her design, yet he was destitute of probity and even honour, and capable of the vilest actions, when under the influence of his own passions, or urged to them by others.

A. D. 534.

A. D. 534. This man, on his swearing that he would permit her to enjoy her former authority, Amalasuntha took as her colleague; and he soon recompensed her credulity by first sending her into banishment, and then permitting her to be put to death. This step afforded a plea to Justinian for making war on the Goths, his troops being then just returned from expelling the Vandals from Africa. To facilitate his new undertaking, the emperour entered into an alliance with the Franks, and sent them a considerable sum, with the promise of an handsome subsidy, as soon as they should enter on hostilities. This honest nation received the money, entered into the alliance, and promised to assist the emperour to the utmost of their power; but with their characteristick treachery, while Justinian's arms were engaged with the Goths, Theodebert, who was deemed the head of the royal family, being the son of Theodoric, or, as the French mutilate it, Thierri, the eldest son of Clovis, seized on several cities in Liguria, on the Cottian Alps, and great part of the province of Venice, for himself. This treachery of his good ally, however, prevented not the success of Justinian's undertaking. The victorious Belisarius was entrusted with the supreme command and an unlimited commission, and having reduced Sicily with great expedition, he passed from thence to the continent, where Reggio opened its gates to him; and several provinces readily submitting, he proceeded towards Rome,

taking on his way Naples, after a siege of twenty days. Theodatus, alarmed at the progress of Belisarius, opened negociations with Justinian, in which he went so far as to offer the resignation of his kingdom; but, on some temporary success, these were broken off. The Goths in the mean time, finding Belisarius determined to expell them from Italy, with one consent deposed their cowardly king, and chose an individual, named Vitiges, who had signalized himself by his valour, in his room: he soon caused the deposed prince to be put to death, and then applied himself with great activity to restore the affairs of his nation, and among other measures, placed in Rome itself a garrison of Goths. But when Belisarius came before that city, the inhabitants, dreading the fate which they heard Naples had undergone, opened their gates to him; and thus was this metropolis restored to the empire, sixty years after it had been taken by Odoacer, and thirty-four after it had submitted to Theodoric. From this time the war in Italy continued with various success; the imperial troops continuing under the command of Belisarius, until, having recovered Ravenna and got Vitiges into his hands, in the year five hundred and forty, he was recalled by Justinian, on Cosrhoes, king of Persia, entering the Roman dominions with a very powerfull army.

A. D. 536.

A. D. 537.

Persian war renewed. Antioch taken and destroyed by Cosrhoes. An ineffectual truce concluded: after more operations, another truce, which is quickly broken; and at length Justinian buys a third for five years.

It was in the year five hundred and forty-one that Belisarius returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the same year is remarkable for having been the last that was marked by consuls; time from thenceforth being noted by the years of the emperours reigns. During the war in Italy, the Hunns passed the Danube into Illyricum, and ravaging the whole country, returned unmolested, carrying off a great booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. The Armenians, too, shaking off the Roman yoke, gained some advantages over the imperial forces. Encouraged by this, and a rumour that Justinian had dismissed Belisarius from his command, Cosrhoes, in defiance of the treaty some years before concluded, bent his march towards Syria; and having, as he passed, plundered several cities, he besieged and took Antioch, and relinquishing it to his soldiers, they spared neither age or sex; and when the city had been completely stripped of every thing valuable, it was set on fire, and none of the buildings, even without the walls, spared by the

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relentless enemy. When Cosrhoes had thus enriched himself with the spoils he had taken, he began to listen to proposals of accommodation; and a treaty was concluded, by which Justinian was bound to pay not only a large sum at the present, but an annual pension to the Persian. Yet in his retreat Cosrhoes scrupled not to plunder the cities of Apamea and Chalcis, and lay waste Mesopotamia. Convinced by this that he would adhere to no treaties, Justinian committed to Belisarius the conduct of the war against him. But while the preparations were in progress, Lazica, formerly a part of Colchis, situate between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and which was governed by its own kings, under the protection of the emperour of the East, and on the throne of which at this time sat Gubazes, who had faithfully adhered to the interest of the Romans, revolted to the Persians, on account of the enormous exactions imposed on it by the commander of the Roman troops there cantoned to awe the Iberians. Unapprised of this revolt, Belisarius marched directly into Assyria, and ravaged it; but the season obliged him to withdraw his army from the enemy's country. The next Cosrhoes would have reached Palæstine, and plundered that, but was prevented by Belisarius. But this able commander being again sent into Italy, and a great advantage being gained by a small body of Persians over a much larger number of Romans, Cosrhoes invaded Mesopotamia, but not meeting with success, he agreed to a truce for five years. Soon after the conclusion of which, distrustfull of the fidelity of the Lazicans, he would have murdered their sovereign and transplanted the people; but his design being discovered, they again had recourse to the protection of Justinian; by which the war was renewed, and after a variety of success, though on the whole preponderating in favour of the Romans, again suspended by a five years truce; which Justinian purchased with a vast sum, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained in Italy.

A. D 541. Occurrences in Italy. Persian war renewed, and peace again made. Invasion of the

In the country just mentioned, after the recall of Belisarius, the Goths chose for their king Ildebald, governour of Verona, who after some success against the imperial forces, was murdered by one of his own guards. On his death his subjects chose for his successor a Rugian, named Eraric. The Rugians were a Gothic tribe, but

differing in manners and customs from the Ostrogoths. With the government of this new sovereign, who was privately treating for the surrender of his kingdom to Justinian, the Goths soon became discontented, and murdering him, proclaimed Totila, a nephew of Ildebald. Under the conduct of this commander, and through the most infamous misbehaviour and cowardice of nearly all the emperour's generals, the Goths repeatedly defeated the Romans; recovered several provinces, and even the city of Naples; when Belisarius, recalled from Persia, again arrived in Italy: but for want of supplies was unable to prevent Totila from besieging, and at length taking Rome, where the Gothic king spared the lives of the inhabitants, but permitted the city to be plundered for several days. After which, finding Justinian did not accept his proffers of alliance, he determined to demolish it; but after having thrown down one-third of the wall, he was, by the representations of Belisarius, prevailed on to let it stand, though he took from it every inhabitant. After his departure, Belisarius led his small army to the deserted capital, and clearing the ditch which Totila had filled up, and stopping the breaches in the wall with loose stones for the present, when in five-and-twenty days only this work was accomplished, and great store of provisions was brought to the city by water, the ancient inhabitants returned by flocks, and were kindly received by Belisarius, who restored to each his house and possessions, and promised all who settled there an immunity from taxes. On advice of this, Totila returned, and most furiously attacked the city; but was valiantly repulsed by the Romans, animated by the example of Belisarius. Four consequent days did the Goths exert their utmost to conquer the dauntless resolution of their opponents; but fruitless were all their attempts: so that at length Totila drew off his army, and left Belisarius at leisure to complete the fortifications of Rome; having done which, he once more sent the keys to the emperour. The reinforcements which Belisarius received being so inconsiderable as not to enable him to meet the Goths in the field, he achieved nothing more, ere he was by Justinian recalled to Constantinople. The truce with the Persians having expired, they again invaded Lazica, where the Romans behaved with such cowardice, as to induce Gubazes, the king, to inform

Hunns repelled by Belisarius.
Belisarius disgraced, and then restored.
Death of Justinian.

A. D. 547.

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Justinian of their shamefull conduct. Incensed at this, with a cruel treachery consistent with their cowardice, after falsely accusing him to the emperour, they murdered him. Justly indignant at this, the Lazicans would have revolted to the Persians, but Justinian appeased them by publickly executing all accessory to the murder, and having the king's brother proclaimed for his successor. The Persians in the mean time meeting with a severe defeat, Cosrhoes sent embassadors to sue for peace; which was concluded on terms equally honourable to both parties. About the same time, Constantinople was again visited by a pestilence, which swept off many thousands. And in the same year, five hundred and fifty-eight, the Hunns passing the Danube in the depth of winter, ravaged the country unopposed, to within a few miles of that city. But Belisarius, though now so enfeebled by age as to be scarcely able to use shield or sword, marched out against them with an handfull of men, and put them to flight. To prevent their return, the emperour agreed to make them an annual payment, on condition of their defending the empire against all other barbarians, and serving, when required, in the Roman armies. Belisarius, on his return from his defeat of the Hunns, was, on some malicious suggestions of his enemies, divested by the jealous emperour of all his employments: but in the year following, Justinian, convinced of his innocence, restored them to him, and he continued to enjoy them until his death. However, near this time a real conspiracy was formed against the emperour by three of his chief officers; but being detected, one of them fell by his own hand, and the rest by that of the executioner. The emperour, though he escaped, did not long survive this conspiracy, dying sud-

A. D. 565.

denly, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. Pious, prudent, just, and mercifull, munificent in his publick works, successfull in war, indefatigable as a legislator,* Justinian deservedly obtained the name of

* In the very beginning of his reign, he published an edict for the compilation of a new code of laws: for this work he selected the most learned men of the age, the head of whom was the celebrated civilian Tribonianus, and who were directed to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes; and join to them such as had been published by Theo-

Occurrences in Britain.

Great. Nor did the grandeur of the empire, which seemed to revive during his reign, continue long after it.

Occurrences in the East being thus far recounted, those in the West previous to this period, that have not yet been noticed, now claim the reader's attention. The last of the Saxon kingdoms in Britain, of which the establishment has yet been noticed, was that of Northumberland, in the year five hundred and forty-seven. In that of five hundred and sixty-one, Ethelbert began to reign in Kent, who first excited civil wars among the Saxons themselves, by attempting to support by arms a claim of authority over the rest, as

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dosius the younger, and the other lawfull emperours his successors, down to Justinian himself. Whatever seemed superfluous in these laws was to be retrenched, with the prefaces, their meaning was to be rendered clearer, and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time, and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form was the new code compiled in little more than a year. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of fifty-four emperours, from Adrian to Justinian. Not satisfied with the code alone, this emperour undertook a far more difficult work, that of the collection and methodical digestion of the opinions of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the Roman laws, especially on the *edictum perpetuum*, their different treatises, &c., in all above two thousand volumes. This difficult task was completed in three years by Tribonianus, and sixteen other civilians, and was called by the Latins *digesta*, but by the Greeks *pandectæ*, as containing all the ancient jurisprudence. When this great work was nearly completed, Justinian ordered Tribonianus, Theophilus, and Dorodeus, to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the *institutes*, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the pandects. As many things were found wanting in the code, and Justinian himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the year 534 he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions enacted since the publication of the first, and by which several others contained in the former were corrected or annulled. This second code, entitled *de repetitâ prælectione*, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, annulling the first, and forbidding any laws to be cited in the courts of justice that were not contained in the new code. Thus was all authority restrained to that code, which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperours. After the publication of the institutes, pandects, and code, Justinian enacted several laws, which were collected in a distinct volume, and called the *novellæ constitutiones*. These, some few excepted which were in the Latin, were published at various times by Justinian in the Greek tongue, and collected into a volume after his decease.

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holding the most ancient Saxon kingdom. By the help of these civil contests among the Saxons, the Britons lived for the space of forty-four years unmolested by their common enemy. But the peace they thus enjoyed proved more pernicious than any war, from the general corruption of manners which ensued, and which infected the princes and clergy, and consequently, we may justly say, the people. About the year five hundred and seventy-five began, as is supposed, the kingdom of the East Angles, comprising the present counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely. It was founded by Uffa, who drove out of Norfolk and Suffolk several petty princes, who had settled there before him, and reigned alone with considerable reputation. And now the Saxons, who had been for so many years either inactive or engaged in civil wars, began afresh to harass the Britons, and in a few years expelled them from all that part of the island now known by the name of England. About the year five hundred and eighty-five, was founded by Crida the seventh kingdom of the Saxons in this island, and denominated Mercia; and which was the largest which they had. It comprehended seventeen counties; those of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Stafford, Salop, Nottingham, Derby, Chester, and Hertford. After the establishment of this kingdom, the Britons yet gained one battle against the Saxons; but small was their advantage from it; since, being daily more pressed and harassed on one side by the Scots and Picts, and on the other by the Saxons, they were at length compelled to abandon their ancient seats, and the bulk of them to flee into the part of the island which the Latins called Cambria, and the English, Wales; which they divided into six districts, each at first governed by its own monarch. Yet some went only into Cornwall, while others passed the sea into Armorica; and such as remained among the Saxons, were treated by them as slaves.

Transactions in France.

While these things passed in Britain, in the neighbouring land of Gaul Theodobert, the son of Thierri, king of the Franks, having obtained from Justinian a concession of all the provinces in that country which had been yielded to the Ostrogoths, all claims of the

emperours to any part of Gaul being extinct, it was universally considered as the patrimony of the Franks, and therefore may henceforth be denominated France. While Belisarius was carrying on the war already noticed against the Goths in Italy, Theodobert entered that country at the head of an hundred thousand men, and successively attacking both Goths and Romans, he plundered Genoa and then retired into France. The Franks having now no foreign war on hand, their kings began to quarrel among themselves. Clotaire, the youngest son of Clovis, invaded the territories of his brother Childebert, but ere they came to any engagement, a peace was concluded on equal terms. After this, the brothers united in an attack on the Visigoths; and entering Spain, were deservedly defeated. Italy now attracted the attention of this restless race; and Theodobert conceived the design of overthrowing both Goths and Romans, and establishing the empire of the Franks in Italy; but in the midst of his vast designs, this ambitious and unprincipled prince was, happily for his neighbours, removed by death. His son Theodebalde, or Thibaut, who succeeded him, had a short and inactive reign; during which his generals who entered Italy were checked by the brave Narses. On his death, his uncle Clotaire, king of Soissons, contrived to get possession of his kingdom; in the possession of which he was disturbed by the rebellion of the Saxons who were settled in his dominions, and by that of his own eldest son; both encouraged by the intrigues of his brother Childebert, who had reason to complain of his seizing the whole of their nephew's dominions, which, by the laws of succession then prevalent in France, ought to have been divided between his uncles. To the opposition of Childebert, however, an end was soon put by his death; in consequence of which Clotaire united in his own possession all the dominions of Clovis. Having after this pardoned his son, and had that pardon returned by a second rebellion, in which that son and his family perished, this king died, after a reign of fifty years. Soon after the decease of Clotaire, who left four sons, Chilperic, the youngest of them, seized his treasures and his throne, but was soon obliged to relinquish it, and submit to have his dominions divided by lot; when to Caribert, the eldest, fell the kingdom of Paris; to Gontran, the second, Orleans;

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Sigebert had Metz, or the kingdom of Austrasia; and Chilperic, Soissons. Sigebert was soon forced to exert himself to repell an invasion menaced by a tribe of Hunns; but while he was thus employed, his brother Chilperic seized several places in his dominions; in return for which he besieged and took Soissons, and, defeating Chilperic himself, became master of the greater part of his territories; but restored all on the interposition of his eldest brothers. Sigebert, perceiving that his brothers had lowered their fame by their unequal marriages, took to wife a daughter of Athanagilde, king of the Visigoths. Soon after, his eldest brother Caribert dying, his dominions, except the city of Paris, which was reserved as common to all, were divided among the surviving brethren. Among these a war was afterwards excited by the infamous conduct of Chilperic, in murdering his wife, the sister of Sigebert's queen, who called on both her own husband and Gontran, king of Orleans, or, as he was now stiled, of Burgundy, to do justice on the nefarious wretch. But though the confederate kings quickly conquered a great part of Chilperic's dominions, a peace was suddenly concluded, on condition that Sigebert's queen should have the places which had been bestowed on her sister. The Hunns again invading Austrasia, Sigebert by presents prevailed on them to retreat. After which, the brothers were sometimes at war, sometimes at peace with each other; till at length in a war with Chilperic, and besieging him in Tournay,

A. D. 575. Sigebert was assassinated by two wretches hired by the wife of Chilperic, who had previously been his mistress. Fredegonde, for that was the name of this detestable woman, would not only have seized the widow and children of Sigebert, but wished to cut off the sons of Chilperic by his first wife; the eldest of whom without his father's consent married the widow of Sigebert, and that prince soon fell by the hands of an assassin. But a pestilence afterwards swept away her own three sons. This humbled not her heart; she procured the assassination of her husband's only remaining son Clovis, and that of the wife he had banished to make way for her. Still the widow and eldest son of Sigebert had got out of her reach. The latter of these, whose name was Childebert, was fixed on the throne of Austrasia, and his uncle Gontran, king of Burgundy, considered him as his

heir. The intrigues, however, in the court of Metz, brought about a confederacy between young Childebert and his uncle Chilperic against his uncle Gontran; who was compelled to purchase peace from them on hard terms. But another war soon took place, which not being to the advantage of the allies, was soon ended by another peace. But now, by the sway which his mother Brunehaut had gained in the cabinet of Childebert, he entered into a close alliance with the king of Burgundy, with the purpose of taking from Chilperic the greater part of his dominions: but the last, while his affairs were in this critical situation, was slain by the hand of an assassin. After his death, Fredegonde, his widow, who was left with a son about four months old, applied for and obtained the protection of Gontran; and a plot being discovered for setting up another monarch, the king of Burgundy so explained to him of Metz the treachery of those around him, that the uncle and nephew were sincerely reconciled. Gontran now feeling himself secure of his nephew Childebert, to put the affairs of Soissons in some order appointed there a council of regency. About this time, too, he engaged in a war with the Visigoths, in which, though little successfull, he persisted for some years. In the mean time he endeavoured to keep both the queen dowagers in strict dependence on him, while they both endeavoured to raise his suspicions of each other; which was the less difficult, as both his brothers Sigebert and Chilperic had died by assassination.* While Gontran was embarrassed with his Spanish war, Childebert accepted a subsidy from the emperour to assist in expelling the Lombards from Italy, in which work meeting with but little success, he scrupled not to receive money for truces from the other side, and at length concluded a peace with them, by which he secured an annual subsidy. During these foreign wars the court of Metz was distracted by factions, and two grand conspiracies in particular were detected. In the year five

* It may give the reader some idea of the misery and malignity of these times to state, that when the embassadors of Childebert were once expostulating with Gontran, they told him, that he ought to soften his language, and give their master satisfaction, since the poinards were not yet lost that had been exercised in correcting his brethren.

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hundred and ninety-three died Gontran, king of Burgundy, in the thirty-third year of his reign; and Childebert by his will succeeded to his dominions, comprehending all that was then called Burgundy, with the kingdom of Orleans, with part of that of Paris and its dependencies: but Soissons and some other places fell under the dominion of Clotaire, the son of Chilperic. This gave rise to a war between Childebert and Fredegonde, the mother of Clotaire, in which the former was defeated; though against the Varnes, a barbarous nation dwelling about Leyden, which she had excited against him, he was more fortunate, since he absolutely extirpated them. Soon after which success he breathed his last, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign.

A. D. 596.

Childebert's eldest son, Theodobert, then in the eleventh year of his age, was, on his father's death, declared king of Austrasia, and Thierri, his brother, who was one year younger, was sent to reside at Orleans, with the title of king of Burgundy; while their mother Brunehaut governed both kingdoms with the most absolute authority. On the other hand, Fredegonde seized this opportunity of making herself mistress of Paris, and some other places of importance on the Seine; and on Brunehaut's ordering forces to retake them, she met and gave them a total defeat; but the probable consequences of this victory were prevented by her death. Brunehaut thus delivered from her rival, governed absolutely; and while she seemed to be desirous of preserving their dominions in perfect peace, until her grandsons came to an age to govern for themselves, she neglected to cultivate the mind of Theodobert, but took pains to indulge his foibles. But her permitting him to marry an handsome slave of his father's, proved in time fatal to herself: for this young woman having completely gained the king's affections, by the persuasion of the ambitious nobility undermined his grandmother in his opinion; and upon some commotions, which were laid to the charge of Brunehaut, she prevailed on the king to consent to her being banished: on which she withdrew to Thierri, king of Burgundy, who received her very kindly. Here, far from endeavouring to excite a dislike to his brother, she engaged Thierri to attempt the recovery of Paris, and the other places on the Seine, which had been

torn from his family on the death of his father. Theodobert, pleased with this measure, joined the king of Burgundy with a numerous army, and they attacked Clotaire, whose army in an obstinate and bloody battle was almost destroyed. In consequence of the greatness of his loss, he was obliged to cede to the brothers the best part of his dominions, while he held the remainder by a very precarious tenure. Three years after this, Clotaire took what he thought a favourable opportunity of renewing the war; when, in a battle near Estampes, his army was completely beaten. Yet the greatness of this victory seems to have saved him; since it so excited the jealousy of Theodobert against his brother, that he offered Clotaire such terms of peace as he readily accepted: when, being freed from danger on one side, he soon compelled the king of Burgundy to come also to an accommodation. Thierri being much provoked at his brother's conduct, Brunehaut, who had never forgiven Theodobert, inflamed his resentment against him, and a war was commenced against the king of Austrasia; but by the representations of the nobility of Burgundy, and the more decisive interference of the soldiers, Thierri was induced to conclude a peace. A. D. 605. But here, having brought the affairs of France down to the close of the present period, the transactions in Spain until that time must next be noticed.

Transactions in Spain.

On the decease of Theodoric the Great, and the succession of Athalaric to his dominions, to prevent any disputes between him and Amalaric the king of the Visigoths, it was agreed, that the river Rhône should be the common boundary of their territories; that no part of the revenue of Spain should any longer be remitted to Italy; and that the treasures which Theodoric had removed should be restored. After thus settling his affairs, Amalaric married Clotilda, daughter of Clovis, king of the Franks. But the ill usage which, because she would not apostatize to the arian heresy, she received from Amalaric and his subjects, brought on them the arms of her brother Childebert, in the war with whom the Gothic monarch was slain. A. D. 531. In him the royal family of the Goths becoming extinct, the monarchy became elective. The first who mounted the throne by the choice of the nobility was Theudis, who had so ably governed the kingdom during the minority of the deceased prince. He

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endeavoured to recover the places which the Franks had wrested from the Visigoths, which brought Childebert and Clotaire into Spain, from whence, however, they scarcely secured a retreat. After being engaged in another war, with either the Franks or the emperour, in which he suffered disgrace, Theudis fell by assassination. To succeed their murdered king, the nobility elected Theodisele, the commander of the army, whose reign lasted not a year and an half; his conduct proving so flagitious, that some about his person slew him at a banquet. The conspirators immediately placed Agila on the throne: this hasty step displeased many of the nobility, and his irregular conduct increased the number of his opponents; until endeavouring to reduce by force the citizens of Cordova, he was by them defeated. This ill success excited other revolts; of which a noble, but very ambitious Goth, named Athanagilde, took advantage, to get himself invited to take the lead, and be proclaimed king. To accomplish his views he applied to the emperour for assistance; by the aid of whose forces he defeated Agila; on which the nobility about this last removed him, as his predecessor had been taken away, and Athanagilde was proclaimed king. Thus fixed in the throne, he established his residence at Toledo; and finding the Romans increasing their acquisitions, and not to be prevailed on to stop in them, he had at length recourse to force, and soon deprived them of all their new conquests: after which he reigned in peace for thirteen years. On his death ensued an interregnum of five months; at the end of which Liuva, or, as he is generally termed Liuba, at that time governour of the Gothic provinces in Gaul, was placed on the throne. High stood the character of this man, and, it should seem, deservedly; for that both parts of his dominions might be secure, he proposed that his brother Leovigilde should be associated with him in the regal dignity, that the Visigoths in both Spain and Gaul might have a resident prince among them. Having obtained this, he himself preserved his subjects in the last in peace and prosperity to the time of his death. Neither did his brother Leovigilde rule with less reputation in Spain. Having augmented his influence by marrying the widow of the late king, he took from the Romans many cities and fortresses. When he became sole monarch of the Goths, he, with

A. D. 548.
A. D. 549.
A. D. 554.
A. D. 567.
A. D. 572.

the consent of the nobility, proclaimed his sons Hermenigilde and Rechared princes of the Goths: after which he reduced the province of Cantabria, then very large. Having subdued, too, the inhabitants of the mountainous districts in the heart of his dominions, he married his eldest son to a French princess; who persuading her husband to renounce the Arian heresy, occasioned a civil war between his father and him, in which the latter being reduced to submission, was stripped of all the ensigns of royalty, and sent prisoner to Toledo; still, however, remaining firm in his faith. On the other hand, his father proceeded by degrees to persecute all the Catholicks; a measure which led to the emigration of great multitudes of the Vascons, inhabiting the countries of Guipuscoa, Navarre, and Jacca; who, in defiance of all resistance, took possession of part of Aquitaine, which from them obtained the name of Vasconia, or, according to the French pronunciation, Gascony. Hermenigilde having made his escape from imprisonment, again took arms for his own defence, but fell again into his father's hands; and, because he was inflexible in adhering to the Catholick doctrine, was put to death. After this, Leovigilde added by conquest the dominions of the Suevi to those of the Goths, and his son Rechared having repelled two invasions of the Franks, Leovigilde sunk under his age and infirmities, and died, most probably, in the year five hundred and eighty-five, having reigned eighteen years.

Rechared, the surviving son of the last monarch, found no obstacle to his mounting his father's throne. He quickly concluded a peace with Childebert, king of Austrasia: but Gontran, king of Burgundy, refusing to listen to any terms, hostilities continued with him, and a considerable victory was obtained by the Goths. Of the additional influence which this gave him, Rechared took advantage to propose the introduction of, what he himself had long professed, the Catholick faith throughout his dominions; and his proposal was received with all outward marks of approbation. Yet by the Arians several conspiracies were formed against his person and government: in one of which the queen dowager was concerned, and after the detection of it died, through either remorse or despair. Gontran rejecting fresh offers of peace from the king of the Visigoths, his army received so

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considerable a defeat as rendered him more reasonable, and a treaty was accordingly concluded. To settle the affairs of the church Rechared summoned a council at Toledo, in which several canons were agreed on; and the renunciation of Arianism by the Goths made a national act. After chastizing some incursions of the subjects of the emperour, and repressing one of the Gascons, he turned his attention to a revision of the Gothic laws; and while employed in this he was seized by his last illness, and died in the year six hundred and one. After his death Liuva, the eldest of his three sons, though but twenty years of age, was elected king in his room: but the treacherous Witeric, whose life his father had spared, being entrusted with an army for the expulsion of the imperialists from Spain, corrupted the principal officers, and with their assistance not only deposed the king, but cut off his right hand, imprisoned, and put him to death. Witeric was immediately declared king by his party, and prosecuted the war against the imperialists, so as to reduce them to great distress, and gain himself reputation with the populace. Soon after this his vanity was highly flattered, by a proposal from Theodoric, king of Burgundy, to marry his daughter, and by this alliance bury in perpetual oblivion the feuds which had so long subsisted between the Franks and the Visigoths. This proposal Witeric readily accepted; and sent the daughter demanded into France, with a numerous and magnificent equipage. Which transaction bringing the history of Spain to the end of our sixth period, we must here quit it, to resume the relation of the affairs of Italy.

On the departure of Belisarius, as has been related, Totila pursued his conquests. But now the Franks, who by their treaty with the Goths were bound to assist them against the Romans, and by that with the Romans to stand neuter, thinking both nations greatly weakened, seized the opportunity of falling on both. In the mean time Totila, reinforced by six thousand Lombards, under one of their princes, invested Rome again, and the city was again betrayed by the Isaurians: but on his obtaining possession of it, Totila, instead of destroying it according to his former purpose, repaired at a great expence what he had before injured, replaced the senate in their ancient rank and splendour, invited the citizens to take

possession of their estates, supplied the city with plenty of provisions, and replenished it with Goths and Italians. Thus master of Rome again, Totila again offered to assist the emperour as a faithful ally against every other nation, on condition of his relinquishing Italy to him: but Justinian would not even grant an audience to his embassadors. On this, determined to pursue the war still more vigorously, Totila, after taking Tarentum, passed over into Sicily, ravaging it with fire and sword. Justinian made great preparations to stop his progress; but, by a course of most unfavourable incidents, had his plans so disconcerted, that Totila reduced the whole of that island, and returned to Italy loaded with booty. Early in the spring the Sclavi passing the Danube, broke into the Roman provinces, thus impeding the advance of the imperial forces on their march to Italy; yet by detachments from these they were forced to repass the river. Narses was now appointed by Justinian to take the chief command of all his forces on the Western service. But while he was preparing for this, Totila's fleet plundered the coasts of Greece and Epirus. But before Ancona, to which the Goths had laid siege, a squadron of their ships was defeated by the Romans, and the siege, consequently, raised with loss: while Artabanes, to whom Justinian had entrusted the command of the armament against Sicily, recovered from the Goths all the castles they held in that island. These losses induced Totila to offer to cede Sicily and Dalmatia to the emperour, to hold Italy by a tribute, and assist him faithfully in all his wars: but the embassadors with this proffer were not admitted to the presence of Justinian. His terms being rejected, Totila anew prepared for prosecuting the war, and took both the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. But on the continent Narses advancing with a numerous army towards Rome, to him Totila opposed himself, but was in a pitched battle defeated, and mortally wounded of which wound he in a few hours expired. The Goths, who were happy enough to escape the swords of the Romans, retreated beyond the Po to Ticinum, now Pavia, where they chose for their king an individual of the name of Teia, deemed one of the most valiant men of their nation. He having collected the Goths dispersed by the late defeat, and secured the treasure his predecessor had left in

A. D. 553.

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Pavia, made a fruitless effort to obtain the assistance of the Franks. In the mean time Narses, informed that Teia was drawing together his countrymen, detached part of his army to impede this, while he with the rest marched towards Rome; and having during his march taken several towns, he at length made himself master of that capital; when he again sent the keys to the emperour. The Goths despairing of retaining Italy, murdered senators, children, and hostages that were in their hands. And Cumæ, whither Teia had removed the greatest part of his royal treasures, becoming now an important object of contention, a general engagement was fought, in which, after having given most admirable proofs of determined valour, Teia was slain; and his army, after sustaining the combat another whole day, on the third laid down their arms, on condition that those who chose to remain in Italy should retain their estates, and the others be at liberty to retire whither they pleased, on engaging never more to bear arms against the Romans: and thus ended the kingdom of the Goths in Italy, after it had continued sixty-four years.

A. D. 553.

Such of the Goths as were in garrison in the strong places, had recourse to the Franks, who, notwithstanding their alliance with the emperour, entered Italy to the amount of sixty thousand men; but this numerous body very deservedly perished, partly by sickness, and partly by the sword; and Narses in the mean time reducing all the garrisons of the Goths, all Italy was again united to the Eastern empire; and Narses was appointed to govern the recovered province; which will therefore in this history be again considered as an integral part of the empire until it was again separated from it. To the continuance of the tale of that empire we must return. On the death of Justinian, Justin, the son of his sister Vigilantia, whom he had designed for his successor, was proclaimed and crowned emperour with great solemnity. To gratify the people, who were much displeased at his predecessor for abolishing the office of consul, Justin restored it, taking on himself that title at the beginning of the following year. During his consulship the Avari or Abari, a Scythian tribe, demanded the pension paid them by Justinian; but the Massagetes, all or some of whom began at this time to be distinguished by

Affairs of the empire; and account of the Lombards, and their invasion of Italy.

the name of Turks, and inhabited the country to the east of the Tanais, pressing the emperour not to comply with this demand, Justin, to the great satisfaction of his subjects, rejected it. But the good opinion which the people hence formed of him, was quickly changed, by proofs he gave of cruelty and avarice: for in the next year he caused a relation of his, named also Justin, to be murdered, solely because he was beloved by the people. The following year was marked by the irruption of the Lombards into Italy. These were a tribe of Goths who emigrated from Scandinavia, and after various wanderings in the time of Odoacer, king of Italy, took possession of the lands to the north of the Danube, from which he had extirpated the nation of the Rugians; and in the reign of Justinian they were permitted to settle in Pannonia. At this time they had a monarch, A. D. 526. named Audoinus, who was succeeded by his son Alboinus, who had gained a high reputation for courage; and who on his accession married a daughter of Clothaire, king of the Franks. The military reputation which Alboinus acquired, induced Narses to court an alliance with him, and solicit his assistance; in consequence of which Alboinus sent him a select body of troops, who distinguished themselves in the battle in which Totila fell. When Narses had expelled the Goths, he sent back his allies, the Lombards, loaded with presents: these continued faithfull to the Romans. But when after the death of Justinian, Narses was, on a charge of aiming at the empire, superseded by Longinus, and had, it is said, been irritated by some opprobrious language of the empress Sophia, he is stated to have encouraged the Lombards to invade Italy. Highly pleased with the opportunity of doing this, Alboinus having obtained from his old allies the Saxons a body of twenty thousand men, and received powerfull succours from several other nations, he left Pannonia to the Hunns, on condition, that should he not succeed in his expedition, the Lombards should be permitted to re-enter on their former possessions. Thus with their wives, their children, and whatever they had of value, the Lombards departed from Pannonia, after continuing there two-and-forty years, and entering Italy without any opposition, the inhabitants of the province of Venetia took refuge in the islands, Aquileia opened its gates to them, as did Forum Julii,

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now Friuli. In this last city Alboinus passed the winter, erecting that and its territory into a dukedom, which it has continued ever since. The next campaign he proceeded in his conquests; and in the third he entered Liguria, the inhabitants of which retired to the mountains; while taking possession of the towns quite to the Alps, he after a short siege obtained also the capital, Milan: on the reduction of which the Lombards saluted him king of Italy:* and from this time, that is from the year five hundred and seventy, is dated the commencement of the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy. From Milan, Alboinus marched to Pavia, and while one part of his forces besieged that, he with the rest reduced the inland cities of Æmilia and Tuscany, and thence proceeded into Umbria; whence, having reduced Spoleto, which he made the metropolis of it, he returned to the siege of Pavia. This city being strongly fortified, held out for more than three years; then Alboinus, on account of its strength and convenient situation, chose it for the place of his residence, and it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the Lombards. Alboinus, now master of so much of Italy as comprized Venetia, Liguria, Æmilia, Hetruria, and Umbria, was thinking of properly regulating these districts ere he attempted further conquests, when he was assassinated through a plot of his wife, whom he had cruelly ordered to drink out of a cup made of her father's skull. Rosamund, for such was the queen's name, married the principal assassin; with whom, however, she was obliged to flee to the exarch Longinus; and he having a design of seizing the kingdom of Italy for himself, persuaded her to poison her new husband, that she might marry him: but in doing that she was detected, and compelled to swallow so much of the venomous draught herself, that she, as well as her husband, expired in a few hours.

Pers-Armenia submits to Justin, who is seized with insanity: Tiberius appointed regent: a truce with Persia: the war renewed: death of Cosrhoes: that of Justin:

For the loss which has been thus related of so great a part of Italy, some amends were made by the acquisition of Pers-Armenia, the inhabitants of which being persecuted by the Persians for the

* On this occasion, according to their national custom, they lifted him upon a shield in the midst of the army, and presented him with a lance, among them the ensign of royalty.

profession of Christianity, submitted on certain stipulations to the Roman emperour. But this involved the last in a war with Cosrhoes, the success of whom, added to that of the Lombards in Italy, so affected Justin, that he was seized with insanity; when, by the influence of the empress Sophia, Tiberius, a Thracian, who had discharged with great reputation the first employments of the state, was, with the consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. This regent immediately sent an individual named Trajan, of singular address, with a letter from the empress to Cosrhoes so ably penned, that on weighing its contents he consented to a truce for three years. The following year Justin, by the advice of his empress, raised Tiberius to the dignity of Cæsar, resigning to him the whole management of affairs. Tiberius having in vain endeavoured to change the truce with Persia into a peace, when Cosrhoes renewed the war, sent Justinian, the brother of that Justin whom the emperour at the beginning of his reign had murdered from jealousy, with a numerous army to meet the Persian monarch, whom he overthrew; and Cosrhoes was so afflicted at the loss and disgrace, that he fell sick and died, after a glorious reign of forty-eight years: while Justinian entered and ravaged Persia for some time. In the ensuing year the emperour Justin died, after a reign of nearly seventeen years: on his decease, Tiberius was by the senate and people declared emperour. The new sovereign having incurred the hatred of the empress Sophia by not marrying her, she attempted to raise Justinian to the empire; in consequence of which the last was removed from his command in the East, and Mauritius, an officer of high character for principle as well as courage, sent to succeed him. This new commander finding Hormisda, the successor of Cosrhoes, deaf to all proposals of peace, came by a rapid march unexpectedly on the Persian army under the command of the king himself, totally defeated it, and took their camp with all the royal treasure, and an incredible number of prisoners; whom Tiberius, having handsomely clothed them, suffered to return to Persia. On Hormisda this generous behaviour failed of the intended effect, and he sent to the borders two generals at the head of the most numerous army that had for a long time been seen in Persia: but this too Mauritius overthrew, took several castles and

Tiberius succeeds him: Mauritius having been successfull against the Persians, is created Cæsar: peace again concluded with Persia: Tiberius dies.

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towns, enriched his troops with plunder, and took an astonishing number of captives. On his return to court, Tiberius received him with every mark of esteem, and soon after gave him in marriage his daughter Constantia, and raised him to the dignity of Cæsar. Hormisda, disheartened by his losses, now sued for peace, which was at length concluded. The year following, the Avari broke into Pannonia, but hearing the imperial troops were assembling, they retired again beyond the Danube. The next year died the emperour Tiberius, having reigned four years from the death of Justin.

A. D. 586.

Transactions in Italy.

It has been already intimated, that the insanity of Justin was in part brought on by the state of affairs in Italy: these were not improved by the death of Alboinus, or that of his queen; since, though this last induced the exarch Longinus to lay aside his treacherous purpose of making himself king of Italy, and to send the treasure he had obtained of the Lombards to Constantinople, that people proceeded to elect for their sovereign Clephis, a man of great distinction among them, who extended his conquests to the very gates of Rome: but after a short reign of eighteen months, he was, with his wife Messana, murdered, on account of his cruelty, by one of his own people. The cruelty of this monarch gave the Lombards a dislike to regal power so great, that they changed their form of government, and for ten years elected no king, but lived subject to the governours of their cities, under the title of dukes. This division of their conquests into petty states, both prevented them from ever making themselves masters of Italy, and at length occasioned their total ruin; yet did not immediately put a stop to their conquests: for the most powerfull of their dukes uniting their forces, invaded Gaul; where such was their success, that they returned much enriched by their plunder: but on this encouragement repeating the visit, the freebooters were cut off almost to a man. About this time, too, the Saxons who had entered Italy with them, on some difference left that country, but found their ancient seats possessed by the Suani, in striving to dispossess whom they nearly all perished. Three of the Lombard dukes undertook a third expedition into Gaul, and were again so roughly treated, as to be obliged to return through by-ways without their booty. Yet the Lombards extended at the same time

A. D. 576.

their conquests in Italy, and having defeated the forces of Longinus, reduced several cities and other places of less importance. But on the decease of Tiberius, who some time before his death had caused Mauritius to be declared emperour, this prince, alarmed at their progress, recalled Longinus, and to succeed him sent Zamaragdus, a man of great prudence and military skill; who landing with a considerable army at Ravenna, took Broxillus, now Brissello, a place of great strength on the Po; and prevailed on a Suevian high in command among the Lombards to come over to him with a large number of men: Mauritius at the same time by a large sum prevailed on Childebert king of the Franks to engage in the war against the Lombards. This confederacy and the preparations which accompanied it, induced the Lombards to re-establish their ancient form of government, and they unanimously raised Autharis, the son of Clephis, to their throne. His first achievement, which yet from the resolute bravery of the defence proved a difficult one, was the recovery of Brissello: after which he turned his attention to the interior of his kingdom; in which while he continued the dukes in their governments, he made them contribute a moiety of their revenues to the support of the royal dignity, and took of them an oath that they would in time of war assist him to the utmost of their power. Of their dukedoms, however, he did not deprive any, except in cases of treason, nor give them to others, but when their male issue failed: and this was the origin of the ducal fiefs in Italy. All the customs and laws afterwards introduced concerning fiefs are owing to the Lombards, who gave them a regular form; so that among other nations, successions, investitures, and every thing relating to fiefs, were regulated by the laws of Lombardy. Hence sprang a new body of laws, termed feudal. Autharis having arranged things with the dukes, as stated, enacted several wholesome laws for the peace and security of his subjects. He was the first king of the Lombards who embraced Christianity, and his example was followed by most of his subjects. At the end of the winter, which Autharis thus spent in regulating the government of his kingdom, Childebert king of the Franks, having entered Italy in compliance with his treaty with Mauritius, was prevailed on to return home by the presents which

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Autharis sent him; but on the remonstrances of the emperour sent into Italy another army, which the Lombards so utterly defeated, that very few of them reached their own country; and a third body, which was sent to revenge the defeat of the second, returned greatly weakened by distempers, and in the utmost distress for provisions. Autharis, freed from this enemy, proceeded to act wholly against the Romans. The dukedom of Rome and the exarchate, which last consisted of the present Bolognese, Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and great part of Picenum, now La Marca, were governed by Romanus, who had succeeded Zamaragdus. The provinces forming the present kingdom of Naples were still in the hands of the Romans; the chief cities being governed, after the form Longinus had introduced, by their dukes. But the most potent of these, despising the exarchs, ruled with an almost absolute sway, though they acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperour. Autharis, apprized that these cities were but weakly garrisoned, entered Samnium, and reduced it almost unopposed; and afterwards over-ran Calabria even
A. D. 590. to Rhegium: but in the next year, he died by poison administered by an unknown hand, having reigned about six years. The choice of his successor the Lombards referred to his widow Theudelinda, resolving to take for a king whichever of the dukes she chose to marry, and she having selected Agilulf duke of Turin, a man of extraordinary merit, he was crowned king of the Lombards at Milan. Soon after his election, he was persuaded by Theudelinda to renounce the errours of Arius, an example which many of his subjects followed. Romanus, who had succeeded Zamaragdus in the exarchate, seized the opportunity of Agilulf being engaged in reclaiming two rebellious dukes, to infringe the truce which he had lately made, and surprise several cities possessed by the Lombards. But when the king had assembled his forces, he not only recovered these, but marched into the Roman dukedom, and was, by the intercession of Theudelinda only, made at the request of Gregory the Great, then bishop of Rome, prevailed on to grant peace to the inhabitants of Rome: When the prisoners taken were all ransomed by Gregory and the other Catholick bishops. Yet it appears that at this time so relentless were the officers of the emperour in their oppression, that the inha-

bitants of Italy and the adjacent islands suffered more from them than from the Lombards themselves. Soon after this, however, by means of Gregory, a peace was concluded between Agilulf and the exarch Callinicus, who on the death of Romanus had been sent to succeed him. But when Agilulf became involved in another domestick war, Callinicus, following the example of treachery set him by his predecessor, surprised the city of Parma, in which he took a considerable treasure, with the king's daughter and her husband. Enraged at this breach of faith, Agilulf determined to drive the imperialists out of Italy: for this purpose he engaged Chagan, king of the Avari, to make a diversion in Thrace, while he himself prosecuted the war in Italy. The first place he took was Cremona, which he levelled with the ground; from thence he marched to Padua and Mantua, both which were taken, plundered, and laid in ashes. Chagan in the mean time committed dreadfull ravages in Thrace, and over-running, too, Mœsia, approached so near Constantinople as to raise very great alarm, but was obliged by the plague, which in one day swept off seven of his own sons, to retreat. On retiring, he offered to release all his prisoners, in number twelve thousand, at a crown a-head; which the parsimonious Mauritius rejecting, he caused them all to be put to the sword. The exarch Callinicus now dying, Zamaragdus was sent the second time into Italy, with orders to set at liberty the daughter of Agilulf and her husband, and to restore all the treasure seized in Parma: in consequence of which the king granted the Romans a six months truce; at the end of which, on receiving twelve thousand *solidi* from the exarch, he renewed it for a whole year.

On the accession of Mauritius, the Persians renew the war: mutiny in the imperial army: earthquake at Antioch: Hormisda dethroned and put to death: Cosrhoes driven from Persia, but

While these transactions were passing in Italy, Mauritius, whom Tiberius some time before his death had caused, as the person in the whole empire best qualified for that station, to be declared emperour, having mounted the throne, Hormisda, pretending that the treaty made terminated with the life of Tiberius, entered the empire with a powerfull army. With this having overthrown the first commander sent against him, and been twice defeated by the second, when this, too, had in his turn been beaten by the Persians, Mauritius superseded him by Priscus, an officer of great courage and experience, but abhorred by the soldiery

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restored by Mauritius: this emperour dethroned, and Phocas raised to the sovereignty, who has his predecessor cruelly murdered: Phocas congratulated by the bishop of Rome: revolt of Narses: Phocas deceives him into a return, and has him burnt alive: the bishop of Rome made universal bishop.

for his pride and severity. Against him, a few days after his arrival, broke out a general mutiny, and by flight alone he escaped death. The mutineers compelled Germanus, governour of Phœnicia, to assume the command, and under him fought a very successfull action with the Persians. Soon after which, when the mutiny had continued upwards of a year, these pious soldiers, at the intercession of Gregory, bishop of Antioch, submitted to the command of Philippicus, the general whom the emperour had sent, and who led them to a complete victory over the Persians. The same year the city of Antioch was again visited by a dreadfull earthquake, in which perished thirty thousand persons. The next year Philippicus having been unsuccessfull in the siege of Martyropolis, he was recalled, and the command given to Commentiolus, who soon after his arrival gained a complete victory over the Persians: this Hormisda ascribing to the cowardice of his general, superseded him with disgrace; which Barames, for such was his name, resenting, he raised a conspiracy against him, by which he was dethroned, and at length put to death by his son Cosrhoes, who, though not daring to release him, shewed great kindness to him, until by the violent perverseness of his conduct, he threw him into a transport of passion, when he caused him to be put to death. However the Persians detested Hormisda, so great was the aversion which they conceived against Cosrhoes for this unnatural murder, that nobility, people, and soldiers, conspired in driving him from the throne, when he took refuge with Mauritius. This sovereign, touched with compassion at such an instance of the uncertainty of human grandeur, not only entertained him as a prince, but sent him so supported, that the Persians were defeated in a pitched battle, Cosrhoes restored to the throne, and the imperial troops returned in triumph. When peace was thus restored, in the East the Avari made an irruption, when Mauritius himself took the command against them, and after several indecisive engagements he thought it best to purchase a peace of them: this, however, they did not long observe, but infringed it by the invasion already mentioned as put a stop to by the plague in their army. The cruel parsimony which Mauritius manifested on that occasion, caused a mutiny in the army, and a tumult among the

people. The Avari renewing their depredations the following year, were defeated five times successively by Priscus, and expelled from the Roman dominions. But Peter, the emperour's brother, being ordered with the army he commanded to cross the Danube, and winter in the enemy's country, the soldiers detesting Mauritius for not having ransomed the captives, rose in mutiny, and proclaimed one Phocas, a centurion, emperour. No sooner did tidings of these things arrive at Constantinople, than the populace, ever fond of change, rose against Mauritius, who being prevented by the wind from retiring by sea, took refuge in a church near twenty miles from Constantinople: Phocas in the mean time entered the city with his army, and was solemnly crowned. But in a few days his jealousy being excited by the publick mention of Mauritius, he immediately ordered, that he should be dragged from his asylum to Chalcedon, where by the tyrant's order five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he was himself beheaded. A. D. 602. Admirable was the firmness and resignation with which the deposed prince bore this dreadfull close; yet much more admirable the Divine justice which thus visited on him the blood of the twelve thousand captives whom he refused to ransom! Mauritius had reigned sixteen years. Not satisfied with his death, Phocas caused Peter his brother, Commentiolus, the commander-in-chief, George the son of Philippicus, and Præsentinus, an officer of distinction, to be inhumanly massacred: he had, too, Theodosius, the eldest son of Mauritius, seized on his way to Persia, and executed in Bithynia. Phocas sent, according to custom, the image of himself and his wife Leontia to Rome, where they were received with joyfull acclamations; and Gregory the bishop caused them to be placed in the oratory of a martyr, and wrote congratulatory letters to the new emperour on his advancement to the throne, which he said was effected by a particular Providence to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities and heavy oppressions under which they had long groaned.* The death of Mauritius was no sooner known in

* It seems highly probable, that the bishop was right in thinking, that it was by a particular dispensation, that Phocas was raised to the sovereignty. But Gregory

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the East, than the celebrated Narses, then commanding the troops on the frontiers of Persia, revolted, and easily persuaded Cosrhoes to unite with him in deposing the tyrant, and revenging the death of Mauritius. The Persian monarch immediately entered Mesopotamia, on which Germanus was sent into the East, but Narses engaged and defeated him, Germanus receiving in the engagement a wound which in a few days proved mortal. His successor Leontius being likewise defeated, and his army dispersed, Phocas despairing of success while Narses continued with the Persians, left nothing untried to gain him; but after he had with solemn oaths of favour prevailed on him to return, in breach of every engagement, he caused him to be burnt alive. The Persians, though they had lost their great leader, over-ran this year all Mesopotamia and Syria, and having committed every where enormous cruelties, returned home with a vast booty. The same year, being that which was signalized by Boniface the fourth bishop of Rome assuming the title of Universal Bishop, in virtue of a grant from Phocas, brings the story of the Roman empire, and all the countries dependent on it at the time of its greatest extent, to the close of the sixth period into which it has been thought right to divide the present Work.

A. D. 606.

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must have been very ignorant of his character, not to have considered him as a vessel of wrath, rather than one of mercy; for his actions bespeak him a most cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant: he was, we are told, greatly addicted to wine and women, and a stranger to compassion. When the mind reflects on the elevation of this man, for the soldiers choice of whom no reason is assigned, neither past achievements, excellence of character, nor even that which often weighs with the bulk of mankind, fineness of person, or imposing dignity of mien; since he is described as of a middling stature, deformed, and of a terrible aspect, with red hair, and eye-brows meeting, having one of his cheeks marked with a scar, which when he was in a passion grew black and frightfull; when the mind, I say, ruminates on the sudden elevation of such a man from the post of a centurion to the dignity of emperour, it almost necessarily concludes, that an over-ruling Hand directed the exaltation of one of such a character, as adapted to the purpose of bringing forward to rule over the corrupted church the great supporter of apostacy from the pure worship of the Gospel, whose rise is in holy writ evidently considered as a punishment on the Western world.

CHAPTER II.

The History of Persia and India, traced to the end of the period.

THE histories of Rome and Persia are throughout the present period so closely connected, that an attentive reader of the preceding pages cannot but have already formed a general idea of the fortunes of the last throughout it; here, therefore, nothing need be added but the succession of monarchs, and the transactions worthy of notice which have not yet been mentioned. The restorer of the Persian kingdom, Artaxares or Artaxerxes, was not only a private person, but is said to have been of spurious birth, and the husband of his mother only a tanner or shoemaker. But he himself was a man of great abilities, and undaunted spirit. Having early embraced a military life, and acquired both skill and reputation in the wars, he projected the delivery of his countrymen from the Parthian yoke. To accomplish this, he brought them to a general revolt, and having in three battles defeated, and in the last slain the Parthian monarch, he assumed the double diadem, and the proud title of king of kings. The war which he provoked with the Romans, in hopes of recovering the lesser Asia, has been already spoken of in the history of that empire; after having thus reigned with honour to himself and great reputation, he died, after having set on the throne either about twelve or fifteen years. Artaxerxes was succeeded by his son Sapor, equally famous for strength of body and mental ability, fierce and untractable, ambitious, insolent, and cruel. In his project of attacking the Romans he was encouraged by a Roman, who had taken refuge in Persia, after having robbed his own father. This man, named

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Artaxerxes restores the Persian monarchy: is succeeded by his son Sapor: history of Cyriades: Aurelian triumphs over the Persians: Sapor's success in other parts: his decease: Hormisdas: Varanes the 1st: Varanes the 2nd, subdues the Segestani: Narses: Hormisdas the 2nd: Sapor the 2nd: his politick conduct: war with the Romans, and success against others: by the defeat of Julian, gains the disputed provinces: makes Ctesiphon his capital, and dies.

Cyriades, after having, with the deserters who followed him for the sake of plunder, taken Antioch, and Cæsarea Philippi, assumed the title of Cæsar first, and then that of emperour, gradually acquiring no despicable share of dominions, revenues, and forces. What passed between the Persians and the Romans while Gordian reigned over the latter, has been already related. On the retreat of his murderer and successor Philip, Sapor and Cyriades renewing their incursions into the Roman territories, the latter becoming still more powerfull, began to be treated in all respects as an emperour: indeed, from the confusion of the Roman affairs, many were glad of his protection. Sapor broke into the Roman territories, and laid siege to Edessa. But on the approach of Valerian, who had then attained the empire, the troops of Cyriades put him to death, and declared for Valerian. Of the captivity of this last, the ill usage he endured from the insolent Sapor, and success of Odenatus against the Persians, mention has been made in the Roman history. The conquerour of Zenobia, Aurelian, took vengeance for the ill treatment of his predecessor, and carried back from Persia much spoil, many captives, and one of the king's chariots. Sapor, however, continued to enlarge his dominions, at the expense of his barbarous neighbours, and having reigned with very various fortune for thirty-one years, he died, and left the kingdom to his son. In Sapor's reign is said to have lived the arch heretick, Manes. Hormisdas was the son who succeeded Sapor; neither of him is any thing recorded, but that he died, after having reigned only a year and ten days. To him succeeded Varanes the first, of whom as little is said: on his decease, which took place at the end of three years, Varanes the second ascended the throne. The menacing attitude which the Romans preserved under Probus, restrained him for some time from all attempts to recover those provinces which Persia had lost; and he afterwards was disturbed by some domestick seditions. After the death of Carus, however, the Persians defeated his son Numerianus, who was slain, and the Roman army returned into Italy. Yet when Varanes thought of entering the Roman territories, Dioclesian's approach deterred him from the step; and quickly after he died, having reigned seventeen years, and leaving the kingdom to his son. It

appears, however, that ere his death he subdued the nation of the Segestani. Narses, the succeeding monarch, embarked with great spirit in a war with the Romans, and at first cut off nearly an whole army of them under Galerius, but was afterwards defeated by him, with loss so great that he died of a broken heart, after a reign of seven years. Narses was succeeded by Misdates, or Hormisdas the second, who reigned seven years and five months, without doing any thing worthy of remark. He left his wife pregnant, and the magi declaring the child was a son, the nobility swore allegiance to him, while yet unborn. The magi were on the birth proved to have guessed right, and the child was named Sapor, and reigned as the second of that name. He did not prosecute his design of recovering the ancient territories of Persia, as his predecessors had done, by force, but more secretly, though not less effectually: he encouraged the barbarians on the Roman frontiers: he extended his dominions towards the East and the North, cherished industry and commerce among his own subjects, and disciplined his forces. But the power of the Roman emperour (Constantine was then on the throne), prevented him from at first openly attacking him: he therefore sent an embassy of compliment to Constantinople; but the ministers of it were instructed to act as spies, and to buy the arms which the Persians needed. In his reply to this embassy, Constantine interceded for the Christians who were persecuted in the Persian dominions, nor did he do so without some good effect. However, when Sapor thought himself sufficiently prepared for war, he transmitted by embassadors a manifesto to Constantine, containing his claims, and affirming that the river Strymon was the just boundary of his empire. The vigorous preparations of Constantine to resist this claim, being closely followed by his death, Sapor took advantage of the disorder that then arose, to re-conquer large tracts of country; but, though he frequently attempted it, he never could get possession of the strongest fortress the Romans had in that region, that of Nisibis. Both sovereigns being at length tired of the war left it, Constantius to the care of Gallus, and Sapor, who had in it lost a son, and been wounded himself, to that of his generals; while he himself turned his arms against his Eastern neighbours; of these he reduced some

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by force, others readily submitted; with those who were both powerfull and determined he made lasting peace. In the mean time some overtures of peace came from the Romans, but from the extent of the Persian demands produced no effect: but Sapor invaded the Roman territories with considerable success: nor did the advance of Constantius procure the recovery of these. But Sapor prudently declining to meet him in the field, the war ceased, as it were, of itself, and both sovereigns putting garrisons into their fortresses led the rest of their troops to other parts of their dominions. The expedition which Julian, the successor of Constantius, led into Persia, and the result of it in his death, and the restoration of the five disputed provinces to Sapor, have been already stated. During the leisure thus afforded him, Sapor effectually settled the bounds of his empire towards Tartary and India: but after the death of Jovian he renewed the war, but with what success finally has not been transmitted. Yet intent on enlarging the Persian dominions on this side, he removed the seat of his government to Ctesiphon; and at length having reigned seventy years died, when Gratian was emperour of the Romans.

Artaxerxes 2nd. A. D. 380.

Sapor 3rd. A. D. 385.

Varanes 4th. A. D. 390.

Isdigertes. A. D. 401.

Sapor was succeeded by Artaxerxes, of whose connection with his predecessor and descent no consistent account is given, but he is stated to have reigned quietly four years. To him succeeded his son Sapor the third, who equalled his father in the tranquillity of his reign, and exceeded him in the length of it by one year. Varanes the fourth succeeded his father Sapor. During his reign the province of Herman was added to the Persian dominions; and he maintained peace with the Romans during a reign of eleven years. On the decease of Varanes, Isdigertes, a monarch justly renowned for his virtues, mounted the throne. So amicable were the terms on which he lived with the emperour Arcadius, that this last at his death declared him protector of his son Theodosius the second, and of the Roman empire: which charge Isdigertes accepted with great zeal, and executed with fidelity. In his reign the situation of the Christians in Persia is said to have been greatly improved by the influence of Murathas, a Mesopotamian bishop, whom Theodosius sent as his minister to the Persian court. Isdigertes reigned one-and-twenty

years. Varanes the fifth succeeded his father Isdigertes: in his reign a violent persecution, at first provoked by the Christians themselves, broke out against them; this, mingled with some other causes of difference, at length induced a war with the Romans, the material operations of which have been noticed in the history of that people; and on the conclusion of which, Varanes enjoyed peace to his death, which occurred when he had reigned twenty years. His son, Varanes the sixth, next mounted the throne, and reigned without any particular achievement seventeen years and four months: he was succeeded by his son Peroses, on whose dominions those who were denominated the White Hunns, or Euthalites, whose country lay due north of Persia, and who were so much more civilized than the rest as to live in cities, continually encroaching, he made an expedition into their country, where his army was reduced to such distress, that to extricate it he was compelled to swear never to invade the Euthalites, and do apparent homage to their king.* This oath he kept, as treaties between nations generally are observed, until he thought he could infringe it with security: he then again invaded the country of the Euthalites, where he very deservedly had his army defeated, and was himself slain, having reigned twenty years. Although Peroses had left Cavades, his son, regent, the Persians, unwilling to trust one so young with the government, chose Obalas the brother of the late king, called by the Greek writers Valens, for their sovereign, who proved an excellent prince. But after a troublesome reign of four years, during two of which he paid tribute to the Euthalites, who had almost wholly subjected his country, and during two was at war with them, he died worn out with care. On the decease of his uncle, Cavades ascended the throne, and with great resolution applied himself to the deliverance of his country from the Euthalites, first drawing them into Persia in

Varanes 5th. A. D. 422.

Varanes 6th. A. D. 442.

Peroses. A. D. 458.

Valens. A. D. 482.

Cavades. A. D. 486.

* To this part of the conditions required, the Persian monarch found it most difficult to submit; but the magi invented an expedient which removed his difficulty: it was, that Peroses should attend the king of the Euthalites at sun-rise, when his prostration would be understood by that king as an act of submission, but by himself deemed only an act of reverence to the sun.

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small bodies, in hope of plunder, and then cutting them off; and when he had thus put a stop to their incursions, he turned his arms against them, and by his wary mode of carrying on the war, he broke their spirit, and brought them at length even to acknowledge him for their sovereign. This success probably contributed to that pride which Cavades now betrayed in depriving the nobility of Persia of all their privileges, and acting with the most arbitrary violence; which, however, he carried so far in one instance, as to occasion his dethronement: he published in the height of his extravagance an edict, by which he declared all women common to all men; on which the nobility immediately assembled, deposed, and cast him into prison, when his reign had extended to eleven years.

Cavades deposed.

Zambades. A. D. 497.

Zambades, whether his brother or his son is undetermined, was elected in his room: having assembled a general council of the nobility, it was determined, that Cavades should be imprisoned for life; and the new king earnestly applied himself to remedy the evils which his predecessor's misconduct had occasioned. But while thus engaged, Cavades escaped from prison by the assistance of his queen, and retiring to the king of the Euthalites was by him honourably received, and had his daughter given him in marriage; after which, opening a correspondence with some of the Persian nobility, he persuaded his father-in-law to furnish him with an army, and entering Persia, very easily re-established himself on the throne; when he deprived Zambades of his sight, but made the only man of quality who had continued attached to him lieutenant-general of his kingdom.

Cavades restored. A. D. 501.

Cavades, to liquidate the debt he had contracted to the king of the Euthalites, made a sudden irruption into Armenia, and plundered that kingdom. This brought on him a Roman army, against which he was successfull; but being obliged to march to defend another part of his frontiers against the Hunns, the Romans recovered Amida after a very brave defence: some time after which, a truce was concluded between the two nations for seven years. Of Cavades making an application to the Roman emperour to adopt his son Cosrhoes, and its result, mention was before made. Sesoses, who had assisted in restoring Cavades, was employed in the negociations relating to this matter; and when the conferences were broken off,

he was accused by his colleague of causing it. At the same time he was accused of interring his wife contrary to the laws of Persia. On these pretences he was tried, condemned, and put to death; Cavades expressing much sorrow for him, but having too much veneration for the laws to hinder their course. In the reign of Justin the war broke out afresh, and proceeded as stated in the history of that reign: neither is there any thing to be added of that of Cavades; who having by his will named his youngest son for his successor, died, after reigning thirty years from his restoration. No sooner was Cavades dead, than his eldest son Caases assumed the regal title; but when his father's will was known, such respect did the assembly of the nobles pay to it, that the claim of Caases was set aside, and Cosrhoes declared sovereign of Persia. Soon after his accession a peace was concluded between him and the Roman emperour: neither had he reigned long, ere a conspiracy was formed to depose him; which having detected, he put to death all any-ways concerned in it, but his brother's son of the same name with himself, and whom the conspirators purposed to raise to the throne. The next war Cosrhoes had with Justinian, has, as to its principal incidents, been already recounted; and it was ended by an insidious treaty, more pernicious to the emperour than open hostilities. The next war, too, that on account of Lazica, has already been spoken of, as has that which Cosrhoes waged with Justin concerning the Armenians. The operations of the Romans after Tiberius was raised to the empire, have, too, been described; and so successfull were these, that the grief of Cosrhoes for the alteration that then took place in his affairs, contributed to the lingering disorder of which he died, not, however, until after peace was concluded with Tiberius, and he had reigned forty-eight years.

A. D. 532.

To Cosrhoes succeeded his son Hormisdas, but with abilities very inferior; haughty, cruel, and obstinate, he proved himself unworthy of the diadem as soon as he had assumed it. He quickly conceived suspicions of most of the great men in his kingdom, and treated them as if suspicion and conviction were the same thing; and with foreign princes he kept no measures at all. Conduct like this brought on that war with the Romans, which the reader has seen mentioned in the reigns of Tiberius and Mauritius; where, too, is mentioned the

Hormisdas. Cosrhoes 2.

CHAPTER II. SIXTH PERIOD.

revolution which took place in the dethronement of Hormisdas, and the raising his son Cosrhoes to the crown. But his other son was by his subjects, now in all the licenciousness of rebellion, murdered in his presence, and afterwards cut to pieces; his mother, too, they put to death in the same manner: and when he had seen his son and wife thus butchered, to incapacitate him from reigning they ordered his eyes to be put out with an hot iron. Such is the *Vox populi*, which some have been absurd and blasphemous enough to call *Vox Dei:* Hormisdas had reigned twenty-one years. When Cosrhoes the second had, as has been stated, had his father put to death, which was done most cruelly by cudgelling him out of life, Varamus, the general who had begun the rebellion against his father, opposed him also with success, and from the little attachment which the Persians had to him, drove him from the throne. Of his retreat to Constantinople and generous reception there, an account has already been given. Varamus in the mean time, by betraying his inclination to seize the crown himself, rendered the nobility hostile to him; and they made an unsuccessfull attempt to destroy him, which at that time ended only in the slaughter of many of themselves. When Cosrhoes, however, returned with the troops with which Mauritius supplied him, the Persians willingly received him, and having defeated Varamus, he was fully restored to the throne of his ancestors. No sooner was he established in it, than he assumed all the state of a Persian prince, and without mercy prosecuted all who had any share in the favour of Varamus; and he in time grew so terrible to his neighbours, that the barbarous prince with whom Varamus had taken refuge, ordered him, from dread of the vengeance of Cosrhoes his rival, to be poisoned. The murder of the emperour Mauritius by Phocas, afforded Cosrhoes a plea, of which he gladly took advantage, for attacking the Roman dominions, and the war which he then commenced, and successfully carried on for some years, continued beyond the close of our present period. Here then must the history of Persia be suspended.

A long reign of confusion in India: reign of Basdeo and

The history of India was last suspended at the fall of the emperour Bickermajit, about the beginning of the Christian Æra. After this it appears that the empire fell into confusion; the great vassals of the

crown assumed independence in their respective governments, and the very name of emperour became almost obliterated from the minds of the people. In this state the country seems to have continued a long time, since the next sovereign mentioned is Basdeo, who is stated to have assumed imperial honours, and erected a new kingdom at Canouge in the fourth century of our æra. This monarch and his posterity are said to have reigned in tranquillity eighty years. Ramsdeo, general of the imperial forces, then ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and is represented as a wise, valiant, and generous monarch. After a glorious reign of fifty-four years, his death gave occasion to a civil war between his sons for the succession. Great as was the power of this last prince, it appears that he paid tribute to the king of Persia. After his decease, Partab-chund, who had holden under him the post of captain-general, taking advantage of the publick confusion, seized the vacant throne, and, to preserve it, extirpated the imperial family; and by cutting off the most formidable of the dependent princes, he rendered the rest obedient to him. Uninterrupted success made him too confident of his power; he neglected to send the usual tribute to Persia, and dismissed the Persian embassadors with dishonour. But a Persian invasion convinced him of the superior power of that monarch, compelled him to pay his arrears, advance the tribute for the next year, and give hostages for his future obedience. Partab is said to have ascended the throne about the completion of the fifth century; but this makes an interregnum of above forty years, and identifies Nushirvan, who is mentioned as the Persian monarch whose embassadors he treated ill, with Cavades. He left the empire in the possession of his family, but it soon declined in their hands. The dependent princes rendered themselves independent; and so insignificant became the titular emperour, that he gradually lost the title of Maha rajah, and had one of less dignity substituted in its place. Soon after the decease of Partab-chund, Annindeo, a chief of the tribe of Bice, seized on the extensive kingdom of Malva, and rapidly reduced the peninsula of Guzzerat, the country of the Mahrattas, and the whole province of Berar. This conquerour was cotemporary with Chosru-parvez, king of Persia, and he reigned over the territories he had subdued sixteen years. At

Ramsdeo, of Partab-chund, of Annindeo, and Maldeo.

CHAPTER II. SIXTH PERIOD.

the same time that Annindeo broke the power of the empire by the usurpation of its best provinces, one Maldeo, a man of obscure origin, raised himself into great power, and took the city of Delhi and its territory from the reigning family. He soon after reduced the imperial city of Canouge; of the populousness of which an account is given which raises it to several millions. Maldeo kept possession of his conquests for forty years, but could not transmit them to his posterity: nor is there any other occurrence in India worthy notice transmitted to us, that took place before the end of our present period: here, therefore, we must proceed to the countries east of Hindûstan; but of those immediately adjoining, we have no account which goes up nearly to this period; therefore, passing these for the present, let the history of China be now resumed.

CHAPTER III.

The History of China resumed.

THE story of China was last suspended at the decease of Hyau-ngay-ti, who was succeeded by Hyau-ping-ti, who was but nine years old when he came to the crown; and his grandmother imprudently placed him under the guardianship of a man of unrestrained ambition, named Vangman, who began the business of his office with discharging all persons of merit; he then erected several principalities, which he gave to creatures of his own, and at length he caused to be mixed with the emperour's food some poison, which quickly brought him to the last extremity: while the traitor, by expressing the deepest concern, escaped suspicion; especially as on the emperour's death he placed the crown on the head of a young prince, named Zhu-tse-ing, a descendant from Swen-ti. This prince was only two years of age when raised to the throne; which the hypocritical minister suffered him to enjoy only three years, when, thinking himself sufficiently strong, he deposed the infant, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperour: he then endeavoured to establish his authority by a variety of arrangements; but he was suddenly attacked from various quarters, and after a long and sanguinary struggle, during which, too, the empire was afflicted with a famine, he was defeated, had his throat cut, his body cut in pieces, and his head stuck upon a pitch-fork, and exposed to the derision of the populace. On the fall of this wretch, who filled the throne fourteen years, the victorious army gave the crown to Whay-yang-vang, a descendant from King-ti. But this proving an effeminate and

CHAPTER III. SIXTH PERIOD.

A. D. 1. The reigns, from that of Hyau-ping-ti to the end of the dynasty.

A. D. 5.

A. D. 8.

A. D. 20.

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debauched prince, after two years they dethroned him; and having beheaded an impostor, whom they had fixed on, they elected Lyew-Syew, descended from King-ti, who assumed the title of Quang-vu-ti.

A. D. 24. He proved a truly mild and compassionate prince, and an encourager of learning: yet his reign was disturbed by stubborn factions, which he with difficulty quelled in twelve years. He removed his court from Shen-si to Honan; and the Chinese records mention a total eclipse of the sun in his reign, which they say occurred sooner than it ought to have done. Quang-vu-ti, after a reign of thirty-three

A. D. 57. years, died, and was succeeded by his son Ming-ti. This monarch was celebrated for both clemency and wisdom; but admitted into his dominions the worship of the idol Fo.* Ming-ti reigned eighteen years;

A. D. 75. and at his death his son Shang-ti inherited the crown, and enjoyed a tranquil reign of thirteen years; during which he manifested much wisdom and virtue, shewing a tender regard for his subjects in his

A. D. 88. aversion to luxury and superfluous expense. He was succeeded by his son Ho-ti, then but ten years old; but by the exertions of an able general, named Pan-chau, many sovereigns, it is said, were compelled to pay him homage. This monarch, through jealousy, divorced his empress, who died of grief: he, too, was the first emperour who raised the eunuchs of his court to that exorbitant power, which has since proved so detrimental to the empire. After a reign

A. D. 105. of seventeen years, he was succeeded by his infant son Shang-ti, then

A. D. 106. in the cradle; who living scarcely a year, was succeeded by another grandson of Shang-ti, the sixteenth monarch of this dynasty, named Ngan-ti, but thirteen years old, whose mother was his guardian, and appears to have filled that office with great virtue and good sense: not only manifesting kindness for her son's people, but reducing the too great extent of the empire, by releasing a number of the conquered nations from their homage and tribute. Ngan-ti reigned nineteen years, and had for his successor a son, not of his queen, but of a concubine, from whom she took it, that it might as her own

* It is said, that the emperour had a dream, which induced him to send embassadors in search of the Holy One that was in the West, and that they brought home the idol and worship of Fo, and the doctrine of transmigration.

succeed to the crown; and to prevent discovery she poisoned the mother. Shun-ti was the name of this supposititious heir, who ascended the throne in the year one hundred and twenty-five: he deprived the dowager empress on her decease of funeral obsequies, for having poisoned his mother; and he signalized the beginning of his reign by several victories over the barbarians. During his reign the chief of a considerable army of vagabonds made a bold push for the throne, but was defeated and slain. This emperour died after having reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son Chang-ti; A. D. 143. whose accession took place in the second year of his age, and who died before it was expired, and left the crown to Che-ti; who at only eight years of age afforded strong symptoms of an excellent disposition. But ere he had reigned two years, he was poisoned by a brother of the empress his guardian; who dreaded his resentment of the insolence with which he had treated him. He was succeeded by his brother Whan-ti, a weak prince, whose chief favourites were the eunuchs, and under whom the murderer of the last emperour was raised to the highest honours: but he by his insolence rendered himself so odious to all, and especially to the eunuchs, that being closely besieged in his house by a troop of them, and finding no way to escape, he killed his wife and himself. It is said, that during this reign there occurred a famine so severe, that in some places the people were reduced to feed on human flesh. This emperour died without issue in the twenty-first year of his reign; and was succeeded by a A. D. 167. prince of the family of Shang-ti, named Ling-ti. This prince was still more partial to the eunuchs than his predecessor, of unsatiable avarice, and of sarcastic and sour wit; whence he became so disliked, that disturbances broke out in the empire; which, however, were repressed, as were the attacks of some barbarians on the frontiers.* Ling-ti died in the twenty-second year of his reign, and was succeeded by a monarch named Pyen-ti, who resigned the crown to his brother Hyen-ti, at that time but young. The imbecility of this prince gave occasion to perpetual troubles both foreign and domes-

* An end is said to have been put to these internal wars, by an experienced general, who never went to bed during ten years that they lasted.

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tick; and after a reign of thirty-one years, both he and his brother were murdered: when this dynasty ended, and a short usurpation of the imperial authority followed.

A. D. 220. Reigns of the emperours to the end of the tenth dynasty.

The above-mentioned usurpation being ended, a new dynasty commenced in the person of Chau-lye-vang, descended from King-ti the fourth emperour, a prince of imposing appearance, and of great courage and equanimity; but he reigned only three years, leaving his crown on his decease to his son Hew-ti. The reign of this monarch was replete with troubles, to which his spirit was not equal; and at last, having his army cut in pieces, and his palace plundered, and losing his son, who, seeing the desperate situation of the emperour's affairs, fell by his own hands, he surrendered himself to the conquerour, Song-chau, who gave him a small principality, on which he died, in the forty-first year from the commencement of his reign; and in him ended the sixth dynasty. The seventh began in Shi-tsu-vu-ti, the son of the rebel Song-chau, who proved a magnanimous prince of quick apprehension and sound judgement. The attempts of various petty princes to supplant him in the imperial dignity afforded him much trouble. But having, in the course of seven years, reduced them all, he disbanded his army, and surrendered himself to indulgence; which again allured the ambition of the petty sovereigns: yet he continued to reign until his death; when he was

A. D. 289. succeeded by his son Whey-ti. This was a prince of little genius, whose court and empire were thrown into confusion by the nefarious practices of one of his wives;* and much blood was shed, until that ambitious woman and all her party were slain. Taking advantage of these disorders, several petty kings commenced hostilities; and at last, the emperour, after having reigned sixteen years, was poisoned;

A. D. 305. when, leaving no issue, the grandees set on the throne his twenty-fourth brother Whay-ti; who was a prince of promising endowments; but in the sixth year of his reign was slain by one of the

A. D. 311. petty princes named Lyew-tsong. On this the grandees chose for his successor Min-ti, a nephew of his, who, no happier than his uncle,

* The occasion of this woman's rage was the emperour in raillery calling her an old woman.

was driven into exile in the third year of his reign, and slain the next. A first cozen of his, named Ywen-ti, was in the year three hundred and sixteen elected in his room; who was both frugal and liberal. A. D. 315. He removed his court from the West to the East, fixing it in the A. D. 321. city of Nanking: having reigned six years, his death was brought on by a deep melancholy. He was succeeded by his son Ming-ti, A. D. 324. who reigned only three years, and left the crown to his son Ching-ti, then but five years old. But the imperial authority, which was administered by his mother, was too weak to restrain the petty princes, who by perpetual wars destroyed each other to clear the way to the empire. Ching-ti reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded A. D. 342. by his brother King-ti; who reigning but two, left the crown to his A. D. 344. son Ho-ti, being but two years of age. When of age to take the government on himself, he recovered several provinces, but died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and had for his successor a son of A. D. 361. Ching-ti, named Ngai-ti, who filled the throne only four years; and on his decease the nobles elected for his successor his younger brother A. D. 365. Ti-ye. This sovereign, after occupying the throne but little longer than his brother, was deposed by his general and prime minister, and A. D. 371. succeeded by Kyen-ven-ti, the last of the children of Ywen-ti; who reigned only two years, and had for his successor Vu-ti. This king A. D. 372. was soon attacked by a king who reigned in the North, but whom he defeated; and the same success he might have had against others, but that he resigned himself to sensuality, and at length met his death from the revenge of one or more of his wives. Vu-ti reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son Ngan-ti. This A. D. 396. emperour proved still more indolent and worthless than the preceding, so that the history of his reign presents little else than revolts and wars: until at last a fellow who sold shoes about the country, named Lyew-hu, turning soldier, became general of a large army, and found himself sufficiently powerfull to murder the emperour. Ngan-ti was slain in the twenty-second year of his reign, and succeeded by his A. D. 418. brother Kong-ti, who in the second year of his reign was murdered by the same assassin, and was the last monarch of the dynasty of Tsin: for Lyew-hu then seizing the throne, took the name of Kau- A. D. 420. tsu-vu-ti, and fixed his court at Nanking. But he reigned only two

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years, and was succeeded by his son Shau-ti, who, ere he had reigned a year, was put to death by his prime minister, and the vacant throne filled by a brother of his, named Ven-ti; who was celebrated for his mildness, justice, and integrity. From the commencement of this dynasty, it seems, China was divided into two empires; and against the emperour who had now set up in the northern parts of that country, Ven-ti entered into hostilities. But having through jealousy put to death his prime minister, who was an able general, his troops suffered several defeats, and at length Ven-ti was murdered by his own eldest son, in the thirtieth year of his reign: the wretched parricide immediately received the same treatment from his next brother, Vou-ti, who was deemed a learned prince, though priding himself on his skill in horsemanship and archery. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by his son Fu-ti, who on coming to the throne manifested a disposition so sanguinary, that he was murdered, ere he had reigned a year; and was succeeded by Ming-ti, the eleventh son of Ven-ti. This prince, equally inhuman with his predecessor, began his reign by murdering thirteen of his nephews: he raised to the highest dignity of the empire a man of boundless ambition, Syau-tau-ching, and at his death left his crown to his own eldest son Tsang-ngu-vang. This prince betrayed so much of his father's cruel disposition, as to furnish a pretence to the perfidy of Syau-tau-ching, who murdered him in the fourth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his brother Shun-ti, who in the second year of his reign fell a victim to the unprincipled ambition of the same minister, and thus closed the eighth dynasty, that of Song. Kau-ti, which name the traitor Syau-tau-ching assumed on seizing the throne after the murder of the two preceding emperours, was more eminent for learning than for military exploits, and reigning something more than three years, left the crown to his son Vu-ti. In his reign appeared an impious teacher, named Fanchin, whose doctrine is still professed, though privately, by many of the Chinese literati.* About the same

A. D. 422.
A. D. 423.
A. D. 453.
A. D. 465.
A. D. 473.
A. D. 477.
A. D. 479.
A. D. 483.

* This doctrine seems to have differed very little, if at all, from that which appears to be entertained by many who call themselves men of letters in Europe. Fanchin taught, that all the events in the world are the effects of mere chance, that the soul

time was raised to high office another man, who made his way to the throne by murder, Syau-ywen. Vu-ti died in the eleventh year of his reign, and was succeeded, though not immediately, by his uncle Ming-ti, who, having been entrusted by his own brother Kau-ti with the education of his two younger sons, raised them to the throne, indeed, one after the other, and also cut them off in the space of four months, that himself might take the crown; which he did, and A. D. 494. reigned somewhat more than four years, leaving the crown to his A. D. 499. third son Whon-lew, who proved sufficiently debauched and cruel to give the ambitious Syau-ywen a pretence for attacking him: and accordingly forming an alliance with the king of Lyang, he forced the imperial palace, dethroned the emperour in the second year of A. D. 501. his reign, and placing his brother Ho-ti on the throne, he in less than a year deprived him of both that and his life, and ascending the A. D. 502. former himself, began a new dynasty under the assumed name of Kau-tsu-vu-ti. The endowments of this usurper were great: he was active, vigilant, surprizingly quick at business, learned, martial, frugal: but, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, he became a devotee to the superstition of Fo, and enrolled himself among the Bonzas. At length Hew-king, sovereign of Honan, rebelled against him, seized his person, and had him starved to death in the forty- A. D. 550. eighth year of his reign: but he was succeeded by his son Kyen-ven-ti, whom Hew-king permitted to survive scarcely two years; when putting him to death, he himself assumed the imperial A. D. 552. title, which he retained but one year; when the seventh son of Syau-Twen, Ywen-ti, (whose Kolau or prime minister defeated Hew-king, and caused him to be beheaded) ascended the throne. A. D. 553. But this Kolau, whose name was Chin-pa-sien, also revolted, and besieged the emperour in Nanking, and he in despair surrendered himself to the rebel, who put him to death in the third year of his A. D. 555. reign. He was succeeded by his ninth son King-ti, who, ere he had sat two years on the throne, was slain by the same wretch: and with him expired the tenth dynasty.

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dies with the body; tenets of which it is hard to say, whether they are more silly in themselves, or more impious towards the Supreme Being.

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The rebel Chin-pa-sien now began a new dynasty, under the favourite name of Kau-tsu-vu-ti: he, too, though a lover of the sciences, was attached to the Bonzas. His reign lasted only three years; and he was succeeded by his brother Ven-ti, who by his good qualities gained the love of his subjects. This monarch, on account of the incapacity of his son, would have left the crown to his own brother, but his grandees opposed it; and therefore, when in the seventh year of his reign he died, he was succeeded by his son Lyng-hay-vang, who in two years was dethroned; and dying soon afterwards, a first cozen of his, named Swen-ti, seized the crown. This proved a prince of mild disposition; in his reign the northern emperour having raised Lyang-Kyang to the dignity of Kolau, made him soon afterwards sovereign of the principality of Swi, in which he became sufficiently powerfull to subdue all China. Swen-ti died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving his crown to his son Chang-ching-kong. This emperour resigning himself to intemperance, Kyen or Kyang, just mentioned, advancing with a numerous army across the Yant-tse-kyang, which divided the northern and the southern empires, entered the metropolis of Nanking in triumph, and dethroned him in the seventh year of his reign: when the conquerour, changing his name for that of Kat-tsu-ven-ti, seized the crown, and founded a new dynasty; and seven years afterwards re-united the northern and southern empires, which had been divided nearly three hundred years. This emperour was of noble family, and to penetration and solidity of judgement, added moderation and temperance; thus securing, what is in general very easily obtained, though as easily lost, the love of his subjects. He levied on them a certain portion of corn and rice, for the support of the poor in time of famine, and he was inexorable to corrupt judges. Yet with all these good qualities he was murdered by his own second son, through jealousy of the preference which he manifested for the eldest, whom that nefarious wretch likewise murdered; and through such means ascended the throne in the year six hundred and five. But since the story of his reign would carry us into the next period, it seems better here to suspend the history of China.

A. D. 558.
A. D. 561.
A. D. 567.
A. D. 569.
A. D. 583.
A. D. 590.

Occurrences

Of the peninsula of Corea very few anecdotes have reached us

respecting any thing that passed on it during this period. Tay-cho, the secular monarch of Japan, after a long interval revived his pretensions to the dominion of the country; but disguised his intention to enforce them, under the colour of designing to invade China, and desiring the assistance of the Coreans: but they, penetrating his intentions, put his embassadors to death, and a war of seven years ensued. Chau or Kau, the great grandson of Song, being made king of Chau-tsyen by the emperour Yong-kya, the kings of Corea continued to be promoted to that dignity during the dynasties Tsin, Song, Tsi, the latter Wey and Chew, until the seventh year of Yang-ti, the second emperour of the Swy dynasty; when Y-wen then king of it, invaded Lyau-tong; for which Yang-ti summoned him to appear before him, and on his refusal marched in person against him. But the Coreans defended themselves with so much prudence and courage, that the emperour was obliged to retire for want of provisions: he twice repeated his attempt to reduce them, but succeeded not. Kyen-vu, the son of Ywen, succeeded his father. At this time Corea was divided into five governments, and Kay-suven, of the family of Ywen, then governour of the eastern canton, assassinated Kyen-vu his sovereign, used his body with the utmost indignity, and set Tsang, a younger brother of the murdered monarch, on the throne, under the title of Molichi, reserving to himself the power. This traitor pretended to be the son of a river god, to secure the regard of that superstitious people; and the deeds he thus perpetrated, not having been committed until the close of the present period, the history of Corea must be here left to resume that of Japan.

in Corea during this period.

The story of the last-mentioned country was suspended in the reign of Syn-in, who dying after a reign of ninety-eight years, Key-ko his third son ascended the throne. In the twenty-third year of his reign a new island is recorded to have started up from the bottom of the sea in the vicinity of Niphon: this the Japanese consecrated to their Neptune, a feigned deity which they term Nebis; in honour of whom a temple was erected on it, and a sufficiency of priests and Bonzas appointed to attend his worship; and both temple and island became celebrated and wealthy on account of the concourse of

The history of Japan continued from A. D. 71, to 629.

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people to them. Key-ko reigned sixty years; Sey-muu his fourth son succeeded him. This prince in the sixth year of his reign arranged the boundaries of all the provinces of his empire, and in the sixtieth of it, he by his death vacated the throne to Tsiau-ai, the second son of his sister, and a grandson to Key-ko, the twelfth emperour. He, it seems, made his way to it by the murder of Kumasi-somu-kuno-mikatto, and died in the ninth year of his reign. The princess Sinku-cogu, or Tsin-gukwoo-guu succeeded him: she was widow of the late emperour, and had an additional claim to the crown through the relation she bore in the fifth degree to the emperour Key-ko. She carried on the war (a phrase which seems to intimate, that it was commenced before) against the Coreans, and at the beginning of her reign led in person to their country a numerous army. But finding herself pregnant she hastened back to Japan, where she was delivered of a son, who was called Vacono-oosi, but on his accession to the throne he assumed the title Oosin-ten-oo. His mother, after a glorious reign of seventy years, was on her death ranked among the goddesses of that country, and succeeded by her son above mentioned. This Oosin proved a great prince both in peace and war, and a true father to his country; which he governed with much prudence and clemency during a reign of more than forty years: on the close of which by death he left the crown to his fourth son Nin-toku. This likewise proved a good and virtuous prince, and was highly revered by his subjects, the taxes on whom he remitted several times: eighty-seven years was the duration of his reign. There is a temple erected to his honour in the city of Tsino-kuni, where he is honoured with various titles. To him succeeded his eldest son Kitsiu, who filled the throne only six years, and was succeeded by his brother Fan-sey; whose reign did not prove much longer. For after eight years he closed it, leaving the crown to his younger brother In-kioo: who, alarmed perhaps at the early deaths of his brothers, sent for a physician from China to take care of his health, and, whether by his skill, or the greater strength of his constitution, and more cautious temperance, or, what surpasses all, the Divine good pleasure, he did not die until the fortieth year of his reign. He was then succeeded by his son Ankoo. Ere he had reigned three

A. D. 131.
A. D. 200.
A. D. 271.
A. D. 313.
A. D. 400.
A. D. 406.
A. D. 414.
A. D. 454.

years, Maijuva, a near relation of his, rebelled against him, defeated and slew him. He was, however, succeeded by Inrukia, his younger brother; who revenged the murder of Ankoo by putting the rebel Maijuva to death. In the seventeenth year of his reign, Inrukia married the princess Valaki, whom he declared empress, and made a law, until lately subsisting, that the children of the wives of the Dairos which should be declared empresses, should be lawfull heirs to the crown. In the ninth year of his reign the first putjes, a round copper coin, with a square hole in the middle for stringing them, were coined in Japan. He reigned twenty-three years; and was succeeded by his second son Senei. This prince, after reigning five years, was on his decease succeeded by Gen-seo, who reigned only three years, and then resigned the crown to his brother Ninken. This last wore it eleven years, and left it to his son Buretz. This proved a cruel tyrant, and is said to have taken delight in cutting off people's heads unexpectedly, ripping open pregnant women, and similar acts of barbarity. He reigned but eight years, and was succeeded by Kei-tei, a great-grandson of the emperour Oosin. Twenty-seven years was the duration of his reign; which is spoken of as very glorious, though wherefore so is not stated. After his decease, his successor deified him with the titles of Askano, Day, Mia, Sin. Ankan his son, who was this successor, after a reign of two years, was himself deified, and is still worshipped as the protector of the province of Jamatto. To him succeeded his brother Senkva, and died after a reign of only four years, the crown devolving on Kimme, vulgarly Kimmei, another brother of Ankan. This was a religious prince, but much addicted to foreign worship, especially that of Budso. He was led to this superstition by the report of a miraculous apparition of some idols in China and India, and more especially in Japan itself; where the god Amida, it was pretended, had been seen by a pond near the city of Naniva, encircled with golden rays. The Japanese historian adds, that this miraculous idol was afterwards carried in great pomp into the country of Sinano, and deposited in the temple of Sinquosi; where it wrought many miracles, rendering the place famous over all the empire. Kim-me, after having reigned thirty-two years, died, and was succeeded by

A. D. 457.
A. D. 480.
A. D. 485.
A. D. 488.
A. D. 499.
A. D. 507.
A. D. 534.
A. D. 536.
A. D. 540.
A. D. 572.

CHAPTER III. SIXTH PERIOD.

his second son, Fit-atzu. He being no less superstitious than his father, the reader will not be surprized at his reign being likewise prolifick in wonders: among these was the birth of Sotoktais, which was reported to be both preceded and followed by circumstances of such absurd fiction, as are not worthy to be transcribed. Profitable was this season for idol-carvers, priests, and temple-builders; who flocked together from all parts. In favour of brutes this emperour enacted a law, that on six several days in each month every living creature whatsoever should be set at liberty; and it was intimated, that those who had none would do well to procure some, that they might not want an opportunity of giving some proof on these days of their mercifull disposition towards those creatures.* In the eighth year of his reign the first image of Siaca or Xacca, was imported; and in the fourteenth, one Moria, a great opponent of Sotoktais, raised violent commotions in the empire: he bore so great an antipathy to all the idols of the country, that he took, burnt, and destroyed them, wherever he came; but in two years his party was defeated, and himself put to death. *Fit-atzu reigned fourteen years,* and was succeeded by his son Joomei. In the reign of this king, a temple was built in memory of the triumph of idolatry, in the defeat of Moria above mentioned. Joomei reigned but two years, and was succeeded by his brother, Siu-siun. In the third year of whose reign the empire of Japan was divided into seven large tracts of land; which division still subsists, and is noted in all the Japanese maps. He reigned only five years, and left his crown to Syko, or Swiko, grand-daughter of the emperour Kim-me, and relict of Fit-atzu. In the sixth year of her reign peacocks and crows were imported, among other things, as presents to her; the breeds of which still subsist, and the latter have multiplied so greatly, that they are become a nuisance. The following year was remarkable for dreadfull earthquakes, which

A. D. 586.

A. D. 588.

A. D. 593.

* The readers of the above anecdote will be convinced, that this is not the only country in which benevolence is sometimes seen to run mad. The tender-hearted emperour did not perceive, that by encouraging his subjects to procure animals to which they might give liberty on six days in a month, he prompted them to confine them the other twenty-four.

caused over the whole empire great devastation: and the next was rendered still more fearfull by fire from Heaven, and the heavy rains which laid many towns under water. In the twelfth year of her reign the empress caused the statue of Siaca to be cast in brass: but this was soon after melted and coined into small money, and another of plaister placed in its room. In the same year gold was first imported into Japan from Corea. In the twenty-first year of her reign died the celebrated Sotoktais, in the fifty-ninth year of his age; and in the thirty-sixth of her reign Syko herself. And thus is the history of Japan brought to the end of the sixth period. A. D. 629.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of Arabia resumed, and carried to the end of the period—that of Æthiopia the same.

CHAPTER IV. SIXTH PERIOD.

Kings of Yaman, until the expulsion of the Æthiopians.

THE domestick transactions of the barbarous tribes in the northern parts of Asia and Europe, through want of records, affording no materials for history during this period, and the few occurrences which took place between them and the civilized nations on which they bordered, having been mentioned in the history of those nations, without enlarging a work, intended to be concise, with the insertion of the absurd fables in which savages are so inclined to deal, all notice of the inhabitants of the tract which may be generally described as lying north of Corea, and extending westward to the German Ocean, will be postponed, until they afford something worthy of being related; and our review shall at present pass to the only civilized countries whose story is known, but has not yet been touched on during this period, which are Arabia and Æthiopia. The last monarch of Yaman mentioned was Tobba, surnamed the Less: he was succeeded by Al Hareth, who, it is said, embraced Judaism: but, perhaps, he was in reality a convert to Christianity, which might by the Arabs, as it was sometimes by the Romans, be confounded with Judaism. The thirty-eighth king of Yaman was Morthed, the son of Celal: his son Waciaa succeeded him; and after him reigned Abrahah, the son of Alsahah. Whether Sabban, or Ebn Dahikan, as some Oriental writers assert, next filled the throne, or whether the two names ought not to be united, and it was in truth Sabban Ebn Dahikan who succeeded Abrahah, is not ascer-

tained. But Ebn Dahikan, wherever he ought to be placed, had the sword Samsama, which makes so prominent a figure in Arabian story. This sword the reader, perhaps, is not unapprized, came into the hand of the Khâlif Rashid; who is said to have cut in two with it several noble swords sent him as a present by the Greek emperour, in the presence of that prince's embassadors, who brought them, without doing it the least damage. The next monarch was Dhu Shanater, who is said by one author to have had six fingers on each hand: he was dethroned by the Hamyarites for his very vicious propensities. Yusef, the next king, surnamed Dhu Nowas, lived about seventy years before Mahomet: he persecuted all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the Pit. Dhu Jadan succeeded Dhu Nowas: he was a bigotted Jew, and treated his Christian subjects with such cruelty, that Elesbaas, or Elesbaan, king of Æthiopia, sent over forces to assist them. By these Dhu Jadan was driven to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and lost both his crown and his life: he is stated to have reigned sixty-six years. The king of Æthiopia after this established the Christian religion in Yaman, and set on the throne there Aryat, an Æthiopian. The second king, or rather vice-roy, of that nation in Yaman, was Abraha Ebn al Sabah, and he was succeeded by his son Yacsum. The last of the Æthiopian princes in Yaman was Masruh, another son of Abraha, who was expelled it should seem by Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan, of the old royal family of Hamyar, who obtained assistance for this purpose from the king of Persia. But this occurrence took not place until after the close of the present period.

Several monarchies subsisted in different parts of Arabia; but as what is preserved of these amounts, like what has been already reported of Yaman, to little more than the names of the sovereigns, the reader will probably be better pleased with having laid before him only the times when these minor sovereignties began and ended, the number of their monarchs, and having those alone specified, of whom any anecdote worthy of repetition is preserved. One of these was

Kings of Hira and Ghassân.

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the kingdom of Hira, situate in Chaldæa, or Irak, and it was founded by Malec, a descendant of Cahlan; but after three descents, the crown came by marriage to the Lakhmians. These princes, whose general name was Mondar, preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalifat of Abubeker, when the last of them lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Waled. The kings of Mondar were the lieutenants of the kings of Persia over the Arabs of Irâk. The Lakhmians were descended from Lakhm, the son of Amru, the son of Saba. This kingdom is said to have been begun in the time, it should seem, not of Alexander, but his successors, and even this date is too early for the duration assigned it. But the Arabian chronology is as unintelligible as the Chinese. Its sovereigns amounted in number to twenty-four; among whom were two Amalekites. The tenth of these kings, named Al Nooman, after sitting on it thirty years, abdicated the throne, and retired from the world, with the reflection, "*What signifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?*" It is said, too, that he became a convert to Christianity, which certainly consists particularly with his question. To this prince, Jezdegerd, king of Persia, committed the care of his son's education. The eighteenth and twenty-first kings of this dynasty, were converts to Christianity. The kingdom of Ghassân was situate in the Damascene Syria, and lasted from very soon after the inundation of Al Arem to the Khalifat of Omar. The successive sovereigns of it amounted to one-and-thirty, five of whom were named Hâreth, which the Greeks and Latin wrote Aretas, and one of them it was who reigned at Damascus, when St. Paul escaped from thence. The last of the kings of Ghassân, named Jabalah, retired from Syria to Constantinople, on the great success of the Saracens. Besides the kingdoms which have been already noticed, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note, but the anecdotes preserved of which are too trifling to justify admission, where room for occurrences more important is required. Here, therefore, suspending the history of this people, who have since, as messengers of the Divine wrath, made a very prominent, though transient, figure on earth, the history of Æthiopia must be resumed.

We left Æthiopia in the days of Augustus Cæsar, under the government of a queen of the name of Candace, which appears to have been an appellation common to the female sovereigns of that country. No material alteration in the civil affairs of it occurred during the remainder of Augustus's reign, or of that of Tiberius, unless, as some writers have related, Christianity was introduced into it so early as that. Little respecting Æthiopia is met with after this for above two hundred years, but from a particular anecdote related of Heliogabalus, it may be inferred, that in his reign an intercourse with the Æthiopians subsisted. Of the incursions of the Blemmyes, an Æthiopic nation, into the Roman empire, mention has already been made in the history of that empire. The modern Abyssinians are stated to report, that between Bazen, a king who was cotemporary with our Lord, and Abreha, who reigned when the natives of Abyssinia were converted to Christianity by Frumentius, there were thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-seven years. This Frumentius was by an accident brought into an island in the Red Sea, near Abyssinia, and being carried to the court, there so ingratiated himself by his abilities, as at length to be made prime minister of that country. The opportunity of making the Abyssinians acquainted with the Gospel which was thus given him, Frumentius seized, and made a journey to Alexandria, of which city Athanasius was then bishop, to inform him of the people being well inclined to receive Christianity. That prelate sent him back in the character of bishop, with which authority he made and baptized numerous converts, and founded churches through nearly all that extensive country. However, either the nation in general, or the chiefs of it, it is said, relapsed again into paganism; and about the year five hundred and twenty-one, embraced again the Christian religion, at the command of a sovereign, named Aideg, who issued it in consequence of a vow made before an engagement in which he defeated the king of the Homerites in a very extraordinary manner. This monarch, after being again induced to pass into Arabia in defence of the persecuted Christians, was so successfull as to get possession of Yamah, which the Abyssinians held until two generations before Mahomet. This victorious prince, who is also denomi-

nated Elesbaan, was succeeded by Gebra Meskel, who greatly extended the limits of his dominions, and the terrour of whose arms kept the neighbouring nations so in awe of him, that his subjects enjoyed the sweets of peace no small part of his reign; and with him the emperour Justinian is said to have entered into alliance. After this monarch a Constantine ascended the throne, and after him a Fresenna: after whose reign occurs an interval barren of all events worthy of notice, and extending very far beyond the close of our present period; which, therefore, may be here finally closed, together with the second Volume of this Work.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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